

GESENIUS' HEBREW GRAMMAR

AS EDITED AND ENLARGED BY THE LATE.

E. KAUTZSCH

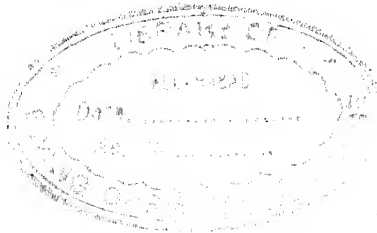
PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF HALLE

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A. E. COWLEY

WITH A FACSIMILE OF THE SILOAM INSCRIPTION BY J. EUTING, AND
A TABLE OF ALPHABETS BY M. LIDZBARSKI



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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

THE translation of the twenty-sixth German edition of this grammar, originally prepared by the Rev. G. W. Collins and revised by me, was published in 1898. Since that date a twenty-seventh German edition has appeared; and Prof. Kautzsch was already engaged on a twenty-eighth in 1908 when the English translation was becoming exhausted. He sent me the sheets as they were printed off, and I began revising the former translation in order to produce it as soon as possible after the completion of the German. The whole of the English has been carefully compared with the new edition, and, it is hoped, improved in many points, while Prof. Kautzsch's own corrections and additions have of course been incorporated. As before, the plan and arrangement of the original have been strictly followed, so that the references for sections and paragraphs correspond exactly in German and English. Dr. Driver has again most generously given up time, in the midst of other engagements, to reading the sheets, and has made numerous suggestions. To him also are chiefly due the enlargement of the index of subjects, some expansions in the new index of Hebrew words, and some additions to the index of passages, whereby we hope to have made the book more serviceable to students. I have also to thank my young friend, Mr. Godfrey R. Driver, of Winchester College, for some welcome help in correcting proofs of the Hebrew index and the index of passages. בן חכם ישמח אב. Many corrections have been sent to me by scholars who have used the former English edition, especially the Rev. W. E. Blomfield, the Rev. S. Holmes, Mr. P. Wilson, Prof. Witton Davies, Mr. G. H. Skipwith, and an unknown correspondent

at West Croydon. These, as well as suggestions in reviews, have all been considered, and where possible, utilized. I am also much indebted to the Press-readers for the great care which they have bestowed on the work.

Finally, I must pay an affectionate tribute to the memory of Prof. Kautzsch, who died in the spring of this year, shortly after finishing the last sheets of the twenty-eighth edition. For more than thirty years he was indefatigable in improving the successive editions of the Grammar. The German translation of the Old Testament first published by him in 1894, with the co-operation of other scholars, under the title *Die Heilige Schrift des A Ts*, and now (1910) in the third and much enlarged edition, is a valuable work which has been widely appreciated: the *Apocryphen und Pseudepigraphen des A Ts*, edited by him in 1900, is another important work: besides which he published his *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen* in 1884, two useful brochures *Bibelwissenschaft und Religionsunterricht* in 1900, and *Die bleibende Bedeutung des A Ts* in 1903, six popular lectures on *Die Poesie und die poetischen Bücher des A Ts* in 1902, his article 'Religion of Israel' in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, v. (1904), pp. 612-734, not to mention minor publications. His death is a serious loss to Biblical scholarship, while to me and to many others it is the loss of a most kindly friend, remarkable alike for his simple piety and his enthusiasm for learning.

A. C.

MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD,
Sept. 1910.

FROM THE GERMAN PREFACE

THE present (twenty-eighth) edition of this Grammar,¹ like the former ones, takes account as far as possible of all important new publications on the subject, especially J. Barth's *Sprachwissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Semitischen*, pt. i, Lpz. 1907; the important works of C. Brockelmann (for the titles see the heading of § 1; vol. i of the *Grundriss* was finished in 1908); P. Kahle's *Der masoretische Text des A Ts nach der Überlieferung der babylonischen Juden*, Lpz. 1902 (giving on p. 51 ff. an outline of Hebrew accidence from a Babylonian MS. at Berlin); R. Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica*, Lpz. 1905 f., 2 vols. (discriminating between certain, probable, and proposed emendations; see § 3 g, end); Th. Nöldeke's *Beiträge zur semit. Sprachwissenschaft*, Strassburg, 1904; Ed. Sievers' *Metrische Studien* (for the titles of these striking works see § 2 r). The important work of J. W. Rothstein, *Grundzüge des hebr. Rhythmus*, &c. (see also § 2 r), unfortunately appeared too late to be used. The two large commentaries edited by Nowack and Marti have been recently completed; and in P. Haupt's Polychrome Bible (*SBOT.*), part ix (Kings) by Stade and Schwally was published in 1904.

For full reviews of the twenty-seventh edition, which of course have been considered as carefully as possible, I have to thank Max Margolis (in *Hebraica*, 1902, p. 159 ff.), Mayer

¹ The first edition appeared at Halle in 1813 (202 pp. small 8vo); twelve more editions were published by W. Gesenius himself, the fourteenth to the twenty-first (1845-1872) by E. Rödiger, the twenty-second to the twenty-eighth (1878-1910) by E. Kautzsch. The first abridged edition appeared in 1896, the second at the same time as the present (twenty-eighth) large edition. The first edition of the 'Übungsbuch' (Exercises) to Gesenius-Kautzsch's Hebrew Grammar appeared in 1881, the sixth in 1908.

Lambert (*REJ.* 1902, p. 307 ff.), and H. Oort (*Theol. Tijdschrift*, 1902, p. 373 ff.). For particular remarks and corrections I must thank Prof. J. Barth (Berlin), Dr. Gasser, pastor in Buchberg, Schaffhausen, B. Kirschner, of Charlottenburg, (contributions to the index of passages), Pastor Köhler, of Augst, Dr. Liebmann, of Kuczkow, Posen, Prof. Th. Nöldeke, of Strassburg, Pastor S. Preiswerk junior, of Bâle, Dr. Schwarz, of Leipzig, and Prof. B. Stade, of Giessen (died in 1906). Special mention must be made of the abundant help received from three old friends of this book, Prof. P. Haupt, of Baltimore, Prof. Knudtzon, of Kristiania, and Prof. H. Strack, of Berlin, and also, in connexion with the present edition, Prof. H. Hyvernat, of the University of Washington, who has rendered great service especially in the correction and enlargement of the indexes. I take this opportunity of thanking them all again sincerely. And I am no less grateful also to my dear colleague Prof. C. Steuernagel for the unwearying care with which he has helped me from beginning to end in correcting the proof-sheets.

Among material changes introduced into this edition may be mentioned the abolition of the term *šewâ medium* (§ 10 d). In this I have adopted, not without hesitation, the views of Sievers. I find it, however, quite impossible to follow him in rejecting all distinctions of quantity in the vowels. It is no doubt possible that such matters may in the *spoken* language have worn a very different appearance, and especially that in the period of nearly a thousand years, over which the Old Testament writings extend, very great variations may have taken place. Our duty, however, is to represent the language in the form in which it has been handed down to us by the Masoretes; and that this form involves a distinction between unchangeable, tone-long, and short vowels, admits in my opinion of no doubt. The discussion of any earlier stage of development belongs not to Hebrew grammar but to comparative Semitic philology.

The same answer may be made to Beer's desire (*ThLZ.* 1904,

col. 314 f.) for an 'historical Hebrew grammar describing the actual growth of the language on a basis of comparative philology, as it may still be traced within the narrow limits of the Old Testament'. Such material as is available for the purpose ought indeed to be honestly set forth in the new editions of Gesenius; but Beer seems to me to appraise such material much too highly when he refers to it as necessitating an 'historical grammar'. In my opinion these historical differences have for the most part been obliterated by the harmonizing activity of the Masoretes.

.

E. KAUTZSCH.

HALLE,

July, 1909.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

Page 42, line 13 from below, *for* note 1 *read* note 3.

Page 63, § 15 *p.* [See also Wickes, *Prose Accentuation*, 130 f., 87 *n.* (who, however, regards the superlinear, Babylonian system as the earlier); and Ginsburg, *Introduction to the Hebrew Bible*, 76, 78. In Ginsburg's *Hebrew Bible*, ed. 2 (1908), pp. 108 f., 267 f., the two systems of division are printed *in extenso*, in parallel columns—the 10 verses of the superlinear (Babylonian) system consisting (in Exodus) of v. ^{2.3-6.7.8-11.12.13.14.15.16.17} (as numbered in ordinary texts), and the 12 verses of the sublinear (Palestinian) system, consisting of v. ^{2-3.4.5.6.7.8.9.10.11.12.13-16.17}.—S. R. D.]

Page 65, note 1, *for* מִנִּי read מִנִּי (as § 105 *a*).

[Editions often vary in individual passages, as regards the accentuation of the first syllable: but in the 7 occurrences of מִנִּי, and the 6 of מִנִּי, Baer, Ginsburg, and Kittel agree in having an accent on both syllables (as מִנִּי) in Gn 50¹⁷, Ex 32³¹, ψ 116¹⁶, and Metheg on the first syllable and an accent on the second syllable (as מִנִּי) in 2 K 20³=Is 38⁸, Jon 1¹⁴, 4², ψ 116⁴, 118^{25.26}, Dn 9⁴, Ne 1^{5.11}, except that in ψ 116⁴ Ginsburg has מִנִּי.—S. R. D.]

Page 79, § 22 *s.* *before* הִדְרִיָּה insert exceptions to *b* are. *After* Jer 39¹² *add* ψ 52⁵; *and for* Ez 9⁶ *read* Ezr 9⁶.

[So Baer (cf. his note on Jud 20¹²; also on Jer 39¹², and several of the other passages in question): but Ginsburg only in 10 of the exceptions to *b*, and Jacob ben Hayyim and Kittel only in 5, viz. Jer 39¹², Pr 11²¹, 15¹, ψ 52⁵, Ezr 9⁶.—S. R. D.]

Page 111, line 12, *for* הִדְרִיָּה *read* הִדְרִיָּה.

Page 123, § 45 *e.* *add*: cf. also מִנִּי followed by מִנִּי, Is 13¹⁹, Am 4¹¹ (§ 115 *d*).

Page 175, § 67. See B. Halper, 'The Participial formations of the Geminate Verbs' in *ZA W.* 1910, pp. 42 ff., 99 ff., 201 ff. (also dealing with the regular verb).

Page 177, at the end of § 67 *g* the following paragraph has been accidentally omitted:

Rem. According to the prevailing view, this strengthening of the first radical is merely intended to give the bi-literal stem at least

a tri-literal appearance. (Possibly aided by the analogy of verbs פ"ב, as P. Haupt has suggested to me in conversation.) But cf. Kautzsch, 'Die sog. aramaisierenden Formen der Verba ע"ע im Hebr.' in *Oriental. Studien zum 70. Geburtstag Th. Nöldekes*, 1906, p. 771 ff. It is there shown (1) that the sharpening of the 1st radical often serves to emphasize a particular meaning (cf. יָגֵר, but יִגְרֶהוּ, יָחַל and יִחַל, יָסַב and יִסַּב, יָשַׁם and יִשַּׁם), and elsewhere no doubt to dissimilate the vowels (as יָגֵר, יָדַל, never יִגֵּר, יִדַּל, &c.): (2) that the sharpening of the 1st radical often appears to be occasioned by the nature of the first letter of the stem, especially when it is a sibilant. Whether the masoretic pronunciation is based on an early tradition, or the Masora has arbitrarily adopted aramaizing forms to attain the above objects, must be left undecided.

Page 193, the second and third paragraphs should have the marginal letters *d* and *e* respectively.

Page 200, § 72 *z*, line 2, after Est 2¹⁸ add 4¹⁴.

Page 232, § 84^a *s*, add שְׁמִימָה 2 S 13²⁰.

Page 236, § 85 *c*, add הַנִּזְקָה Ezr 4²².

Page 273, § 93 *qq* end, add מוֹסְרוֹת Jer 5⁵, רַבְעִים, שְׁלֹשִׁים Ez 20⁵, שְׁמִמָּה Is 49⁸, שְׁמִימָה La 1¹⁶ (cf. König, ii. 109).

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations have occasionally been used for works and periodicals frequently quoted:—

- AJSL.* = American Journal of Semitic Languages.
CIS. = Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum.
Ed. Mant. = Biblia Hebraica ex recensione Sal. Norzi edidit Raphael Hayyim Basila, Mantuae 1742-4.
Jabl. = Biblia Hebraica ex recensione D. E. Jablonski, Berolini, 1699.
JQR. = Jewish Quarterly Review.
*KAT.*³ = Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament, 3rd ed. by H. Zimmern and H. Winckler, 2 vols., Berlin, 1902 f.
Lexicon = A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament, based on the Thesaurus and Lexicon of Gesenius, by F. Brown, S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs, Oxford, 1906.
NB. = J. Barth, Die Nominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen. Lpz. 1889-94.
NGGW. = Nachrichten der Göttinger Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.
OLZ. = Orientalistische Literaturzeitung. Vienna, 1898 ff.
PRE. = Realencyclopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche, 3rd ed. by A. Hauck. Lpz. 1896 ff.
PSBA = Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology. London, 1879 ff.
REJ. = Revue des Études Juives. Paris, 1880 ff.
Sam. = The (Hebrew) Pentateuch of the Samaritans.
SBOT. = Sacred Books of the Old Testament, ed. by P. Haupt. Lpz. and Baltimore, 1893 ff.
ThLZ. = Theologische Literaturzeitung, ed. by E. Schürer. Lpz. 1876 ff.
VB. = Vorderasiatische Bibliothek, ed. by A. Jeremias and H. Winckler. Lpz. 1907 ff.
ZA. = Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete, ed. by C. Bezold. Lpz. 1886 ff.
ZAW. = Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, ed. by B. Stade, Giessen, 1881 ff., and since 1907 by K. Marti.
ZDMG. = Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Lpz. 1846 ff., since 1903 ed. by A. Fischer.
ZDPV. = Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästinavereins, Lpz. 1878 ff., since 1903 ed. by C. Steuernagel.

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[תם.] הנקבה . וזה היה דבר הנקבה . בעוד . . .
הגרין . אש . אל . רעו . ובעוד . שלש . אמת . לה[נקב] . כל . אש . ק .
רא . אל . רעו . כי . הית . וזה . בצר . מ'מן וביום . ה .
נקבה . הכו . החצבם . אש . לקרת . רעו . גרין . על . גרין . וילכו
המים . מן . תמוצא . אל . הברכה . במאיתם . ואלף . אמה . ומ(א)
ת . אמה . היה . נבה . הצר . על . ראש . התחצבם]

P. Haupt suggests, *נשנ*, the imperf. consec. Qal or Niph'al.

Line 2. The reading לִידְבָּרְכִי is supported by the fact that a trace of the top of the p is visible; cf. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, i. 53. The next word was probably, as

Line 3. רַחַק , not found in the Old Testament, most probably means a *clef*, *crack*, but the etymology and consequently the pronunciation of it $[\text{רַחַק}]$ are still doubtful.



THE SILOAM INSCRIPTION. From Müller-Benzinger, *Landeschaftsbilderbibel* (H. Grund : Berlin).

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HEBREW GRAMMAR

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. *The Semitic Languages in General.*

B. Stade, *Lehrb. der hebr. Gramm.*, Lpz. 1879, § 2 ff.; E. König, *Hist.-krit. Lehrgeb. der hebr. Spr.*, i. Lpz. 1881, § 3; H. Strack, *Einl. in das A. T.*, 6th ed., Munich, 1906, p. 231 ff. (a good bibliography of all the Semitic dialects); Th. Nöldeke, article 'Semitic Languages', in the 9th ed. of the *Encycl. Brit.* (*Die semit. Sprachen*, 2nd ed., Lpz. 1899), and *Beitr. zur sem. Sprachwiss.*, Strassb., 1904; W. Wright, *Lectures on the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages*, Cambr. 1890; H. Reckendorf, 'Zur Charakteristik der sem. Sprachen,' in the *Actes du X^{me} Congrès internat. des Orientalistes* (at Geneva in 1894), iii. 1 ff., Leiden, 1896; O. E. Lindberg, *Vergl. Gramm. der sem. Sprachen*, i A: Konsonantismus, Gothenburg, 1897; H. Zimmern, *Vergl. Gramm. der sem. Sprachen*, Berlin, 1898; E. König, *Hebräisch und Semitisch: Prolegomena und Grundlinien einer Gesch. der sem. Sprachen*, &c., Berlin, 1901; C. Brockelmann, *Semitische Sprachwissenschaft*, Lpz. 1906, *Grundriss der vergl. Gramm. der sem. Sprachen*, vol. i (Laut- und Formenlehre), parts 1-5, Berlin, 1907 f. and his *Kurzgef. vergleichende Gramm.* (Porta Ling. Or.) Berlin, 1908.—The material contained in inscriptions has been in process of collection since 1881 in the Paris *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*. To this the best introductions are M. Lidzbarski's *Handbuch der Nordsem. Epigraphik*, Weimar, 1898, in 2 parts (text and plates), and his *Ephemeris zur sem. Epigraphik* (5 parts published), Giessen, 1900 f. [G. A. Cooke, *Handbook of North-Semitic Inscriptions*, Oxford, 1903].

1. The Hebrew language is one branch of a great family of languages in Western Asia which was indigenous in Palestine, Phoenicia, Syria, Mesopotamia, Babylonia, Assyria, and Arabia, that is to say, in the countries extending from the Mediterranean to the other side of the Euphrates and Tigris, and from the mountains of Armenia to the southern coast of Arabia. In early times, however, it spread from Arabia over Abyssinia, and by means of Phoenician colonies over many islands and sea-boards of the Mediterranean, as for instance to the Carthaginian coast. No comprehensive designation is found in early times for the languages and nations of this family; the name *Semites* or *Semitic*¹ *languages* (based upon the fact that according to Gn 10^{21 ff.} almost all nations speaking these languages are descended from Shem) is, however, now generally accepted, and has accordingly been retained here.²

¹ First used by Schlözer in Eichhorn's *Repertorium für bibl. u. morgenl. Literatur*, 1781, p. 161.

² From Shem are derived (Gn 10^{21 ff.}) the Aramaean and Arab families as well as the Hebrews, but not the Canaanites (Phoenicians), who are traced back to Ham (vv. 6-15 ff.), although their language belongs decidedly to what is now called Semitic. The language of the Babylonians and Assyrians also was long ago shown to be Semitic, just as Aššur (Gn 10²²) is included among the sons of Shem.

b 2. The better known Semitic languages may be subdivided¹ as follows:—

I. The South Semitic or Arabic branch. To this belong, besides the classical literary language of the Arabs and the modern vulgar Arabic, the older southern Arabic preserved in the Sabaeen inscriptions (less correctly called Himyaritic), and its offshoot, the Ge'ez or Ethiopic, in Abyssinia.

II. The Middle Semitic or Canaanitish branch. To this belongs the Hebrew of the Old Testament with its descendants, the New Hebrew, as found especially in the Mishna (see below, § 3 a), and Rabbinic; also Phoenician, with Punic (in Carthage and its colonies), and the various remains of Canaanitish dialects preserved in names of places and persons, and in the inscription of Mēša', king of Moab.

c III. The North Semitic or Aramaic branch. The subdivisions of this are—(1) The Eastern Aramaic or Syriac, the literary language of the Christian Syrians. The religious books of the Mandaeans (Naṣoraeans, Sabians, also called the disciples of St. John) represent a very debased offshoot of this. A Jewish modification of Syriac is to be seen in the language of the Pabylonian Talmud. (2) The Western or Palestinian Aramaic, incorrectly called also 'Chaldee'.² This latter dialect is represented in the Old Testament by two words in Gn 31⁴⁷, by the verse Jer 10¹¹, and the sections Dn 2⁴ to 7²⁸; Ezr 4⁸ to 6¹⁸, and 7¹²⁻²⁶, as well as by a number of non-Jewish inscriptions and Jewish papyri (see below, under *m*), but especially by a considerable section of Jewish literature (Targums, Palestinian Gemara, &c.). To the same branch belongs also the Samaritan, with its admixture of Hebrew forms, and, except for the rather Arabic colouring of the proper names, the idiom of the Nabataean inscriptions in the Sinaitic peninsula, in the East of Palestine, &c.

For further particulars about the remains of Western Aramaic (including those in the New Test., in the Palmyrene and Egyptian Aramaic inscriptions) see Kautzsch, *Gramm. des Biblisch-Aramäischen*, Lpz. 1884, p. 6 ff.

d IV. The East Semitic branch, the language of the Assyrio-Babylonian cuneiform inscriptions, the third line of the Achaemenian inscriptions.

On the importance of Assyrian for Hebrew philology especially from a lexicographical point of view cf. Friedr. Delitzsch, *Prolegomena eines neuen*

¹ For conjectures as to the gradual divergence of the dialects (first the Babylonian, then Canaanite, including Hebrew, lastly Aramaic and Arabic) from primitive Semitic, see Zimmermann, *KAT.*², ii. p. 644 ff.

² In a wider sense all Jewish Aramaic is sometimes called 'Chaldee'.

hebr.-aram. *Wörterbuchs zum A. T.*, Lpz. 1886; P. Haupt, 'Assyrian Phonology, &c.', in *Hebraica*, Chicago, Jan. 1885, vol. i. 3; Delitzsch, *Assyrische Grammatik*, 2nd ed., Berlin, 1906.

If the above division into four branches be reduced to two principal groups, No. I, as South Semitic, will be contrasted with the three North Semitic branches.¹

All these languages stand to one another in much the same relation as those of the Germanic family (Gothic, Old Norse, Danish, Swedish; High and Low German in their earlier and later dialects), or as the Slavonic languages (Lithuanian, Lettish; Old Slavonic, Serbian, Russian; Polish, Bohemian). They are now either wholly extinct, as the Phœnician and Assyrian, or preserved only in a debased form, as Neo-Syriac among Syrian Christians and Jews in Mesopotamia and Kurdistan, Ethiopic (Ge'ez) in the later Abyssinian dialects (Tigré, Tigriña, Amharic), and Hebrew among some modern Jews, except in so far as they attempt a purely literary reproduction of the language of the Old Testament. Arabic alone has not only occupied to this day its original abode in Arabia proper, but has also forced its way in all directions into the domain of other languages.

The Semitic family of languages is bounded on the East and North by another of still wider extent, which reaches from India to the western limits of Europe, and is called Indo-Germanic² since it comprises, in the most varied ramifications, the Indian (Sanskrit), Old and New Persian, Greek, Latin, Slavonic, as well as Gothic and the other Germanic languages. With the Old Egyptian language, of which Coptic is a descendant, as well as with the languages of north-western Africa, the Semitic had from the earliest times much in common, especially in grammatical structure; but on the other hand there are fundamental differences between them, especially from a lexicographical point of view; see Erman, 'Das Verhältniss des Aegyptischen zu den semitischen Sprachen,' in the *ZDMG.* xlv, 1892, p. 93 ff., and Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, i. 3.

3. The *grammatical structure* of the Semitic family of languages, as compared with that of other languages, especially the Indo-Germanic, exhibits numerous peculiarities which collectively constitute its distinctive character, although many of them are found singly in other languages. These are—(a) among the consonants, which in fact form the substance of these languages, occur peculiar gutturals of different grades; the vowels are subject, within the same consonantal framework, to great changes in order to express various modifications of the same stem-meaning; (b) the word-stems are almost invariably trilateral, i.e. composed of three consonants; (c) the verb is restricted to two tense-forms, with a peculiarly regulated use; (d) the noun has only two genders (masc. and fem.); and peculiar expedients are adopted for the purpose of indicating the case-relations; (e) the

¹ Hommel, *Grundriss der Geogr. und Gesch. des alten Orients*, Munich, 1904, p. 75 ff., prefers to distinguish them as Eastern and Western Semitic branches. Their geographical position, however, is of less importance than the genealogical relation of the various groups of dialects, as rightly pointed out by A. Jeremias in *Th.LZ.* 1906, col. 291.

² First by Klaproth in *Asia Polyglotta*, Paris, 1823; cf. Leo Meyer in *Nachrichten d. Gött. Gesellschaft*, 1901, p. 454.

oblique cases of the personal pronoun, as well as all the possessive pronouns and the pronominal object of the verb, are denoted by forms appended directly to the governing word (suffixes); (f) the almost complete absence of compounds both in the noun (with the exception of many proper names) and in the verb; (g) great simplicity in the expression of syntactical relations, e. g. the small number of particles, and the prevalence of simple co-ordination of clauses without periodic structure. Classical Arabic and Syriac, however, form a not unimportant exception as regards the last-mentioned point.

- g 4. From a lexicographical point of view also the vocabulary of the Semites differs essentially from that of the Indo-Germanic languages, although there is apparently more agreement here than in the grammar. A considerable number of Semitic roots and stems agree in sound with synonyms in the Indo-Germanic family. But apart from expressions actually borrowed (see below, under i), the real similarity may be reduced to imitative words (onomatopoeica), and to these in which one and the same idea is represented by similar sounds in consequence of a formative instinct common to the most varied families of language. Neither of these proves any *historic* or *generic* relation, for which an agreement in grammatical structure would also be necessary.

Comp. Friedr. Delitzsch, *Studien über indogermanisch-semitische Wurzelverwandschaft*, Lpz. 1873; Nöldechen, *Semit. Glossen zu Fick und Curtius*, Magdeb. 1876 f.; McCurdy, *Aryo Semitic Speech*, Andover, U. S. A., 1881. The phonetic relations have been thoroughly investigated by H. Möller in *Semitisch und Indogermanisch*, Teil i, *Konsonanten*, Copenhagen and Lpz. 1907, a work which has evoked considerable criticism.

- h As onomatopoeic words, or as stem-sounds of a similar character, we may compare, e. g. לָקַח, לָחַץ, λεῖχω, *lingo*, Skt. *lih*, Eng. *to lick*, Fr. *lécher*, Germ. *lecken*; גָּלַל (cf. אָגַל, אָגַל) κυλλω, *volvo*, Germ. *quellen*, *wallen*, Eng. *to well*; גָּרַד, הָרַט, הָרַת, χαράττω, Pers. *khārādan*, Ital. *grattare*, Fr. *gratter*, Eng. *to grate*, *to scratch*, Germ. *kratzen*; פָּרַק, *frango*, Germ. *brechen*, &c.; Reuss, *Gesch. der il. Schriften A. T.'s*, Braunschv. 1881, p. 38, draws attention moreover to the Semitic equivalents for *earth*, *six*, *seven*, *horn*, *to sound*, *to measure*, *to mix*, *to smell*, *to place*, *clear*, *to kneel*, *raven*, *goat*, &c. An example of a somewhat different kind is *am*, *ham* (*sam*), *gam*, *ham*, in the sense of the German *samt*, *zusammen*, *together*; in Hebrew אִסְמָם (whence אִסְמָה *people*, properly *assembly*), יָם (*with*) *samt*, יָם also, moreover, Arab. جَمَعَ *to collect*; Pers. *ham*, *hamah* (*at the same time*); Skt. *samā* (*with*), Gk. ἅμα (*ἄμφω*), ὁμός, ὁμοῖ (*ἕμιλος*, *ἑμαδος*), and harder κοινός, Lat. *cum*, *cumulus*, *cunctus*; with the corresponding sibilant Skt. *sam*, Gk. σύν, ξύν, ξυνός = κοινός, Goth. *sama*, Germ. *samt*, *sammeln*; but many of these instances are doubtful.

- i Essentially different from this internal connexion is the occurrence of the same words in different languages, where one language has borrowed directly from the other. Such *loan-words* are—

(a) In Hebrew: some names of objects which were originally indigenous in Babylonia and Assyria (see a comprehensive list of Assyrio-Babylonian loan-words in the Hebrew and Aramaic of the Old Testament in Zimmern and Winckler, *KAT.*³, ii. p. 648 ff.), in Egypt, Persia, or India, e.g. נָהַר (also in the plural) *river*, from Egyptian *yoor*, generally as the name of the Nile (late Egypt. *yaro*, Assy. *yar'u*), although it is possible that a pure Semitic נָהַר has been confounded with the Egyptian name of the Nile (so Zimmern); אֶרֶב (Egyptian) Nile-reed (see Lieblein, 'Mots égyptiens dans la Bible,' in *PSBA.* 1898, p. 202 f.); פָּרֶדֶס (in Zend *pairidaēza*, circumvallation = παρδείσος) *pleasure-garden, park*; אֶרֶבֶן *daric*, Persian gold coin; תְּפִיץ *peacocks*, perhaps from the Malabar *tōgai* or *tōghai*. Some of these words are also found in Greek, as כֶּרֶס (Pers. *karbās*, Skt. *karpāsa*) *cotton*, κάππασος, *carbasus*. On the other hand it is doubtful if קָה corresponds to the Greek κῆπος, κῆβος, Skt. *kapi*, *ape*.

(b) In Greek, &c.: some originally Semitic names of Asiatic products and articles of commerce, e.g. בִּיץ *býssos*, *byssus*; לְבָנָה λίβανος, *libanotós*, *incense*; קָנָה *kánē*, *kánna*, *canna*, *cane*; כֶּמֶן κύμινον, *cuminum*, *cumin*; קַצִּיעָה κασσία, *cassia*; כֶּמֶל κάμηλος, *camelus*; עֶרְבֹן ἄρραβών, *arrhabo*, *arraha*, *pledge*. Such transitions have perhaps been brought about chiefly by Phoenician trade. Cf. A. Müller, 'Semitische Lehnworte im älteren Griechisch,' in Bezzenberger's *Beiträge zur Kunde der Indo-germ. Sprachen*, Göttingen, 1877, vol. i. p. 273 ff.; E. Ries, *Quæ res et vocabula a gentibus semiticis in Græciam pervenerint*, Breslau, 1890; Muss-Arnolt, 'Semitic words in Greek and Latin,' in the *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, xxiii. p. 35 ff.; H. Lewy, *Die semitischen Fremdwörter im Griech.*, Berlin, 1895; J. H. Bondi, *Dem hebr.-phöniz. Sprachstamme angehör. Lehnwörter in hieroglyph. u. hieratischen Texten*, Lpz. 1886.

5. No system of writing is ever so perfect as to be able to reproduce *k* the sounds of a language in all their various shades, and the *writing of the Semites* has one striking fundamental defect, viz. that only the consonants (which indeed form the substance of the language) are written as real letters,¹ whilst of the vowels only the longer are indicated by certain representative consonants (see below, § 7). It was only later that special small marks (points or strokes below or above the consonants) were invented to represent to the eye all the vowel-sounds (see § 8). These are, however, superfluous for the practised reader, and are therefore often wholly omitted in Semitic manuscripts and printed texts. Semitic writing, moreover, almost invariably proceeds from right to left.²

¹ So also originally the Ethiopic writing, which afterwards represented the vowels by small appendages to the consonants, or by some other change in their form. On the Assyrio-Babylonian cuneiform writing, which likewise indicates the vowels, see the next note, ad fin.

² The Sabæan (Himyaritic) writing runs occasionally from left to right, and even alternately in both directions (*boustrophedon*), but as a rule from right to left. In Ethiopic writing the direction from left to right has become the rule; some few old inscriptions exhibit, however, the opposite direction. The cuneiform writing also runs from left to right, but this is undoubtedly borrowed from a non-Semitic people. Cf. § 5 d, note 3.

With the exception of the Assyrio-Babylonian (cuneiform), all varieties of Semitic writing, although differing widely in some respects, are derived from one and the same original alphabet, represented on extant monuments most faithfully by the characters used on the stele of Mēša', king of Moab (see below, § 2 d), and in the old Phoenician inscriptions, of which the bronze bowls from a temple of Baal (CIS. i. 22 ff. and Plate IV) are somewhat earlier than Mēša'. The old Hebrew writing, as it appears on the oldest monument, the Siloam inscription (see below, § 2 d), exhibits essentially the same character. The old Greek, and indirectly all European alphabets, are descended from the old Phoenician writing (see § 5 i).

See the Table of Alphabets at the beginning of the Grammar, which shows the relations of the older varieties of Semitic writing to one another and especially the origin of the present Hebrew characters from their primitive forms. For a more complete view, see Gesenius' *Scripturae linguaeque Phoeniciae monumenta*, Lips. 1837, 4to, pt. i. p. 15 ff., and pt. iii. tab. 1-5. From numerous monuments since discovered, our knowledge of the Semitic characters, especially the Phoenician, has become considerably enlarged and more accurate. Cf. the all but exhaustive bibliography (from 1616 to 1896) in Lidzbarski's *Handbuch der Nordsemitischen Epigraphik*, i. p. 4 ff., and on the origin of the Semitic alphabet, *ibid.*, p. 173 ff., and *Ephemeris* (see the heading of § 1 a above), i. pp. 109 ff., 142, 261 ff., and his 'Altsemitische Texte', pt. i, *Kanaanäische Inschriften* (Moabite, Old-Hebrew, Phoenician, Punic), Giessen, 1907.—On the origin and development of the Hebrew characters and the best tables of alphabets, see § 5 a, last note, and especially § 5 e.

6. As regards the relative age of the Semitic languages, the oldest literary remains of them are to be found in the Assyrio-Babylonian (cuneiform) inscriptions,¹ with which are to be classed the earliest Hebrew fragments occurring in the old Testament (see § 2).

The earliest non-Jewish Aramaic inscriptions known to us are that of 𐤀𐤁𐤏 king of Hamath (early eighth cent. B.C.), on which see Nöldeke, *ZA.* 1908, p. 376, and that found at Teima, in N. Arabia, in 1880, probably of the fifth cent. B.C., cf. E. Littmann in the *Monist*, xiv. 4 [and Cooke, *op. cit.*, p. 195]. The monuments of Kalammus of Sam'al, in the reign of Shalmanezar II, 859-829 B.C. (cf. A. Šanda, *Die Aramäer*, Lpz. 1902, p. 26), and those found in 1888-1891 at Zenjirli in N. Syria, including the Hadad inscription of thirty-four lines (early eighth cent. B.C.) and the Panammu inscription (740 B.C.), are not in pure Aramaic. The Jewish-Aramaic writings begin about the time of Cyrus (cf. *Ezr* 6³ ff.), specially important being the papyri from Assuan ed. by Sayce and Cowley, London, 1906 (and in a cheaper form by Staerk, Bonn, 1907), which are precisely dated from 471 to 411 B.C., and three others of 407 B.C. ed. by Sachau, Berlin, 1907.

¹ According to Hilprecht, *The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*, i. p. 11 ff., the inscriptions found at Nippur embrace the period from about 4000 to 450 B.C.

Monuments of the *Arabic* branch first appear in the earliest centuries A. D. (Sabæan inscriptions, Ethiopic translation of the Bible in the fourth or fifth century, North-Arabic literature from the sixth century A. D.).

It is, however, another question which of these languages has adhered longest and most faithfully to the original character of the Semitic, and which consequently represents to us the earliest phase of its development. For the more or less rapid transformation of the sounds and forms of a language, as spoken by nations and races, is dependent on causes quite distinct from the growth of a literature, and the organic structure of a language is often considerably impaired even before it has developed a literature, especially by early contact with people of a different language. Thus in the Semitic group, the Aramaic dialects exhibit the earliest and greatest decay, next to them the Hebrew-Canaanitish, and in its own way the Assyrian. Arabic, owing to the seclusion of the desert tribes, was the longest to retain the original fullness and purity of the sounds and forms of words.¹ Even here, however, there appeared, through the revolutionary influence of Islam, an ever-increasing decay, until Arabic at length reached the stage at which we find Hebrew in the Old Testament.

Hence the phenomenon, that in its grammatical structure the ancient Hebrew agrees more with the modern than with the ancient Arabic, and that the latter, although it only appears as a written language at a later period, has yet in many respects preserved a more complete structure and a more original vowel system than the other Semitic languages, cf. Nöldeke, 'Das klassische Arabisch und die arabischen Dialekte,' in *Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, p. 1 ff. It thus occupies amongst them a position similar to that which Sanskrit holds among the Indo-Germanic languages, or Gothic in the narrower circle of the Germanic. But even the toughest organism of a language often deteriorates, at least in single forms and derivatives, while on the contrary, in the midst of what is otherwise universal decay, there still remains here and there something original and archaic; and this is the case with the Semitic languages.

Fuller proof of the above statements belongs to the comparative Grammar of the Semitic languages. It follows, however, from what has been said: (1) that the Hebrew language, as found in the sacred literature of the Jews, has, in respect

¹ Even now the language of some of the Bédawi is much purer and more archaic than that of the town-Arabs. It must, however, be admitted that the former exalted estimate of the primitiveness of Arabic has been moderated in many respects by the most recent school of Semitic philology. Much apparently original is to be regarded with Nöldeke (*Die semit. Spr.*, p. 5 [= *Encycl. Brit.*, ed. 9, art. SEMITIC LANGUAGES, p. 642]) only as a modification of the original. The assertion that the Arabs exhibit Semitic characteristics in their purest form, should, according to Nöldeke, be rather that 'the inhabitants of the desert lands of Arabia, under the influence of the extraordinarily monotonous scenery and of a life continually the same amid continual change, have developed most exclusively some of the principal traits of the Semitic race'.

to its organic structure, already suffered more considerable losses than the Arabic, which appears much later on the historical horizon; (2) that, notwithstanding this fact, we cannot at once and in all points concede priority to the latter; (3) that it is a mistake to consider with some that the Aramaic, on account of its simplicity (which is only due to the decay of its organic structure), is the oldest form of Semitic speech.

§ 2. *Sketch of the History of the Hebrew Language.*

See Gesenius, *Gesch. der hebr. Sprache u. Schrift*, Lpz. 1815, §§ 5-18; Th. Nöldeke's art., 'Sprache, hebräische,' in Schenkel's *Bibel-Lexikon*, Bd. v, Lpz. 1875; F. Buhl, 'Hebräische Sprache,' in Hauck's *Realencycl. für prot. Theol. und Kirche*, vii (1899), p. 506 ff.; A. Cowley, 'Hebrew Language and Literature,' in the forthcoming ed. of the *Encycl. Brit.*; W. R. Smith in the *Encycl. Bibl.*, ii. London, 1901, p. 1984 ff.; A. Lukyn Williams, 'Hebrew,' in *Hastings' Dict. of the Bible*, ii. p. 325 ff., Edinb. 1899.

a 1. The name *Hebrew Language* usually denotes the language of the sacred writings of the Israelites which form the canon of the *Old Testament*. It is also called *Ancient Hebrew* in contradistinction to the New Hebrew of Jewish writings of the post-biblical period (§ 3 a). The name Hebrew language (לְשׁוֹן עִבְרִית γλῶσσα τῶν Ἑβραίων, ἑβραϊστί) does not occur in the Old Testament itself. Instead of it we find in Is 19¹⁸ the term *language of Canaan*,¹ and יְהוּדִית in the *Jews' language* 2 K 18^{26,28} (cf. Is 36^{11,13}) Neh 13²¹. In the last-cited passage it already agrees with the later (post-exilic) usage, which gradually extended the name *Jews, Jewish* to the whole nation, as in Haggai, Nehemiah, and the book of Esther.

b The distinction between the names Hebrew (עִבְרִית Ἑβραϊστί) and *Israelites* (בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל) is that the latter was rather a national name of honour, with also a religious significance, employed by the people themselves, while the former appears as the less significant name by which the nation was known amongst foreigners. Hence in the Old Testament *Hebrews* are only spoken of either when the name is employed by themselves as contrasted with foreigners (Gn 40¹⁵, Ex 2^{6 f.} 3¹⁸ &c., Jon 1⁹) or when it is put in the mouth of those who are not Israelites (Gn 39^{14,17} 41¹² &c.) or, finally, when it is used in opposition to other nations (Gn 14¹³ 43³², Ex 21^{1,13} 21²). In 1 S 13^{3,7} and 14²¹ the text is clearly corrupt. In the Greek and Latin authors, as well as in Josephus, the name Ἑβραῖοι, Hebraei,² &c., alone occurs. Of the many explanations of the gentile עִבְרִי, the derivation from עֵבֶר a country on the other side with the derivative suffix י- (§ 86 h) appears to be the only one philologically possible. The name accordingly denoted the Israelites as being those who inhabited the 'eber, i. e. the district on the other side of the Jordan (or according to others the Euphrates), and would therefore originally be only appropriate when used by the nations on this side of the Jordan or Euphrates. We must, then, suppose that after the crossing of the river in question it had been retained by the Abrahamidae as an old-established name, and within certain limits

¹ That Hebrew in its present form was actually developed in Canaan appears from such facts as the use of *yām* (sea) for the west, *nēgeb* (properly *dryness*, afterwards as a proper name for the south of Palestine) for the south.

² The Graeco-Roman form of the name is not directly derived from the Hebrew עִבְרִי, but from the Palestinian Aramaic 'ebryā, 'the Hebrew.'

(see above) had become naturalized among them. In referring this name to the patronymic Eber, the Hebrew genealogists have assigned to it a much more comprehensive signification. For since in Gn 10²¹ (Nu 24²⁴ does not apply) Shem is called the *father of all the children of Eber*, and to the latter there also belonged according to Gn 11¹⁴ ff. and 10²⁵ ff. Aramean and Arab races, the name, afterwards restricted in the form of the gentilic 'ibri exclusively to the Israelites, must have originally included a considerably larger group of countries and nations. The etymological significance of the name must in that case not be insisted upon.¹

The term *ἑβραϊστί* is first used, to denote the old Hebrew, in the prologue C to Jesus the son of Sirach (about 130 B.C.), and in the New Testament, Rv 9¹¹. On the other hand it serves in Jn 5², 19¹³⁻¹⁷ perhaps also in 19²⁰ and Rv 16¹⁶ to denote what was then the (Aramaic) vernacular of Palestine as opposed to the Greek. The meaning of the expression *ἑβραῖς διάλεκτος* in Acts 21¹⁰, 22², and 26¹⁴ is doubtful (cf. Kautzsch, *Gramm. des Bibl.-Aram.*, p. 19 f.). Josephus also uses the term *Hebrew* both of the old Hebrew and of the Aramaic vernacular of his time.

The Hebrew language is first called the *sacred language* in the Jewish-Aramaic versions of the Old Testament, as being the language of the sacred books in opposition to the *lingua profana*, i. e. the Aramaic vulgar tongue.

2. With the exception of the Old Testament (and apart from the *d* Phoenician inscriptions; see below, *f-h*), only very few remains of old Hebrew or old Canaanitish literature have been preserved. Of the latter—(1) an inscription, unfortunately much injured, of thirty-four lines, which was found in the ancient territory of the tribe of Reuben, about twelve miles to the east of the Dead Sea, among the ruins of the city of Dibón (now Dibān), inhabited in earlier times by the Gadites, afterwards by the Moabites. In it the Moabite king Mēša' (about 850 B.C.) recounts his battles with Israel (cf. 2 K 3⁴ ff.), his buildings, and other matters.² Of old Hebrew: (2) an inscription

¹ We may also leave out of account the linguistically possible identification of the 'Ibriyyim with the Ḥabiri who appear in the Tell-el-Amarna letters (about 1400 B.C.) as freebooters and mercenaries in Palestine and its neighbourhood.

² This monument, unique of its kind, was first seen in August, 1868, on the spot, by the German missionary F. A. Klein. It was afterwards broken into pieces by the Arabs, so that only an incomplete copy of the inscription could be made. Most of the fragments are now in the Louvre in Paris. For the history of the discovery and for the earlier literature relating to the stone, see Lidzbarski, *Nordsemitische Epigraphik*, i. pp. 103 f., 415 f., and in the bibliography (under Me), p. 39 ff. The useful reproduction and translation of the inscription by Smend and Socin (Freiburg in Baden, 1886) was afterwards revised and improved by Nordlander, *Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa von Moab*, Lpz. 1896; by Socin and Holzinger, 'Zur Mesainschrift' (*Berichte der K. Sächsischen Gesell. d. Wiss.*, Dec. 1897); and by Lidzbarski, 'Eine Nachprüfung der Mesainschrift' (*Ephemeris*, i. 1, p. 1 ff.; text in his *Altsemitische Texte*, pt. 1, Giessen, 1907); J. Halévy, *Revue Sémitique*, 1900, pp. 236 ff., 289 ff., 1901, p. 297 ff.; M. J. Lagrange, *Revue biblique internationale*, 1901, p. 522 ff.; F. Prätorius in *ZDMG*, 1905, p. 33 ff., 1906, p. 402. Its genuineness was attacked by A. Löwy, *Die Echtheit der Moabit. Inschr. im Louvre* (Wien, 1903), and G. Jahn in *Das Buch Daniel*, Lpz. 1904, p. 122 ff. (also in *ZDMG*, 1905, p. 723 ff.), but without justification, as shown by E. König in *ZDMG*, 1905, pp. 233 ff. and 743 ff. [Cf. also Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel*, Oxford, 1890, p. lxxxv ff.; Cooke, *op. cit.*, p. 1 ff.]

of six lines (probably of the eighth century B.C.¹) discovered in June, 1880, in the tunnel between the Virgin's Spring and the Pool of Siloam at Jerusalem; (3) about forty engraved seal-stones, some of them pre-exilic but bearing little except proper names²; (4) coins of the Maccabæan prince Simon (from 'the 2nd year of deliverance', 140 and 139 B.C.) and his successors,³ and the coinage of the revolts in the times of Vespasian and Hadrian.

e 3. In the whole series of the ancient Hebrew writings, as found in the Old Testament and also in non-biblical monuments (see above, d), the language (to judge from its consonantal formation) remains, as regards its general character, and apart from slight changes in form and differences of style (see *k* to *w*), at about the same stage of development. In this form, it may at an early time have been fixed as a literary language, and the fact that the books contained in the Old Testament were handed down as *sacred* writings, must have contributed to this constant uniformity.

f To this old Hebrew, the language of the Canaanitish or Phœnician⁴ stocks came the nearest of all the Semitic languages, as is evident partly from the many Canaanitish names of persons and places with a Hebrew form and meaning which occur in the Old Testament (e.g. מְלִיכִי-צֶדֶק, &c. ;

¹ Of this inscription—unfortunately not dated, but linguistically and palaeographically very important—referring to the boring of the tunnel, a facsimile is given at the beginning of this grammar. See also Lidzbarski, *Nordsemitische Epigraphik*, i. 105, 163, 439 (bibliography, p. 56 ff.; facsimile, vol. ii, plate xxi, 1); on the new drawing of it by Socin (*ZDPV*. xxii. p. 61 ff. and separately published at Freiburg i. B. 1899), see Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, i. 53 ff. and 310 f. (text in *Altsemit. Texte*, p. 9 f.). Against the view of A. Fischer (*ZDMG*. 1902, p. 800 f.) that the six lines are the continuation of an inscription which was never executed, see Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, ii. 71. The inscription was removed in 1890, and broken into six or seven pieces in the process. It has since been well restored, and is now in the Imperial Museum at Constantinople. If, as can hardly be doubted, the name שְׁלֵמֶה (i. e. *emissio*) Is⁶ refers to the discharge of water from the Virgin's Spring, through the tunnel (so Stade, *Gesch. Isr.* i. 594), then the latter, and consequently the inscription, was already in existence about 736 B. C. [Cf. Cooke, *op. cit.*, p. 15 ff.]

² M. A. Levy, *Stiegel u. Gemmen*, &c., Bresl. 1869, p. 33 ff.; Stade, *ZAW*. 1897, p. 501 ff. (four old-Semitic seals published in 1896); Lidzbarski, *Handbuch*, i. 169 f.; *Ephemeris*, i. 10 ff.; W. Nowack, *Lehrb. d. hebr. Archäol.* (Freib. 1894), i. 262 f.; I. Benzinger, *Hebr. Archäol.*² (Tübingen, 1907), pp. 80, 225 ff., which includes the beautiful seal inscribed עֶבֶר יִרְבֶּעַן לִשְׁמֹעַ from the castle-hill of Megiddo, found in 1904; [Cooke, p. 362].

³ De Saulley, *Numismatique de la Terre Sainte*, Par. 1874; M. A. Levy, *Gesch. der jüd. Münzen*, Breslau, 1862; Madden, *The Coins of the Jews*, Lond. 1881; Reinach, *Les monnaies juives*, Paris, 1888.—Cf. the literature in Schürer's *Gesch. des jüd. Volkes im Zeitalter J. C.*³, Lpz. 1901, i. p. 20 ff.; [Cooke, p. 352 ff.].

⁴ כְּנַעֲנִי, כְּנָעַן is the native name, common both to the Canaanitish tribes in Palestine and to those which dwelt at the foot of the Lebanon and on the Syrian coast, whom we call Phœnicians, while they called themselves כְּנַעֲנִי on their coins. The people of Carthage also called themselves so.

on 'Canaanite glosses'¹ to Assyrian words in the cuneiform tablets of Tell-el-Amarna [about 1400 B.C.] cf. H. Winckler, 'Die Thontafeln von Tell-el-Amarna,' in *Keilinschr. Bibliothek*, vol. v, Berlin, 1896 f. [transcription and translation]; J. A. Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln*, Lpz. 1907 f.; H. Zimmern, *Z.A.* 1891, p. 154 ff. and *KAT.*³, p. 651 ff.), and partly from the numerous remains of the Phœnician and Punic languages.

The latter we find in their peculiar writing (§ 1 k, l) in a great number of inscriptions and on coins, copies of which have been collected by Gesenius, Judas, Bourgade, Davis, de Vogüé, Levy, P. Schröder, v. Maltzan, Euting, but especially in Part I of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, Paris, 1881 ff. Among the inscriptions but few public documents are found, e.g. two lists of fees for sacrifices; by far the most are epitaphs or votive tablets. Of special importance is the inscription on the sarcophagus of King Esmūnazar of Sidon, found in 1855, now in the Louvre; see the bibliography in Lidzbarski, *Nordsem. Epigr.*, i. 23 ff.; on the inscription, i. 97 ff., 141 f., 417, ii. plate iv, 2; [Cooke, p. 30 ff.]. To these may be added isolated words in Greek and Latin authors, and the Punic texts in Plautus, *Poenulus* 5, 1-3 (best treated by Gildemeister in Ritschl's edition of Plautus, Lips. 1884, tom. ii, fasc. 5). From the monuments we learn the native orthography, from the Greek and Latin transcriptions the pronunciation and vocalization; the two together give a tolerably distinct idea of the language and its relation to Hebrew.

Phœnician (Punic) words occurring in inscriptions are, e.g. אל *God*, ג *man*, אדם *man*, בן *son*, בת *daughter*, מלך *king*, עבד *servant*, כהן *priest*, זבח *sacrifice*, בעל *lord*, שמש *sun*, ארץ *land*, ים *sea*, אבן *stone*, כסף *silver*, ברזל *iron*, שן *oil*, עת *time*, קבר *grave*, מצבת *monument*, מקם *place*, משכב *bed*, כל *all*, אחד *one*, שנים *two*, שלש *three*, ארבע *four*, חמש *five*, שש *six*, שבע *seven*, עשר *ten*, כן (= Hebr. היה) *to be*, שמע *to hear*, פתח *to open*, נדר *to vow*, ברכ *to bless*, בקש *to seek*, &c. Proper names: צדן *Sidon*, צר *Tyre*, חנא *Hanno*, חנבעל *Hannibal*, &c. See the complete vocabulary in Lidzbarski, *Nordsem. Epigr.*, i. 204 ff.

Variations from Hebrew in Phœnician orthography and inflection are, *h* e.g. the almost invariable omission of the vowel letters (§ 7 v), as בת for בית *house*, קל for קול *voice*, צדן for צידון *city*, כהנם for כהנים *priests*, אלנם (in Plaut. *alonim*) *gods*; the fem., even in the absolute state, ending in ת (*ath*) (§ 8o v) as well as נ (*ē*), the relative אש (Hebr. אשר), &c. The differences in pronunciation are more remarkable, especially in Punic, where the *i* was regularly pronounced as *ū*, e.g. שפט *sūfet* (judge), שלש *sālūs* (three), רש *rūs* = ראש *head*; *i* and *e* often as the obscure dull sound of *y*, e.g. חנני *hynnynu* (ecce eum), את (אית) *yth*; the *u* as *o*, e.g. מעקר *Mocar* (cf. מועצה LXX, Gn 22²⁴ Μωχά). See the collection of the grammatical peculiarities in Gesenius, *Monumenta Phœnicia*, p. 430 ff.; Paul Schröder, *Die phœniz. Sprache*, Halle, 1869; B. Stade, 'Erneute Prüfung des zwischen dem Phœnic. und Hebr. bestehenden Verwandtschaftsgrades,' in the *Morgenländ. Forschungen*, Lpz. 1875, p. 169 ff.

4. As the Hebrew writing on monuments and coins mentioned *i* in *d* consists only of consonants, so also the writers of the Old

¹ Cf. inter alia: *aparu*, also *hāparu* (Assyr. *epru*, *ipru*) = עפר = *hullu* = *el* (with hard *u*; cf. § 6 c, and Assyr. *hūmri* = עמרי, *hazzatu* = עזה); *zakur* = זכר, *zurūhu* = זרוע, *abadat* = אברה, *šahri* = שער, gate; *batnu* = בטן, belly; *kilūbi* = כלוב, net; *šaduk* = צדק (צדיק), &c. [Cf. Böhl, *Die Sprache d. Amarnabriefe*, Lpz. 1909.]

Testament books used merely the consonant-signs (§ 1 *k*), and even now the written scrolls of the Law used in the synagogues must not, according to ancient custom, contain anything more. The present pronunciation of this consonantal text, its vocalization and accentuation, rest on the tradition of the Jewish schools, as it was finally fixed by the system of punctuation (§ 7 *h*) introduced by Jewish scholars about the seventh century A.D.; cf. § 3 *b*.

- k* An earlier stage in the development of the Canaanitish-Hebrew language, i.e. a form of it anterior to the written documents now extant, when it must have stood nearer to the common language of the united Semitic family, can still be discerned in its principal features:—(1) from many archaisms preserved in the traditional texts, especially in the names of persons and places dating from earlier times, as well as in isolated forms chiefly occurring in poetic style; (2) in general by an *a posteriori* conclusion from traditional forms, so far as according to the laws and analogies of phonetic change they clearly point to an older phase of the language; and (3) by comparison with the kindred languages, especially Arabic, in which this earlier stage of the language has been frequently preserved even down to later times (§ 1 *m, n*). In numerous instances in examining linguistic phenomena, the same—and consequently so much the more certain—result is attained by each of these three methods.

Although the systematic investigation of the linguistic development indicated above belongs to comparative Semitic philology, it is nevertheless indispensable for the scientific treatment of Hebrew to refer to the ground-forms¹ so far as they can be ascertained and to compare the corresponding forms in Arabic. Even elementary grammar which treats of the forms of the language occurring in the Old Testament frequently requires, for their explanation, a reference to these ground-forms.

- l* 5. Even in the language of the Old Testament, notwithstanding its general uniformity, there is noticeable a certain progress from an earlier to a later stage. Two periods, though with some reservations, may be distinguished: the *first*, down to the end of the Babylonian exile; and the *second*, after the exile.
- m* To the former belongs, apart from isolated traces of a later revision, the larger half of the Old Testament books, viz. (*a*) of the prose and historical writings, a large part of the Pentateuch and of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings; (*b*) of the poetical, perhaps

¹ Whether these can be described simply as 'primitive Semitic' is a question which may be left undecided here.

a part of the Psalms and Proverbs; (c) the writings of the earlier prophets (apart from various later additions) in the following chronological order: Amos, Hosea, Isaiah I, Micah, Nahum, Zephaniah, Habakkuk, Obadiah (?), Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Isaiah II (ch. 40-55).

The beginning of this period, and consequently of Hebrew literature ⁷² generally, is undoubtedly to be placed as early as the time of Moses, although the Pentateuch in its present form, in which very different strata may be still clearly recognized, is to be regarded as a gradual production of the centuries after Moses. Certain linguistic peculiarities of the Pentateuch, which it was once customary to regard as archaisms, such as the epicene use of נַעַר *boy, youth*, for נַעֲרָה *girl*, and אָמָּה for אִמָּה, are merely to be attributed to a later redactor; cf. § 17 c.

The linguistic character of the various strata of the Pentateuch has been ⁰ examined by Ryssel, *De Elohistae Pentateuchici sermone*, Lpz. 1878; König, *De criticae sacrae argumento e linguae legibus repetito*, Lpz. 1879 (analysis of Gn 1-11); F. Giesebrecht, 'Der Sprachgebr. des hexateuchischen Elohisten,' in *ZdW.* 1881, p. 177 ff., partly modified by Driver in the *Journal of Philology*, vol. xi. p. 201 ff.; Kräutlein, *Die sprachl. Verschiedenheiten in den Hexateuchquellen*, Lpz. 1908.—Abundant matter is afforded also by Holzinger, *Einleitung in den Hexateuch*, Freib. 1893; Driver, *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*⁸, Edinburgh, 1908; Strack, *Einleitung ins A. T.*⁶, Munich, 1906; König, *Einleitung in das A. T.*, Bonn, 1893.

6. Even in the writings of this first period, which embraces *p* about 600 years, we meet, as might be expected, with considerable differences in linguistic form and style, which are due partly to differences in the time and place of composition, and partly to the individuality and talent of the authors. Thus Isaiah, for example, writes quite differently from the later Jeremiah, but also differently from his contemporary Micah. Amongst the historical books of this period, the texts borrowed from earlier sources have a linguistic colouring perceptibly different from those derived from later sources, or passages which belong to the latest redactor himself. Yet the structure of the language, and, apart from isolated cases, even the vocabulary and phraseology, are on the whole the same, especially in the prose books.

But the *poetic language* is in many ways distinguished from *q* prose, not only by a *rhythm* due to more strictly balanced (parallel) members and definite metres (see *r*), but also by peculiar *words* and *meanings*, *inflections* and *syntactical constructions* which it uses in addition to those usual in prose. This distinction, however, does not go far as, for example, in Greek. Many of these poetic peculiarities occur in the kindred languages, especially in Aramaic, as the ordinary modes of expression, and probably are to be regarded largely as archaisms which poetry retained. Some perhaps, also, are

embellishments which the Hebrew poets who knew Aramaic adopted into their language.¹

The prophets, at least the earlier, in language and rhythm are to be regarded almost entirely as poets, except that with them the sentences are often more extended, and the parallelism is less regular and balanced than is the case with the poets properly so called. The language of the later prophets, on the contrary, approaches nearer to prose.

^r On the *rhythm* of Hebrew poetry, see besides the Commentaries on the poetical books and Introductions to the O. T., J. Ley, *Grundzüge des Rhythmus*, &c., Halle, 1875; *Leitfaden der Metrik der hebr. Poesie*, Halle, 1887; 'Die metr. Beschaffenheit des B. Hiob,' in *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.*, 1895, iv, 1897, i; Grimme, 'Abriss der bibl.-hebr. Metrik,' *ZDMG.* 1896, p. 529 ff., 1897, p. 683 ff.; *Psalmprobleme*, &c., Freiburg (Switzerland), 1902 (on which see Beer in *ThLZ.* 1903, no. 11); 'Gedanken über hebr. Metrik,' in Altschüler's *Vierteljahrsschrift*, i (1903), 1 ff.; Döller, *Rhythmus, Metrik u. Strophik in d. bibl.-hebr. Poesie*, Paderborn, 1899; Schloegl, *De re metrica veterum Hebraeorum disputatio*, Vindobonae, 1899 (on the same lines as Grimme); but especially Ed. Sievers, *Metrische Studien: i Studien zur hebr. Metrik*, pt. 1 *Untersuchungen*, pt. 2 *Textproben*, Lpz. 1901: ii *Die hebr. Genesis, 1 Texte, 2 Zur Quellenscheidung u. Textkritik*, Lpz. 1904 f.: iii *Samuel*, Lpz. 1907; *Amos metrisch bearbeitet* (with H. Guthe), Lpz. 1907; and his *Alttest. Miscellen* (1 *Is 24-27*, 2 *Jona*, 3 *Deutero-Zechariah*, 4 *Malachi*, 5 *Hosea*, 6 *Joel*, 7 *Obadiah*, 8 *Zephaniah*, 9 *Haggai*, 10 *Micah*), Lpz. 1904-7.—As a guide to Sievers' system (with some criticism of his principles' see Baumann, 'Die Metrik u. das A. T.,' in the *Theol. Rundschau*, viii (1905), 41 ff.; W. H. Cobb, *A criticism of systems of Hebrew Metre*, Oxford, 1905; Cornill, *Einleitung ins A. T.*, Tübingen, 1905, p. 11 ff.; Rothstein, *Zeitschr. für d. ev. Rel.-Unterricht*, 1907, p. 188 ff. and his *Grundzüge des hebr. Rhythmus*, Lpz. 1909 (also separately *Psalmtexte u. der Text des Hohen Liedes*, Lpz. 1909); W. R. Arnold, 'The rhythms of the ancient Heb.,' in *O. T. and Semitic Studies in memory of W. R. Harper*, i. 165 ff., Chicago, 1907, according to whom the number of syllables between the beats is only limited by the physiological possibilities of phonetics; C. v. Orelli, 'Zur Metrik der alttest. Prophetenschriften,' in his *Kommentar zu den kl. Propheten*, p. 236 ff., Munich, 1908.—In full agreement with Sievers is Baethgen, *Psalmen*, p. xxvi ff., Göttingen, 1904. [Cf. Budde in *DB.* iv. 3 ff.; Duhm in *EB.* iii. 3793 ff.]

Of all views of this matter, the only one generally accepted as sound was at first Ley's and Budde's discovery of the Qina- or Lamentation-Verse (*ZAW.* 1882, 5 ff.; 1891, 234 ff.; 1892, 31 ff.). On their predecessors, Lowth, de Wette, Ewald, see Löhr, *Klagelied*,² p. 9. This verse, called by Duhm 'long verse', by Sievers simply 'five-syllabled' (Fünfer), consists of two members, the second at least one beat shorter than the other. That a regular repetition of an equal number of syllables in *arsis* and *thesis* was observed by other poets, had been established by Ley, Duhm, Gunkel, Grimme, and others, especially Zimmern, who cites a Babylonian hymn in which the members are actually marked (*ZA.* x. 1 ff., xii. 382 ff.; cf. also Delitzsch, *Das babyl. Welterschöpfungsepos*, Lpz. 1896, pp. 60 ff.). Recently, however, E. Sievers, the recognized authority on metre in other branches of literature, has indicated, in the works mentioned above, a number of fresh facts and views, which have frequently been confirmed by the conclusions of Ley and others. The most important are as follows:—

Hebrew poetry, as distinguished from the quantitative Classical and Arabic

¹ That already in Isaiah's time (second half of the eighth century B. C.) educated Hebrews, or at least officers of state, understood Aramaic, while the common people in Jerusalem did not, is evident from 2 K 18²⁸ (Is 36¹¹).

and the syllabic Syriac verse, is *accentual*. The number of unstressed syllables between the beats (*ictus*) is, however, not arbitrary, but the scheme of the verse is based on an irregular anapaest which may undergo rhythmical modifications (e.g. resolving the ictus into two syllables, or lengthening the arsis so as to give a double accent) and contraction, e.g. of the first two syllables. The foot always concludes with the ictus, so that toneless endings, due to change of pronunciation or corruption of the text, are to be disregarded, although as a rule the ictus coincides with the Hebrew word-accent. The metrical scheme consists of combinations of feet in *series* (of 2, 3 or 4), and of these again in *periods*—double threes, very frequently, double fours in narrative, fives in Lamentations (see above) and very often elsewhere, and sevens. Sievers regards the last two metres as catalectic double threes and fours. Connected sections do not always maintain the same metre throughout, but often exhibit a mixture of metres.

It can no longer be doubted that in the analysis of purely poetical passages, this system often finds ready confirmation and leads to textual and literary results, such as the elimination of glosses. There are, however, various difficulties in carrying out the scheme consistently and extending it to the prophetic writings and still more to narrative: (1) not infrequently the required number of feet is only obtained by sacrificing the clearly marked parallelism, or the grammatical connexion (e.g. of the construct state with its genitive), and sometimes even by means of doubtful emendations; (2) the whole system assumes a correct transmission of the text and its pronunciation, for neither of which is there the least guarantee. To sum up, our conclusion at present is that for poetry proper some assured and final results have been already obtained, and others may be expected, from the principles laid down by Sievers, although, considering the way in which the text has been transmitted, a *faultless* arrangement of metres cannot be expected. Convincing proof of the *consistent* use of the same metrical schemes in the prophets, and *a fortiori* in narrative, can hardly be brought forward.

The great work of D. H. Müller, *Die Propheten in ihrer ursprüngl. Form* (2 vols., Vienna, 1896; cf. his *Strophenbau u. Responion*, *ibid.* 1898, and *Komposition u. Strophenbau*, *ibid.* 1907), is a study of the most important monuments of early Semitic poetry from the point of view of strophic structure and the use of the refrain, i. e. the repetition of the same or similar phrases or words in corresponding positions in different strophes.

The arrangement of certain poetical passages in verse-form required by early scribal rules (Ex 15¹⁻¹²; Dt 32¹⁻⁴³; Ju 5; 1 S 21¹⁻¹⁰; 2 S 22, 23¹⁻⁷; ψ 18, 136; Pr. 31¹⁰⁻³¹; 1 Ch 16⁸⁻³⁹; cf. also Jo 12⁹⁻²⁴; Ec 3²⁻⁸; Est 9⁷⁻¹⁰) has nothing to do with the question of metre in the above sense.

Words are used in poetry, for which others are customary in prose, e.g. שׂאֵן *man* = אָדָם; אֶרֶץ *path* = דֶּרֶךְ; מִלָּה *word* = דְּבָר; חָזָה *to see* = רָאָה; אָתָּה *to come* = בּוֹא.

To the poetic meanings of words belongs the use of certain poetic *epithets* as substantives; thus, for example, אֲבִיר (only in constr. st. אֲבִירִי) *the strong one for God*; אֲבִיר *the strong one for bull, horse*; לְבָנָה *alba* for *luna*; צֵר *enemy* for אֵיב.

Of word-forms, we may note, e.g. the longer forms of prepositions of place (§ 103 n) עָלַי = עָלַי, אֵלַי = אֵלַי, עָדַי = עָדַי; the endings י, ו in the noun (§ 90); the pronominal suffixes מוֹ, מוֹ, מוֹ for ׀, ׀, ׀ (§ 58); the plural ending יִן for יִם (§ 87 e). To the *syntax* belongs the far more sparing use of the article, of the relative pronoun, of the accusative particle אֵת; the construct state even before prepositions; the shortened imperfect with the same meaning as the ordinary form (§ 109 i); the wider governing power of prepositions; and in general a forcible brevity of expression.

t 7. The *second* period of the Hebrew language and literature, after the return from the exile until the Maccabees (about 160 B.C.), is chiefly distinguished by a constantly closer approximation of the language to the kindred western Aramaic dialect. This is due to the influence of the Aramaeans, who lived in close contact with the recent and thinly-populated colony in Jerusalem, and whose dialect was already of importance as being the official language of the western half of the Persian empire. Nevertheless the supplanting of Hebrew by Aramaic proceeded only very gradually. Writings intended for popular use, such as the Hebrew original of Jesus the son of Sirach and the book of Daniel, not only show that Hebrew about 170 B.C. was still in use as a literary language, but also that it was still at least understood by the people.¹ When it had finally ceased to exist as a living language, it was still preserved as the *language of the Schools*—not to mention the numerous Hebraisms introduced into the Aramaic spoken by the Jews.

For particulars, see Kautzsch, *Gramm. des Bibl.-Aram.*, pp. 1-6. We may conveniently regard the relation of the languages which co-existed in this later period as similar to that of the High and Low German in North Germany, or to that of the High German and the common dialects in the south and in Switzerland. Even amongst the more educated, the common dialect prevails orally, whilst the High German serves essentially as the literary and cultured language, and is at least understood by all classes of the people. Wholly untenable is the notion, based on an erroneous interpretation of Neh 8⁸, that the Jews immediately after the exile had completely forgotten the Hebrew language, and therefore needed a translation of the Holy Scriptures.

u The Old Testament writings belonging to this second period, in all of which the Aramaic colouring appears in various degrees, are: certain parts of the Pentateuch and of Joshua, Ruth, the books of Ezra, Nehemiah, Chronicles, Esther; the prophetic books of Haggai, Zechariah, Isaiah III (56-66), Malachi, Joel, Jonah, Daniel; of the poetical books, a large part of Proverbs, Job, Song of Songs, Ecclesiastes, and most of the Psalms. As literary compositions, these books are sometimes far inferior to those of the first period, although work was still produced which in purity of language and aesthetic value falls little short of the writings of the golden age.

v *Later words* (Aramaisms) are, e.g. אִתָּהּ *declaration*, אָמַם *compel*, בֶּר *son*, צִיר *chalk*, זָמַן = עֵת *time*, זָקַן *raise up*, חִסַּר *Pi. reproach*, מַלְל *Pi. roof over*,

¹ The extensive use of Hebrew in the popular religious literature which is partly preserved to us in the Midrašim, the Mišna, and the Liturgy, indicates, moreover, that Hebrew was widely understood much later than this. Cf. M. H. Segal, 'Mišnaic Hebrew and its relations to Biblical Hebrew and Aramaic,' in *J. Q. R.*, 1908, p. 647 ff. (also separately).

טַעַה *stray*, רֶקֶה *rock*, מִלֵּךְ *advise*, סוֹף = קֵץ *end*, לָקַח = קָבַל *take*, רָעַע = רָעַץ *break*, שָׁנָא *be many*, שָׁלַט = מָלַךְ *rule*, חָזַק = חָזַץ *be strong*.—Later meanings are, e.g. אָמַר (to say) to command; עָנָה (to answer) to begin speaking.—Orthographical and grammatical peculiarities are, the frequent *scriptio plena* of י and ו, e.g. יְדוּד (elsewhere דוּד), even קוֹדֶשׁ for קֹדֶשׁ, רֹב for רַב; the interchange of ה and ח final; the more frequent use of substantives in ון, וַ, וְ, &c. Cf. Dav. Strauss, *Sprachl. Studien zu d. hebr. Sprachfragmenten*, Zürich, 1900, p. 19 ff.; for the Psalms Cheyne, *Origin of the Psalter*, p. 461 ff., and especially Giesebrecht in *ZAW.* 1881, p. 276 ff.; in general, Kautzsch, *Die Aramaismen im A. T.* (i, Lexikal. Teil), Halle, 1902.

But all the peculiarities of these later writers are not Aramaisms. Several do not occur in Aramaic and must have belonged at an earlier period to the Hebrew vernacular, especially it would seem in northern Palestine. There certain parts of Judges, amongst others, may have originated, as is indicated, e.g. by שָׁ, a common form in Phoenician (as well as שֵׁן), for שָׁן (§ 36), which afterwards recurs in Jonah, Lamentations, the Song of Songs, the later Psalms, and Ecclesiastes.

Rem. 1. Of dialectal varieties in the old Hebrew language, only one ⁷⁰ express mention occurs in the O. T. (Ju 12⁶), according to which the Ephraimites in certain cases pronounced the ש as ד. (Cf. Marquart in *ZAW.* 1888, p. 151 ff.) Whether in Neh 13²⁴ by the *speech of Ashdod* a Hebrew, or a (wholly different) Philistine dialect is intended, cannot be determined. On the other hand, many peculiarities in the North Palestinian books (Judges and Hosea) are probably to be regarded as differences in dialect, and so also some anomalies in the Moabite inscription of Mēša' (see above, d). On later developments see L. Metman, *Die hebr. Sprache, ihre Geschichte u. lexikal. Entwicklung seit Abschluss des Kanons u. ihr Bau in d. Gegenwart*, Jerusalem, 1906.

2. It is evident that, in the extant remains of old Hebrew literature,² the entire store of the ancient language is not preserved. The canonical books of the Old Testament formed certainly only a fraction of the whole Hebrew national literature.

§ 3. *Grammatical Treatment of the Hebrew Language.*

Gesenius, *Gesch. der hebr. Sprache*, §§ 19–39; Oehler's article, 'Hebr. Sprache,' in Schmid's *Encykl. des ges. Erziehungs- u. Unterrichtswesens*, vol. iii. p. 346 ff. (in the 2nd ed. revised by Nestle, p. 314 ff.). Cf. also the literature cited above in the headings of §§ 1 and 2; also Böttcher, *Lehrb. der hebr. Spr.*, i. Lpz. 1866, p. 30 ff.; L. Geiger, *Das Studium der Hebr. Spr. in Deutschl. vom Ende des XV. bis zur Mitte des XVI. Jahrh.*, Breslau, 1870; B. Pick, 'The Study of the Hebrew Language among Jews and Christians,' in *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1884, p. 450 ff., and 1885, p. 470 ff.; W. Bacher, article 'Grammar' in the *Jew. Encyclopaedia*, vol. vi, New York and London, 1904. Cf. also the note on d.

1. At the time when the old Hebrew language was gradually *α* becoming extinct, and the formation of the O. T. canon was

¹ דוּד in the Minor Prophets throughout (Ho 3⁵, &c.) is due merely to a caprice of the Masoretes.

² According to the calculation of the Dutch scholar Leusden, the O. T. contains 5,642 different Hebrew and Aramaic words; according to rabbinical calculations, 79,856 altogether in the Pentateuch. Cf. also E. Nestle, *ZAW.* 1906, p. 283; H. Strack, *ZAW.* 1907, p. 69 ff.; Blau, 'Neue masoret. Studien,' in *JQR.* xvi. 357 ff., treats of the number of letters and words, and the verse-division in the O. T.

approaching completion, the Jews began to explain and critically revise their sacred text, and sometimes to translate it into the vernacular languages which in various countries had become current among them. The oldest *translation* is the Greek of the *Seventy* (more correctly *Seventy-two*) Interpreters (LXX), which was begun with the Pentateuch at Alexandria under Ptolemy Philadelphus, but only completed later. It was the work of various authors, some of whom had a living knowledge of the original, and was intended for the use of Greek-speaking Jews, especially in Alexandria. Somewhat later the Aramaic translations, or Targums (תרגומים i. e. *interpretations*), were formed by successive recensions made in Palestine and Babylonia. The *explanations*, derived in part from alleged tradition, refer almost exclusively to civil and ritual law and dogmatic theology, and are no more scientific in character than much of the textual tradition of that period. Both kinds of tradition are preserved in the *Talmud*, the first part of which, the *Mišna*, was finally brought to its present form towards the end of the second century; of the remainder, the *Gemāra*, one recension (the *Jerusalem* or *Palestinian Gem.*) about the middle of the fourth century, the other (the *Babylonian Gem.*) about the middle of the sixth century A.D. The *Mišna* forms the beginning of the New-Hebrew literature; the language of the *Gemaras* is for the most part Aramaic.

b 2. To the interval between the completion of the Talmud and the earliest grammatical writers, belong mainly the vocalization and accentuation of the hitherto unpointed text of the O. T., according to the pronunciation traditional in the Synagogues and Schools (§ 7 h, i), as well as the greater part of the collection of critical notes which bears the name of Masōra (מסורה *traditio*?).¹ From this the text which has since been transmitted with rigid uniformity by the MSS.,

¹ On the name Masora (or Massora, as e. g. E. König, *Einleitung in das A. T.*, p. 38 ff.; *Lehrgeb. d. hebr. Sprache*, ii. 358 ff.), and the great difficulty of satisfactorily explaining it, cf. De Lagarde, *Mittheilungen*, i. 91 ff. W. Bacher's derivation of the expression (in *JQR.* 1891, p. 785 ff.; so also C. Levias in the *Hebrew Union College Annual*, Cincinnati, 1904, p. 147 ff.) from Ez 20³⁷ (מסרת הברית; מסרה, i. e. מסורה, being an equally legitimate form) is rightly rejected by König, l. c. The correctness of the form מסרה (by the side of the equally well-attested form מסרת) does not seem to us to be invalidated by his arguments, nor by Blau's proposal to read מסורה (*JQR.* xii. 241). The remark of Levias (l. c.) deserves notice, that with the earlier Masoretes מסורה is equivalent to orthography, i. e. *plene-* and *defective* writing, and only later came to mean *traditio*.—G. Wildboer, in *ZAW.* 1909, p. 74, contends that as מסר to hand on is not found in the O. T., it must be a late denominative in this sense.

and is still the received text of the O. T., has obtained the name of the Masoretic Text.

E. F. K. Rosenmüller already (*Handbuch für d. Liter. der bibl. Kritik u. C. Exegese*, 1797, i. 247; *Vorrede zur Stereotyp-Ausg. des A. T.*, Lpz. 1834) maintained that our O. T. text was derived from Codices belonging to a single recension. J. G. Sommer (cf. Cornill, *ZAW.* 1892, p. 309), Olshausen (since 1853), and especially De Lagarde (*Proverben*, 1863, p. 1 ff.), have even made it probable that the original Masoretic text was derived from a single standard manuscript. Cf., however, E. König in *Ztschr. f. kirchl. Wiss.*, 1887, p. 279 f., and especially his *Einleitung ins A. T.*, p. 88 ff. Moreover a great many facts, which will be noticed in their proper places, indicate that the Masora itself is by no means uniform but shows clear traces of different schools and opinions; cf. H. Strack in *Semitic Studies in memory of . . . Kohut*, Berlin, 1897, p. 563 ff. An excellent foundation for the history of the Masora and the settlement of the masoretic tradition was laid by Joh. Buxtorf in his *Tiberias seu Commentarius Masorethicus*, first published at Basel in 1620 as an appendix to the Rabbinical Bible of 1618 f. For more recent work see Geiger, *Jüdische Ztschr.*, iii. 78 ff., followed by Harris in *JQR.* i. 128 ff., 243 ff.; S. Frensdorff, *Ochla W'ochla*, Hanover, 1864; and his *Massor. Wörterb.*, part 1, Hanover and Lpz. 1876; and Ch. D. Ginsburg, *The Massora compiled from Manuscripts*, &c., 3 vols., Lond. 1880 ff., and *Introduction to the Massoretico-critical edition of the Hebr. Bible*, Lond. 1897 (his text, reprinted from that of Jacob b. Hayyim [Venice, 1524-5] with variants from MSS. and the earliest editions, was published in 2 vols. at London in 1894, 2nd ed. 1906; a revised edition is in progress); H. Hyvernât, 'La langue et le langage de la Massore' (as a mixture of New-Hebrew and Aramaic), in the *Revue biblique*, Oct. 1903, p. 529 ff. and B: 'Lexique massorétique,' *ibid.*, Oct. 1904, p. 521 ff., 1905, p. 481 ff., and p. 515 ff. In the use of the Massora for the critical construction of the Text, useful work has been done especially by S. Baer, in the editions of the several books (only Exod.-Deut. have still to appear), edited from 1869 conjointly with Fr. Delitzsch, and since 1891 by Baer alone. Cf. also § 7 h.

The various readings of the Q^ré (see § 17) form one of the oldest and most important parts of the Masora. The punctuation of the Text, however, is not to be confounded with the compilation of the Masora. The former was settled at an earlier period, and is the result of a much more exhaustive labour than the Masora, which was not completed till a considerably later time.

3. It was not until about the beginning of the tenth century that *d* the Jews, following the example of the Arabs, began their grammatical compilations. Of the numerous grammatical and lexicographical works of R. Sa'adya, beyond fragments in the commentary on the Sepher Yešira (ed. Mayer-Lambert, pp. 42, 47, 75, &c.), only the explanation in Arabic of the seventy (more correctly ninety) *hapax legomena* in the O. T. has been preserved. Written likewise in Arabic, but frequently translated into Hebrew, were the still extant works of the grammarians R. Yehuda Hayyûg (also called Abu Zakarya Yahya, about the year 1000) and R. Yona (Abu 'l-Walid Merwân ibn Ġanâh, about 1030). By the aid of these earlier labours, Abraham ben Ezra (commonly called Aben Ezra, ob. 1167) and R. David Qimhî (ob. c. 1235) especially gained a classical reputation by their Hebrew grammatical writings.

¹ On his independent attitude towards the Masoretic punctuation, see Delitzsch, *Comm. zu den Psalmen*⁴, p. 39.

From these earliest grammarians are derived many principles of arrangement and technical terms, some of which are still retained, e. g. the naming of the conjugations and weak verbs according to the paradigm of לָעַל, certain *roces memoriales*, as לָעַל לָעַל לָעַל and the like.¹

c 4. The father of Hebrew philology among Christians was John Reuchlin (ob. 1522),² to whom Greek literature also is so much indebted. Like the grammarians who succeeded him, till the time of John Buxtorf the elder (ob. 1629), he still adhered almost entirely to Jewish tradition. From the middle of the seventeenth century the field of investigation gradually widened, and the study of the kindred languages, chiefly through the leaders of the Dutch school, Albert Schultens (ob. 1750) and N. W. Schröder (ob. 1798), became of fruitful service to Hebrew grammar.

f 5. In the nineteenth century³ the advances in Hebrew philology are especially connected with the names of W. Gesenius (born at Nordhausen, Feb. 3, 1786; from the year 1810 Professor at Halle, where he died Oct. 23, 1842), who above all things aimed at the comprehensive observation and lucid presentation of the actually occurring linguistic phenomena; H. Ewald (ob. 1875, at Göttingen; *Krit. Gramm. der Hebr. Spr.*, Lpz. 1827; *Ausführl. Lehrb. d. hebr. Spr.*, 8th ed., Gött. 1870), who chiefly aimed at referring linguistic forms to general laws and rationally explaining the latter; J. Olshausen (ob. 1882, at Berlin; *Lehrb. der hebr. Sprache*, Brunswick, 1861) who attempted a consistent explanation of the existing condition of the language, from the presupposed primitive Semitic forms, preserved according to him notably in old Arabic. F. Böttcher (*Ausführl. Lehrb. d. hebr. Spr.* ed. by F. Mühlau, 2 vols., Lpz. 1866–8) endeavoured to present an exhaustive synopsis of the linguistic phenomena, as well as to give an explanation of them from the sphere of Hebrew

¹ On the oldest Hebrew grammarians, see Strack and Siegfried, *Lehrb. d. neuhebr. Spr. u. Liter.*, Carlsr. 1884, p. 107 ff., and the prefaces to the Hebrew Lexicons of Gesenius and Fürst; Berliner. *Beiträge zur hebr. Gramm. im Talmud u. Midrasch*, Berlin, 1879; Baer and Strack, *Die Dikduke ha-š'amim des Ahron ben Moscheh ben Ascher u. andere alte grammatisch-massorethische Lehrstücke*, Lpz. 1879, and P. Kahle's criticisms in *ZDMG.* lv. 170, n. 2; Ewald and Dukes, *Beiträge z. Gesch. der ältesten Auslegung u. Spracherklärung des A. T.*, Stuttg. 1844, 3 vols.; Hupfeld, *De rei grammaticae apud Judaeos initii antiquissimisque scriptoribus*, Hal. 1846; W. Bacher, 'Die Anfänge der hebr. Gr.', in *ZDMG.* 1895, i ff. and 335 ff.; and *Die hebr. Sprachwissenschaft vom 10. bis zum 16. Jahrh.*, Trier, 1892.

² A strong impulse was naturally given to these studies by the introduction of printing—the Psalter in 1477, the Bologna Pentateuch in 1482, the Soncino O. T. complete in 1488: see the description of the twenty-four earliest editions (down to 1528) in Ginsburg's *Introduction*, p. 779 ff.

³ Of the literature of the subject down to the year 1850, see a tolerably full account in Steinschneider's *Bibliogr. Handb. f. hebr. Sprachkunde*, Lpz. 1859.

alone. B. Stade, on the other hand (*Lehrb. der hebr. Gr.*, pt. i. Lpz. 1879), adopted a strictly scientific method in endeavouring to reduce the systems of Ewald and Olshausen to a more fundamental unity. E. König¹ in his very thorough researches into the phonology and accidence starts generally from the position reached by the early Jewish grammarians (in his second part 'with comparative reference to the Semitic languages in general') and instead of adopting the usual dogmatic method, takes pains to re-open the discussion of disputed grammatical questions. The syntax König has 'endeavoured to treat in several respects in such a way as to show its affinity to the common Semitic syntax'.—Among the works of Jewish scholars, special attention may be called to the grammar by S. D. Luzzatto written in Italian (Padua, 1853-69).

The chief requirements for one who is treating the grammar of an ancient language are—(1) that he should *observe* as fully and accurately as possible the existing linguistic phenomena and *describe* them, after showing their organic connexion (the empirical and historico-critical element); (2) that he should try to *explain* these facts, partly by comparing them with one another and by the analogy of the sister languages, partly from the general laws of philology (the logical element).

Such observation has more and more led to the belief that the original text of the O. T. has suffered to a much greater extent than former scholars were inclined to admit, in spite of the number of variants in parallel passages: Is 2^{2a}=Mi 4^{1a}, Is 36-39=2 K 18¹³-20¹⁰, Jer 52=2 K 24¹⁸-25³⁰, 2 S 22=ψ 18, ψ 14=ψ 53, ψ 40^{14a}=ψ 70, ψ 108=ψ 57^{8a} and 60^{7a}. Cf. also the parallels between the Chronicles and the older historical books, and F. Vodel, *Die konsonant. Varianten in den doppelt überlief. poet. Stücken d. masoret. Textes*, Lpz. 1905. As to the extent and causes of the corruption of the Masoretic text, the newly discovered fragments of the Hebrew Ecclesiasticus are very instructive; cf. Smend, *Gött. gel. Anz.*, 1906, p. 763.

The causes of *unintentional* corruption in the great majority of cases are:—Interchange of similar letters, which has sometimes taken place in the early 'Phoenician' writing; transposition or omission of

¹ *Historisch-krit. Lehrgeb. der hebr. Sprache mit steter Beziehung auf Qimchi und die anderen Autoritäten*: I, 'Lehre von der Schrift, der Aussprache, dem Pron. u. dem Verbum,' Lpz. 1881; II. 1, 'Abschluss der speziellen Formenlehre u. generelle Formenl.,' 1895; ii. 2, 'Historisch-kompar. Syntax d. hebr. Spr.,' 1897.

single letters, words, or even whole sentences, which are then often added in the margin and thence brought back into the text in the wrong place; such omission is generally due to homoioteleuton (cf. Ginsburg, *Introd.*, p. 171 ff.), i.e. the scribe's eye wanders from the place to a subsequent word of the same or similar form. Other causes are dittography, i.e. erroneous repetition of letters, words, and even sentences; its opposite, haplography; and lastly wrong division of words (cf. Ginsburg, *Introd.*, p. 158 ff.), since at a certain period in the transmission of the text the words were not separated.¹—*Intentional* changes are due to corrections for the sake of decency or of dogma, and to the insertion of glosses, some of them very early.

Advance in grammar is therefore closely dependent on progress in *textual criticism*. The systematic pursuit of the latter has only begun in recent years: cf. especially Doorninck on Ju 1-16, Leid. 1879; Wellhausen, *Text der Bb. Sam.*, Gött. 1871; Cornill, *Ezechiel*, Lpz. 1886; Klostermann, *Bb. Sam. u. d. Kön.*, Nördl. 1887; Driver, *Notes on the Hebr. text of the Books of Sam.*, Oxf. 1890; Klostermann, *Deuteronomium*, Munich, 1893; Oort, *Textus hebr. emendationes*, Lugd. 1900; Burney on *Kings*, Oxf. 1903; the commentaries of Marti and Nowack; the *Internat. Crit. Comm.*; Kautzsch, *Die heil. Schriften des A.T.*², 1909-10. A critical edition of the O.T. with full textual notes, and indicating the different documents by colours, is being published in a handsome form by P. Haupt in *The Sacred Books of the Old Test.*, Lpz. and Baltimore, 1893 ff. (sixteen parts have appeared: Exod., Deut., Minor Prophets, and Megilloth are still to come); Kittel, *Biblia hebraica*², 1909, Masoretic text from Jacob b. Hayyim (see c), with a valuable selection of variants from the versions, and emendations.

§ 4. Division and Arrangement of the Grammar.

The division and arrangement of Hebrew grammar follow the three constituent parts of every language, viz. (1) articulate *sounds* represented by *letters*, and united to form *syllables*, (2) *words*, and (3) *sentences*.

The first part (the elements) comprises accordingly the treatment of *sounds* and their representation in writing. It describes the nature and relations of the sounds of the language, teaches the pronunciation

¹ This *scriptio continua* is also found in Phœnician inscriptions. The inscription of Mēša' always divides the words by a point (and so the Siloam inscription; see the facsimile at the beginning of this grammar), and frequently marks the close of a sentence by a stroke.

of the written signs (orthoepy), and the established mode of writing (orthography). It then treats of the sounds as combined in syllables and words, and specifies the laws and conditions under which this combination takes place.

The second part (etymology) treats of words in their character as parts of speech, and comprises: (1) the principles of the *formation of words*, or of the derivation of the different parts of speech from the roots or from one another; (2) the principles of *inflection*, i. e. of the various forms which the words assume according to their relation to other words and to the sentence.

The third part (syntax, or the arrangement of words): (1) shows how the word-formations and inflexions occurring in the language are used to express different shades of ideas, and how other ideas, for which the language has not coined any forms, are expressed by periphrasis; (2) states the laws according to which the parts of speech are combined in sentences (the principles of the sentence, or syntax in the stricter sense of the term).

FIRST PART

ELEMENTARY PRINCIPLES OR THE SOUNDS AND CHARACTERS

CHAPTER I

THE INDIVIDUAL SOUNDS AND CHARACTERS

§ 5. *The Consonants: their Forms and Names.*

(Cf. the Table of Alphabets.)

Among the abundant literature on the subject, special attention is directed to: A. Berliner, *Beiträge zur hebr. Gramm.*, Berlin, 1879, p. 15 ff., on the names, forms, and pronunciation of the consonants in Talmud and Midrash; H. Strack, *Schreibkunst u. Schrift bei d. Hebräern*, PRE.³, Lpz. 1906, p. 766 ff.; Benzing, *Hebr. Archäologie*², Tübingen, 1907, p. 172 ff.; Nowack, *Lehrbuch d. hebr. Archäol.*, Freiburg, 1894, i. 279 ff.; Lidzbarski, *Handbuch d. nordsem. Epigraphik*, Weimar, 1898, i. 173 ff.; also his art. 'Hebrew Alphabet,' in the *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, i, 1901, p. 439 ff. (cf. his *Ephemeris*, i. 316 ff.); and 'Die Namen der Alphabetbuchstaben,' in *Ephemeris*, ii. 125 ff.; Kenyon, art. 'Writing,' in the *Dictionary of the Bible*, iv. Edinb. 1902, p. 944 ff.; Nöldeke, 'Die semit. Buchstabennamen,' in *Beitr. zur semit. Sprachwiss.*, Strassb. 1904, p. 124 ff.; F. Praetorius, *Ueber den Ursprung des kanaän. Alphabets*, Berlin, 1906; H. Grimme, 'Zur Genesis des semit. Alphabets,' in *ZA.* xx. 1907, p. 49 ff.; R. Stübe, *Grundlinien zu einer Entwicklungsgesch. d. Schrift*, Munich, 1907; Jermain, *In the path of the Alphabet*, Fort Wayne, 1907.—L. Blau, *Studien zum althebr. Buchwesen*, &c., Strassb. 1902; and his 'Ueber d. Einfluss d. althebr. Buchwesens auf d. Originale', &c., in *Festschr. zu Ehren A. Berliners*, Frkf. 1903.

The best tables of alphabets are those of J. Euting in G. Bickell's *Outlines of Heb. Gram.* transl. by S. I. Curtiss, Lpz. 1877; in Pt. vii of the *Oriental Series* of the Palaeographical Soc., London, 1882; and, the fullest of all, in Chwolson's *Corpus inscr. Hebr.*, Petersburg, 1882; also Lidzbarski's in the *Jewish Encycl.*, see above.

- a 1. The Hebrew letters now in use, in which both the manuscripts of the O. T. are written and our editions of the Bible are printed, commonly called the *square character* (כְּתָב מְרֻבֵּעַ), also the *Assyrian character* (כְּתָב אֲשִׁירִי)¹, are not those originally employed.

Old Hebrew (or *Old Canaanitish*)² writing, as it was used on

¹ The name אֲשִׁירִי (Assyria) is here used in the widest sense, to include the countries on the Mediterranean inhabited by Aramaeans; cf. Stade in *ZAW.* 1882, p. 292 f. On some other names for Old Hebrew writing. cf. G. Hoffmann, *ibid.* 1881, p. 334 ff.; Buhl, *Canon and Text of the O. T.* (transl. by J. Macpherson), Edinb. 1892, p. 200.

² It is tacitly assumed here that this was the mother of all Semitic alphabets. In *ZDMG.* 1909, p. 189 ff., however, Prätorius has shown good

public monuments in the beginning of the ninth and in the second half of the eighth century B.C., is to be seen in the inscription of Mēša', as well as in that of Siloam. The characters on the Macca-baeen coins of the second century B.C., and also on ancient gems, still bear much resemblance to this (cf. § 2 d). With the Old Hebrew writing the Phoenician is nearly identical (see § 1 k, § 2 f, and the Table of Alphabets). From the analogy of the history of other kinds of writing, it may be assumed that out of and along with this monumental character, a less antique and in some ways more convenient, rounded style was early developed, for use on softer materials, skins, bark, papyrus, and the like. This the Samaritans retained after their separation from the Jews, while the Jews gradually¹ (between the sixth and the fourth century) exchanged it for an Aramaic character. From this gradually arose (from about the fourth to the middle of the third century) what is called the *square character*, which consequently bears great resemblance to the extant forms of Aramaic writing, such as the Egyptian-Aramaic, the Nabatean and especially the Palmyrene. Of Hebrew inscriptions in the older square character, that of 'Arāq al-Emir (15½ miles north-east of the mouth of the Jordan) probably belongs to 183 B.C.²

The Jewish sarcophagus-inscriptions of the time of Christ, found in Jerusalem in 1905, almost without exception exhibit a pure square character. This altered little in the course of centuries, so that the age of a Hebrew MS. cannot easily be determined from the style of the writing. The oldest known biblical fragment is the Nash papyrus (found in 1902), containing the ten commandments and the beginning of Dt 6⁴, of the end of the first or beginning of the second century A.D.; cf. N. Peters, *Die älteste Abschr. der 10 Gebote*, Freibg. i. B. 1905. Of actual MSS. of the Bible the oldest is probably one of 820-850 A.D. described by Ginsburg, *Introd.*, p. 469 ff., at the head of his sixty principal MSS.; next in age is the codex of Moses ben Asher at Cairo (897 A.D., cf. the art. 'Scribes' in the *Jew. Encycl.* xi and Gottheil in *JQR.* 1905, p. 32). The date (916 A.D.) of the Codex prophetarum Babylon. Petropol. (see § 8 g, note) is quite certain.—In the synagogue-rolls a distinction is drawn between the Tam-character (said to be so called from Rabbi Tam, grandson of R. Yishāqī, in the twelfth century) with its straight strokes, square corners and 'tittles' (tāgin), in German and Polish MSS., and the *foreign* character with rounded letters and tittles in Spanish MSS. See further E. König, *Einkl. in das A. T.*, Bonn, 1893, p. 16 ff.

grounds for believing that the South Semitic alphabet is derived not from the Mēša' character, or from some kindred and hardly older script, but from some unknown and much earlier form of writing.

¹ On the effect of the transitional mixture of earlier and later forms on the constitution of the text, see R. Kittel, *Ueber d. Notwendigk. d. Herausg. einer neuen hebr. Bibel*, Lpz. 1901, p. 20 ff.—L. Blau, 'Wie lange stand die althebr. Schrift bei den Juden im Gebrauch?' in *Kaufmanngedenkbuch*, Breslau, 1900, p. 44 ff.

² Not 176, as formerly held. Driver and Lidzbarski now read ערביה, correctly, not מוֹרְבִיָּה.

- b 2. The Alphabet consists, like all Semitic alphabets, solely of consonants, twenty-two in number, some of which, however, have also a kind of vocalic power (§ 7 b). The following Table shows their form, names, pronunciation, and numerical value (see *k*):—

FORM.	NAME.	PRONUNCIATION.	NUMERICAL VALUE.
א	' <i>Ālēph</i>	' <i>spiritus lenis</i>	1
ב	<i>Bēth</i>	<i>b</i> (<i>bh</i> , but see § 6 n)	2
ג	<i>Gimēl</i> (<i>Giml</i>)	<i>g</i> (<i>gh</i> , " " ")	3
ד	<i>Dālēth</i>	<i>d</i> (<i>dh</i> , " " ")	4
ה	<i>Hē</i>	<i>h</i>	5
ו	<i>Wāw</i> (<i>Wāu</i>)	<i>w</i> (<i>u</i>) ¹	6
ז	<i>Zāyīn</i>	<i>z</i> , as in English (soft <i>s</i>)	7
ח	<i>Hēth</i>	<i>h</i> , a strong guttural	8
ט	<i>Tēth</i>	<i>t</i> , emphatic <i>t</i>	9
י	<i>Yōd</i>	<i>y</i> (<i>i</i>) ¹	10
כ, final ך	<i>Kaph</i>	<i>k</i> (<i>kh</i> , but see § 6 n)	20
ל	<i>Lāmēd</i>	<i>l</i>	30
מ, final ם	<i>Mēm</i>	<i>m</i>	40
נ, final ן	<i>Nūn</i>	<i>n</i>	50
ס	<i>Sāmēkh</i>	<i>s</i>	60
ע	' <i>Ayīn</i>	' a peculiar guttural (see below)	70
פ, final ף	<i>Pē</i>	<i>p</i> (<i>f</i> , see § 6 n)	80
צ, final ץ	<i>Ṣādē</i>	<i>s</i> , emphatic <i>s</i>	90
ק	<i>Qōf</i>	<i>q</i> , a strong <i>k</i> ² formed at the back of the palate	100
ר	<i>Rēš</i>	<i>r</i>	200
שׁ	<i>Śīn</i>	<i>ś</i>	} 300
שׂ	<i>Šīn</i> ³	<i>š</i> , pronounced <i>sh</i>	
ת	<i>Tāw</i> (<i>Tāu</i>)	<i>t</i> (<i>th</i> , but see § 6 n)	400

¹ Philippi, 'Die Aussprache der semit. Consonanten י und י', in *ZDMG.* 1886, p. 639 ff., 1897, p. 66 ff., adduces reasons in detail for the opinion that 'the Semitic י and י are certainly by usage consonants, although by nature they are vowels, viz. *u* and *i*, and consequently are consonantal vowels'; cf. § 8 m.

² As a representation of this sound the Latin *q* is very suitable, since it occupies in the alphabet the place of the Semitic ק (Greek κόρρα).

³ Nestle (*Actes du onzième Congrès . . . des Orientalistes*, 1897, iv. 113 ff.) has shown that the original order was שׁ, שׂ.

3. As the Table shows, five letters have a special form at the end ^c of the word. They are called final letters, and were combined by the Jewish grammarians in the mnemonic word כַּמְנֶפֶחַ *Kamnēphās*, or better, with A. Müller and Stade, כַּמְנֶפֶץ i.e. *as the breaker in pieces*.¹ Of these, כ, ך, ם, ן are distinguished from the common form by the shaft being drawn straight down, while in the usual form it is bent round towards the left.² In the case of ם the letter is completely closed.

4. Hebrew is read and written from right to left.³ Words must ^d not be divided at the end of the lines; but, in order that no empty space may be left, in MSS. and printed texts, certain letters suitable for the purpose are dilated at the end or in the middle of the line. In our printed texts these *literae dilatabiles* are the five following: ם ת ל ך ם (mnemonic word מְחַלְתֵּם *'ahaliēm*). In MSS. other letters suitable for the purpose are also employed in this way, as ך, ם, ך; cf. Strack in the *Theol. Lehrb.*, 1882, No. 22; Nestle, *ZAW.* 1906, p. 170 f.

Rem. 1. The forms of the letters originally represent the rude outlines of ^e perceptible objects, the names of which, respectively, begin with the consonant represented (akrophony). Thus *Yād*, in the earlier alphabets the rude picture of a hand, properly denotes *hand* (Heb. יָד), but as a letter simply the sound ' (y), with which this word begins; *'Ayin*, originally a circle, properly an *eye* (עֵינַי), stands for the consonant *ʿ*. In the Phoenician alphabet, especially, the resemblance of the forms to the objects denoted by the name is still for the most part recognizable (see the Table). In some letters (א, א, א, מ, ש) the similarity is still preserved in the square character.

It is another question whether the present names are all original. They may be merely due to a later, and not always accurate, interpretation of the forms. Moreover, it is possible that in the period from about 1500 to 1000 B.C. the original forms underwent considerable change.

The usual explanation of the present names of the letters ⁵ is: אָלֶף *ox*, פֶּה *f*

¹ In the Talmud, disregarding the alphabetical order, מְחַלְתֵּם *of thy watcher*, i.e. *prophet*. See the discussions of this mnemonic word by Nestle, *ZAW.* 1907, p. 119 ff., König, Bacher (who would read מְחַלְתֵּם = *proceeding from thy prophets*, Is 52⁸), Krauss, Marmorstein, *ibid.* p. 278 ff. All the twenty-two letters, together with the five final forms, occur in Zp 3⁸.

² Chwolson, *Corpus Inscr. Hebr.*, col. 68, rightly observes that the more original forms of these letters are preserved in the *literae finales*. Instances of them go back to the time of Christ.

³ The same was originally the practice in Greek, which only adopted the opposite direction exclusively about 400 B.C. On the *boustrophædon* writing (alternately in each direction) in early Greek, early Sabæan, and in the Saba-inscriptions of the first three centuries A.D., cf. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, i. 116 f.

⁴ This does not apply to early inscriptions or seals. Cf. Mēsa', ll. 1-5, 7, 8, &c., Siloam 2, 3, 5, where the division of words appears to be customary.

⁵ We possess Greek transcriptions of the Hebrew names, dating from the fifth century B.C. The LXX give them (in almost the same form as Eusebius, *Præp. Evang.* 10. 5) in La 1-4, as do also many Codices of the Vulgate (e.g. the

בֵּית *house*, גָּמֶל *camel* (according to Lidzbarski, see below, perhaps originally גָּמֶל *axe* or *pick-axe*), דֶּלֶת *door* (properly *folding-door*; according to Lidzbarski, perhaps דָּר *the female breast*), חַלּוֹן *air-hole* (?), *lattice-window* (?), וַיְּ hook, nail, וֵץ *olive-tree* (according to Nestle, comparing the Greek ὤλη, rather וֵץ *olive-tree*), חֶפֶץ *sence*, *barrier* (but perhaps only differentiated from ח by the left-hand stroke), כֶּתֶם *a winding* (?), according to others a *leather bottle* or a *snake* (but perhaps only differentiated from ח by a circle round it), יָד *hand*, בֶּטֶן *bent hand*, אֶמְסָר *ox-goad*, מַיִם *water*, נֶשֶׁם *fish* (Lidzbarski, 'perhaps originally נֶשֶׁם *snake*, as in Ethiopie'), פָּתָח *prop* (perhaps a modification of ו), עֵינַי *eye*, פִּי *mouth*, צֶדֶי *fish-hook* (?), קוֹף *eye of a needle*, according to others *back of the head* (Lidzb., 'perhaps קֶשֶׁת *bow*'), רִישׁ *head*, שֵׁן *tooth*, סֶּמֶךְ *sign, cross*.

^g With regard to the origin of this alphabet, it may be taken as proved that it is not earlier (or very little earlier) than the fifteenth century B. C., since otherwise the el-Amarna tablets (§ 2 f) would not have been written exclusively in cuneiform.¹ It seems equally certain on various grounds, that it originated on Canaanitish soil. It is, however, still an open question whether the inventors of it borrowed

(a) From the Egyptian system—not, as was formerly supposed, by direct adoption of hieroglyphic signs (an explanation of twelve or thirteen characters was revived by J. Halévy in *Rev. Sémit.* 1901, p. 356 ff., 1902, p. 331 ff., and in the *Verhandlungen des xiii. . . Orient.-Kongr. zu Hamb.*, Leiden, 1904, p. 199 ff.; but cf. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, i. 261 ff.), or of hieratic characters derived from them (so E. de Rougé), but by the adoption of the *acrophonic* principle (see e) by which e. g. the hand, in Egyptian *tot*, represents the letter t, the lion = *laboi*, the letter l. This view still seems the most probable. It is now accepted by Lidzbarski ('Der Ursprung d. nord- u. südsem. Schrift' in *Ephemeris*, i (1900), 109 ff., cf. pp. 134 and 261 ff.), though in his *Nordsem. Epigr.* (1898) p. 173 ff. he was still undecided.

(b) From the Babylonian (cuneiform) system. Wuttke's and W. Deecke's derivation of the old-Semitic alphabet from new-Assyrian cuneiform is impossible for chronological reasons. More recently Peters and Hommel have sought to derive it from the old-Babylonian, and Ball from the archaic Assyrian cuneiform. A vigorous discussion has been aroused by the theory of Frdr. Delitzsch (in *Die Entstehung des ält. Schriftsystems od. der Urspr. der Keilschriftzeichen dargel.*, Lpz. 1897; and with the same title 'Ein Nachwort', Lpz. 1898, preceded by a very clear outline of the theory) that the old-Semitic alphabet arose in Canaan under the influence both of the Egyptian system (whence the *acrophonic* principle) and of the old-Babylonian, whence the principle of the graphic representation of objects and ideas by means of simple, and mostly rectilinear, signs. He holds that the choice of the objects was probably (in about fifteen cases) influenced by the Babylonian system. The correspondence of names had all the more effect since, according to Zimmern (*ZDMG.* 1896, p. 667 ff.), out of twelve names which are certainly identical, eight appear in the same order in the Babylonian arrangement of signs. But it must first be shown that the present names of the

Cod. Amiatinus) in $\psi\psi$ 111, 112, 119, but with many variations from the customary forms, which rest on the traditional *Jewish* pronunciation. The forms *Deleth* (and *delth*), *Zai*, *Sen* (LXX also $\chi\sigma\epsilon\nu$, cf. Hebr. שֵׁן *tooth*) are to be noticed, amongst others, for *Daleth*, *Zain*, *Sin*. Cf. the tables in Nöldeke, *Beiträge zur sem. Sprachwiss.*, p. 126 f. In his opinion (and so Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, i. 134) the form and meaning of the names point to Phoenicia as the original home of the alphabet, since *alf*, *bêt*, *dālî*, *wāw*, *tāw*, *pei* = *pê*, *pî*, *mouth*, and the vowel of *pê* = *rāš*, *head*, are all Hebraeo-Phoenician.

¹ In the excavations at Jericho in April, 1907, E. Sellin found a jar-handle with the Canaanite characters η , which he dates (probably too early) about 1500 B. C.

'Phoenician' letters really denote the original picture. The identity of the objects may perhaps be due simply to the choice of the commonest things (animals, implements, limbs) in both systems.

The derivation of the Semitic alphabet from the signs of the Zodiac and their names, first attempted by Seyffarth in 1834, has been revived by Winckler, who refers twelve fundamental sounds to the Babylonian Zodiac. Hommel connects the original alphabet with the moon and its phases, and certain constellations; cf. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, i. 269 ff., and in complete agreement with him, Benzinger, *Hebr. Archäologie*², p. 173 ff. This theory is by no means convincing.

(c) From the hieroglyphic system of writing discovered in 1894 by A. J. Evans in inscriptions in Crete (esp. at Cnossus) and elsewhere. According to Kluge (1897) and others, this represents the 'Mycenaean script' used about 3000-1000 B.C., and according to Fries ('Die neuesten Forschungen über d. Urspr. des phöniz. Alph.' in *ZDPV*. xxii. 118 ff.) really supplies the original forms of the Phoenician alphabet as brought to Palestine by the Philistines about 1100 B.C., but 'the Phoenician-Canaanite-Hebrews gave to the Mycenaean signs names derived from the earlier cuneiform signs'. The hypothesis of Fries is thus connected with that of Delitzsch. But although the derivation of the Phoenician forms from 'Mycenaean' types appears in some cases very plausible, in others there are grave difficulties, and moreover the date, 1100 B.C., assigned for the introduction of the alphabet is clearly too late. [See Evans, *Scripta Minoa*, Oxf. 1909, p. 80 ff.]

(d) From a system, derived from Asia Minor, closely related to the Cypriote syllabary (Praetorius, *Der Urspr. des kanaan. Alphabets*, Berlin, 1906). On this theory the Canaanites transformed the syllabic into an apparently alphabetic writing. In reality, however, they merely retained a single sign for the various syllables, so that e.g. p is not really q , but qa , qe , qi , &c. Of the five Cypriote vowels also they retained only the star (in Cypriote = a) simplified into an 'alef' (see alphabetical table) to express the vowels at the beginning of syllables, and i and u as Yod and Waw. Praetorius claims to explain about half the twenty-two Canaanite letters in this way, but there are various objections to his ingenious hypothesis.

2. As to the order of the letters, we possess early evidence in the alphabetic¹ poems: ψ 9 (N-ג, cf. ψ 10¹ ה, and vv¹²⁻¹⁷ פ-ת; cf. Gray in the *Expositor*, 1906, p. 233 ff., and Rosenthal, *ZAW*. 1896, p. 40, who shows that ψ 9^{3.15-17} ב, ה, נ exactly fit in between מ, ז, י, and that ψ 10^{1.3-5} therefore has the reverse order ז, ב, י; also ψ 25 and 34 (both without a separate p -verse and with p repeated at the end²); 37, 111, 112, 119 (in which every eight verses begin with the same letter, each strophe, as discovered by D. H. Müller of Vienna, containing the eight leading words of ψ 19^{8 ff.}, *tôrâ*, *'edûth*, &c.); La 1-4 (in 2-4 p before y ³, in chap. 3 every three verses with the same initial, see Löhr, *ZAW*. 1904, p. 1 ff., in chap. 5 at any rate as many verses as letters in the alphabet); Pr 24^{1.3-5}, 31¹⁸⁻³¹ (in the LXX with p before y ³); also in Na 12-10 Pastor Frohnmeyer of Württemberg (ob. 1880) detected traces of an alphabetic arrangement, but the attempt of Gunkel, Bickell, Arnold (*ZAW*. 1901,

¹ On the supposed connexion of this artificial arrangement with magical formulae ('the order of the letters was believed to have a sort of magic power') cf. Löhr, *ZAW*. 1905, p. 173 ff., and *Klagelieder*², Göt. 1907, p. vii ff.

² On this superfluous p cf. Grimme, *Euphemistic liturgical appendices*, Lpz. 1901, p. 8 ff., and Nestle, *ZAW*. 1903, p. 340 f., who considers it an appendage to the Greek alphabet.

³ [Perhaps also originally in ψ 34.] p before y is probably due to a magic alphabet, see above, n. 1. According to Böhmer, *ZAW*. 1908, p. 53 ff., the combinations נה, גה, יח, &c., were used in magical texts; py was excluded, but by a rearrangement we get ηp and γy .

p. 225 ff.), Happel (*Der Ps. Nah.*, Würzb. 1900) to discover further traces, has not been successful. [Cf. Gray in *Expositor*, 1898, p. 207 ff.; Driver, in the *Century Bible*, *Nahum*, p. 26.]—Bickell, *Ztschr. f. Kath. Theol.*, 1882, p. 319 ff., had already deduced from the versions the alphabetical character of Ecclus 51¹³⁻³⁰, with the omission of the ו-verse and with ב¹ at the end. His conjectures have been brilliantly confirmed by the discovery of the Hebrew original, although the order from א to ז is partly disturbed or obscured. If ו before ז is deleted, ten letters are in their right positions, and seven can be restored to their places with certainty. Cf. N. Schlögl, *ZDMG.* 53, 669 ff.; C. Taylor in the appendix to Schechter and Taylor, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, Cambr. 1899, p. lxxvi ff., and in the *Journ. of Philol.*, xxx (1906), p. 95 ff.; *JQR.* 1905, p. 238 ff.; Löhr, *ZAW.* 1905, p. 183 ff.; I. Lévy, *REJ.* 1907, p. 62 ff.

The sequence of the three softest labial, palatal, and dental sounds ב, ג, ד, and of the three liquids ל, מ, נ, indicates an attempt at classification. At the same time other considerations also appear to have had influence. Thus it is certainly not accidental, that two letters, representing a hand (*Yād, Kaph*), as also two (if *Qōph* = back of the head) which represent the head, and in general several forms denoting objects naturally connected (*Mēm* and *Nūn, Ayin* and *Pē*), stand next to one another.

i The order, names, and numerical values of the letters have passed over from the Phoenicians to the Greeks, in whose alphabet the letters Α to Υ are borrowed from the Old Semitic. So also the Old Italic alphabets as well as the Roman, and consequently all alphabets derived either from this or from the Greek, are directly or indirectly dependent on the Phoenician.

k 3. a. In default of special arithmetical figures, the consonants were used also as numerical signs; cf. G. Gundermann, *Die Zahlzeichen*, Giessen, 1899, p. 6 f., and Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, i. 106 ff. The earliest traces of this usage are, however, first found on the Maccabean coins (see above, § 2 d, end). These numerical letters were afterwards commonly employed, e.g. for marking the numbers of chapters and verses in the editions of the Bible. The units are denoted by א-ט, the tens by י-צ, 100-400 by ק-ת, the numbers from 500-900 by ׀ (=400), with the addition of the remaining hundreds, e.g. תק 500. In compound numbers the greater precedes (on the right), thus יא 11, קכא 121. But 15 is expressed by טו 9+6, not יה (which is a form of the divine name, being the first two consonants of יהוה).² For a similar reason טז is also mostly written for 16, instead of יז, which in compound proper names, like יואל, also represents the name of God, יהוה.

The thousands are sometimes denoted by the units with two dots placed above, e.g. נ 1000.

l 6. The reckoning of the years in Jewish writings (generally ליצירה after the creation) follows either the full chronology (לפרט נדול or גי' (לפ' גי'), with the addition of the thousands, or the abridged chronology (לפ' קטן), in which they are omitted. In the dates of the first thousand years after Christ, the Christian era is obtained by the addition of 240, in the second thousand years by the addition of 1240 (i. e. if the date falls between Jan. 1 and the Jewish new year; otherwise add 1239), the thousands of the Creation era being omitted.

m 4. Abbreviations of words are not found in the text of the O. T., but they occur on coins, and their use is extremely frequent amongst the later Jews.³

¹ See note 3 on p. 29.

² On the rise of this custom (יה' having been originally used and afterwards יהי), cf. Nestle in *ZAW.* 1884, p. 250, where a trace of this method of writing occurring as early as Origen is noted.

³ Cf. Jo. Buxtorf, *De abbreviaturis Hebr.*, Basel, 1613, &c.; Pietro Perreau,

A point, or later an oblique stroke, serves as the sign of abridgement in old MSS. and editions, e. g. יִשְׂרָאֵל for יִשְׂרָאֵל, פִּלְגִי for פִּלְגִי, רִבְרִי for רִבְרִי, וְגוֹר for וְגוֹר *et complens*, i. e. *and so on*. Also in the middle of what is apparently a word, such strokes indicate that it is an abbreviation or a *vox memorialis* (cf. e. g. § 15 d תִּתָּן). Two such strokes are employed, from § 41 d onward, to mark the different classes of weak verbs.—Note also יִי or יִי (also יִי) for יִי.

5. Peculiarities in the tradition of the O. T. text, which are already ⁷¹ mentioned in the Talmud, are—(1) The 15 *puncta extraordinaria*, about which the tradition (from Siphri on Nu 9¹⁰ onwards) differs considerably, even as to their number; on particular consonants, Gn 16⁵, 18⁹, 19³⁵⁻³⁵, Nu 9¹⁰; or on whole words, Gn 33⁴, 37¹², Nu 3³⁹, 21³⁰, 29¹⁵, Dt 29²⁸, 2 S 19²⁰, Is 44⁹, Ez 41²⁰, 46²², ψ 27¹³,—all no doubt critical marks; cf. Strack, *Prolegomena Critica*, p. 88 ff.; L. Blau, *Masoretische Untersuchungen*, Strassburg, 1891, p. 6 ff., and *Einführung in die hl. Schrift*, Budapest, 1894; Königsberger, *Jüd. Lit.-Blatt*, 1891, nos. 29-31, and *Aus Masorah u. Talmudkritik*, Berlin, 1892, p. 6 ff.; Mayer-Lambert, *REJ.* 30 (1895), no. 59; and especially Ginsburg, *Introd.*, p. 318 ff.; also on the ten points found in the Pentateuch, see Butin (Baltimore, 1906), who considers that they are as old as the Christian era and probably mark a letter, &c., to be deleted. (2) The *litterae majusculae* (e. g. ג Gn 1¹, ל Lv 11⁴² as the middle consonant of the Pentateuch, י Nu 14¹⁷), and *minusculae* (e. g. ה Gn 24¹). (3) The *litterae suspensae* (Ginsburg, *Introd.*, p. 334 ff.) נ Ju 18³⁰ (which points to the reading מִנְשֶׁה for מִנְשֶׁה), ע ψ 8c¹⁴ (the middle of the Psalms¹) and Jb 38¹³⁻¹⁵. (4) The 'mutilated' Wāw in שְׁלוֹם Nu 25¹², and ק Ex 32²⁵ (בְּקִמְיָה), and Nu 7² (הַפְּקוּדִים). (5) *Mēm clausum* in לְמַרְבָּה Is 9⁶, and *Mēm apertum* in הַמ פְּרוּצִים Neh 2¹³. (6) *Nūn inversum* before Nu 10³⁵, and after ver. 36, as also before ψ 107²³⁻²⁸ and ⁴⁰; according to Ginsburg, *Introd.*, p. 341 ff., a sort of bracket to indicate that the verses are out of place; cf. Krauss, *ZAW.* 1902, p. 57 ff., who regards the inverted Nūns as an imitation of the Greek obelus.

§ 6. Pronunciation and Division of Consonants.

P. Haupt, 'Die Semit. Sprachlaute u. ihre Umschrift,' in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie u. vergleich. semit. Sprachwissenschaft*, by Delitzsch and Haupt, i, Lpz. 1889, 249 ff.; E. Sievers, *Metrische Studien*, i, Lpz. 1901, p. 14 ff.

1. An accurate knowledge of the original phonetic value of each *α* consonant is of the greatest importance, since very many grammatical peculiarities and changes (§ 18 ff.) only become intelligible from the nature and pronunciation of the sounds. This knowledge is obtained partly from the pronunciation of the kindred dialects, especially the still living Arabic, partly by observing the affinity and interchange

*Oceano delle abbreviature e sigle*², Parma, 1883 (appendix, 1884); Ph. Lederer, *Hebr. u. Chald. Abbreviaturen*, Frankf. 1893; Händler, *Lexicon d. Abbreviaturen* (annexed to G. Dalman's *Aram.-neuhebr. WB.*, Frankf. 1897); Levias, art. 'Abbreviations,' in the *Jew. Encycl.*, i. 39 ff.; F. Perles, 'Zur Gesch. der Abbrev. im Hebr.' (*Archiv f. Stenogr.*, 1902, p. 41 ff.). On abbreviations in biblical MSS. see Ginsburg, *Introd.*, 165 ff.

¹ According to Blau, *Studien zum althebr. Buchwesen*, Strassburg, 1902, p. 167, properly a large ע, called *l'ilyā* because *suspended* between the two halves of the Psalter, and then incorrectly taken for a *littera suspensa*.

of sounds on Hebrew itself (§ 19), and partly from the tradition of the Jews.¹

The pronunciation of Hebrew by the modern German Jews, which partly resembles the Syriac and is generally called 'Polish', differs considerably from that of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews, which approaches nearer to the Arabic. The pronunciation of Hebrew by Christians follows the latter (after the example of Reuchlin), in almost all cases.

b The oldest tradition is presented in the transcription of Hebrew names in Assyrian cuneiform; a later, but yet in its way very important system is seen in the manner in which the LXX transcribe Hebrew names with Greek letters.² As, however, corresponding signs for several sounds (א, ב, ג, ד, ה) are wanting in the Greek alphabet, only an approximate representation was possible in these cases. The same applies to the Latin transcription of Hebrew words by Jerome, according to the Jewish pronunciation of his time.³

On the pronunciation of the modern Jews in North Africa, see Bargès in the *Journ. Asiat.*, Nov. 1848; on that of the South Arabian Jews, J. Dérenbourg, *Manuel du lecteur*, &c. (from a Yemen MS. of the year 1390), Paris, 1871 (extrait 6 du *Journ. Asiat.* 1870).

c 2. With regard to the pronunciation of the several gutturals and sibilants, and of א and פ, it may be remarked:—

1. Among the gutturals, the glottal stop א is the lightest, corresponding to the *spiritus lenis* of the Greeks. It may stand either at the beginning or end of a syllable, e. g. אָמָר 'āmār, אֲשַׁם yā'sām. Even before a vowel א is almost lost to our ear, like the *h* in *hour* and in the French *habit, homme*. After a vowel א generally (and at the end of a word, always) coalesces with it, e. g. אָרָא qārā for an original qārā', Arab. qārā'a; see further, § 23 a, 27 g.

d ה before a vowel corresponds exactly to our *h* (*spiritus asper*); after a vowel it is either a guttural (so always at the end of a syllable which is not final, e. g. נִהְפַּח nūhpakh; at the end of a word the consonantal ה has a point —Mappiq—in it, see § 14), or it stands inaudible at the end of a word, generally as a mere orthographic indication of a preceding vowel, e. g. גָּלָה gālā; cf. §§ 7 b and 75 a.

e ע is related to א, but is a much stronger guttural. Its strongest sound is a rattled, guttural *g*, cf. e. g. עֵץ, LXX Γάζα, עֵבֶר Γόμορρα; elsewhere, a weaker sound of the same kind, which the LXX reproduce by a *spiritus* (*lenis* or *asper*), e. g. עָלַי 'HAL, עֵמֶלֶק 'Amalék.⁴ In the mouth of the Arabs one hears in the former case a sort of guttural *r*, in the latter a sound peculiar to themselves formed in the back of the throat.—It is as incorrect to omit the ע

¹ Cf. C. Meinhof, 'Die Aussprache des Hebr.', in *Neue Jahrb. f. Philol. u. Pädag.*, 1885, Bd. 122, p. 146 ff.; M. Schreiner, 'Zur Gesch. der Ausspr. des Hebr.', in *ZAW.* 1886, p. 213 ff.

² Cf. Frankel, *Vorstudien zu der Septuag.*, Lpz. 1841, p. 90 ff.; C. Könneke, 'Gymn.-Progr.', Stargard, 1885. On the transcription of eleven Psalms in a palimpsest fragment of the Hexapla at Milan, see Mercati, *Atti della R. Accad.*, xxxi, Turin, 1896. [Cf. Burkitt, *Fragments of . . . Aquila*, Cambr. 1897, p. 13.]

³ Numerous examples occur in *Hieronymi quaestiones hebraicae in libro genesios*, edited by P. de Lagarde, Lpz. 1868; cf. the exhaustive and systematic discussion by Siegfried, 'Die Aussprache des Hebr. bei Hieronymus,' in *ZAW.* 1884, pp. 34-83.

⁴ It is, however, doubtful if the LXX always consciously aimed at reproducing the actual differences of sound.

entirely, in reading and transcribing words (עֵלִי *Eli*, עֵמֶלֶק *Amalek*), as to pronounce it exactly like *g* or like a nasal *ng*. The stronger sound might be approximately transcribed by *gh* or '*g*'; but since in Hebrew the softer sound was the more common, it is sufficient to represent it by the sign ' as אֲרָבַע 'arba', אֲדָ 'ad.

ח is the strongest guttural sound, a deep guttural *ch*, as heard generally *f* in Swiss German, somewhat as in the German *Achat*, *Macht*, *Sache*, *Docht*, *Zucht* (not as in *Licht*, *Knecht*), and similar to the Spanish *j*. Like י it was, however, pronounced in many words feebly, in others strongly.

As regards י, its pronunciation as a palatal (with a vibrating uvula) seems *g* to have been the prevailing one. Hence in some respects it is also classed with the gutturals (§ 22 q, r). On the lingual י, cf. § 6 o.

2. The Hebrew language is unusually rich in sibilants. These have, at any *h* rate in some cases, arisen from dentals which are retained as such in Aramaic and Arabic (see in the *Lexicon* the letters י, ז and ש).

ש and ש were originally represented (as is still the case in the unpointed *i* texts) by only one form ש; but that the use of this one form to express two different sounds (at least in Hebrew) was due only to the poverty of the alphabet, is clear from the fact that they are differentiated in Arabic and Ethiopic (cf. Nöldeke in *Ztschr. f. wissenschaft. Theol.*, 1873, p. 121; Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, i. 133). In the Masoretic punctuation they were distinguished by means of the diacritical point as ש (sh) and ש (s).¹

The original difference between the sounds ש and ש sometimes marks *k* a distinction in meaning, e.g. קָרַב to close, שָׂכַר to hire, סָבַל to be foolish, שָׂבַל to be prudent, to be wise. Syriac always represents both sounds by ס, and in Hebrew also they are sometimes interchanged; as קָרַב for שָׂכַר to hire, Ezr 4⁵; שָׂבַל for סָבַל folly, Ec 1¹⁷.

י (transcribed ζ by the LXX) is a soft whizzing *s*, the French and English *z*, *l* altogether different from the German *z* (*ts*).

3. ז, ב, and probably ז are pronounced with a strong articulation and *nn* with a compression of the larynx. The first two are thus essentially different from ז and ז, which correspond to our *t* and *k* and also are often aspirated (see below, n). ז is distinguished from every other *s* by its peculiar articulation, and in no way corresponds to the German *z* or *ts*; we transcribe it by *z*; cf. G. Hüsing, 'Zum Lautwerte des ז,' in *OLZ.* x. 467 ff.

3. Six consonants, the weak and middle hard Palatals, Dentals, *nn* and Labials

ב נ ד כ פ ת (בְּנִדְכָּפֶת)

have a twofold pronunciation, (1) a harder sound, as mutes, like

¹ The modern Samaritans, however, in reading their Hebrew Pentateuch pronounce ש invariably as ש.

² The original value of ז, and its relation to the original value of ש and ש, is still undetermined, despite the valuable investigations of P. Haupt, *ZDMG.* 1880, p. 762 f.; D. H. Müller, 'Zur Geschichte der semit. Zischlaute,' in the *Verhandlungen des Wiener Orient. Congresses*, Vienna, 1888, Semitic section, p. 229 ff.; De Lagarde, 'Samech,' in the *NGGW.* 1891, no. 5, esp. p. 173; Aug. Müller, *ZAW.* 1891, p. 267 ff.; Nöldeke, *ZDMG.* 1893, p. 100 f.; E. Glaser, *Zwei Wiener Publicationen über Habaschitisch-punische Dialekte in Südarabien*, Munich, 1902, pp. 19 ff.—On the phonetic value of ז see G. Hüsing, *OLZ.* 1907, p. 467 ff.

k, *p*, *t*, or initial *b*, *g* (hard), *d*; and (2) a softer sound as *spirantes*.¹ The harder sound is the original. It is retained at the beginning of syllables, when there is no vowel immediately preceding to influence the pronunciation, and is denoted by a point, *Dageš lene* (§ 13), placed in the consonants, viz. ב *b*, ג *g*, ד *d*, כ *k*, פ *p*, ת *t*. The weaker pronunciation appears as soon as a vowel sound immediately precedes. It is occasionally denoted, esp. in MSS., by *Rāphè* (§ 14 e), but in printed texts usually by the mere absence of the *Dageš*. In the case of ב, כ, פ, ת, the two sounds are clearly distinguishable even to our ear as *b* and *v*, *k* and German (weak) *ch*, *p* and *ph*, *t* and *th* (in *thin*). The Greeks too express this twofold pronunciation by special characters: ב κ, כ χ; פ π, פ φ; ת τ, ת θ. In the same way ג should be pronounced like the North German *g* in *Tage*, *Wagen*, and ד like *th* in *the*, as distinguished from ג and ד.

For more precise information on the cases in which the one or the other pronunciation takes place, see § 21. The modern Jews pronounce the aspirated ב as *v*, the aspirated ת as *s*, e.g. רב *rav* (or even *raf*), בית *bais*. The customary transcription (used also in this Grammar) of the spirants ב, כ, ת by *bh*, *kh*, *th* is only an unsatisfactory makeshift, since it may lead (esp. in the case of *bh* and *kh*) to an erroneous conception of the sounds as real aspirates, *b-h*, *k-h*.

o 4. According to their special character the consonants are divided into—

(a) Gutturals	א ה ע ח;
(b) Palatals	ג כ;
(c) Dentals	ד ט ת;
(d) Labials	ב פ;
(e) Sibilants	ז ש ס צ;
(f) Sonants	ו י, ל, נ, מ.

In the case of ד its hardest pronunciation as a *palatal* (see above, *g*, end) is to be distinguished from its more unusual sound as a lingual, pronounced in the front of the mouth.

On the twofold pronunciation of *r* in Tiberias, cf. Delitzsch, *Physiol. und Musik*, Lpz. 1868, p. 10 ff.; Baer and Strack, *Dikduke ha-ʿamim*, Lpz. 1879, p. 5, note *a*, and § 7 of the Hebrew text, as well as p. 82.

p In accordance with E. Sievers, *Metrische Studien*, i. 14, the following scheme of the Hebrew phonetic system is substituted for the table formerly given in this grammar:—

i. Throat sounds (Gutturals): א ה ע ח.

¹ So at any rate at the time when the present punctuation arose.

ii. Mouth-sounds:

	w.	m.	e.	w.	m.
1. Mutes and	Palatal א	ב	ק	ג	כ
Spirants:	Dental ד	ח	ט	ך	ת
	Labial פ	פ	—	ב	פ
2. Sibilants:	...	ז ש ם	צ		
3. Sonants:	...	ו ר ל	נ מ		

Rem. 1. The meaning of the letters at the top is, w. = weak, m. = middle *q* hard, e. = emphatic. Consonants which are produced by the same organ of speech are called *homorganic* (e.g. א and כ as palatals), consonants whose sound is of the same nature *homogeneous* (e.g. ו and י as semi-vowels). On their homorganic character and homogeneity depends the possibility of interchange, whether within Hebrew itself or with the kindred dialects. In such cases the soft sound generally interchanges with the soft, the hard with the hard, &c. (e.g. ד=ז, ח=שׁ, ט=צ). Further transitions are not, however, excluded, as e.g. the interchange of ח and ק (ח=כ=ק). Here it is of importance to observe whether the change takes place in an initial, medial, or final letter; since e.g. the change in a letter when medial does not always prove the possibility of the change when initial. That in certain cases the character of the consonantal sound also influences the preceding or following vowel will be noticed in the accidence as the instances occur.

Rem. 2. Very probably in course of time certain nicer distinctions of *ʔ* pronunciation became more and more neglected and finally were lost. Thus e.g. the stronger *ʔ* *ʔ*, which was known to the LXX (see above, e), became in many cases altogether lost to the later Jews; by the Samaritans and Galileans *ʔ* and ח were pronounced merely as א, and so in Ethiopic, *ʔ* like א, ח like ה, שׁ like ש.

Rem. 3. The consonants which it is usual to describe especially as *weak*, *s* are those which readily coalesce with a preceding vowel to form a long vowel, viz. א, ו, י (as to ח, cf. § 23 k), or those which are most frequently affected by the changes described in § 19 b-l, as again א, ו, י, and ז, and in certain cases ח and ל; finally the gutturals and ד for the reason given in § 22 b and g.

§ 7. *The Vowels in General, Vowel Letters and Vowel Signs.*

1. The original vowels in Hebrew, as in the other Semitic tongues, *a* are *a*, *i*, *u*. *E* and *o* always arise from an obscuring or contraction of these three pure sounds, viz. *e* by modification from *i* or *ā*; short *ō* from *u*; *ē* by contraction from *ai* (properly *ay*); and *ō* sometimes by modification (obscuring) from *ā*, sometimes by contraction from *au* (properly *aw*).¹

In Arabic writing there are vowel signs only for *a*, *i*, *u*; the combined sounds *ay* and *aw* are therefore retained uncontracted and pronounced as diphthongs (*ai* and *au*), e.g. שׂוּם Arab. *sawf*, and עֵינַיִם Arab. *ʿainain*. It was

¹ In proper names the LXX often use the diphthongs *ai* and *au* where the Hebrew form has *e* or *ō*. It is, however, very doubtful whether the *ai* and *au* of the LXX really represent the true pronunciation of Hebrew of that time; see the instructive statistics given by Kittel in Haupt's *SBOT*, on i Ch 1²⁻²⁰.

only in later Arabic that they became in pronunciation \hat{e} and \hat{o} , at least after weaker or softer consonants; cf. בַּיִן Arab. *bain, bēn*, יָוֵם Arab. *yaum, yōm*. The same contraction appears also in other languages, e.g. in Greek and Latin (θαῦμα, Ionic θῶμα; *plaustrum* = *plostrum*), in the French pronunciation of *ai* and *au*, and likewise in the German popular dialects (*Oge* for *Auge*, &c.). Similarly, the obscuring of the vowels plays a part in various languages (cf. e.g. the *a* in modern Persian, Swedish, English, &c.).¹

b 2. The partial expression of the vowels by certain consonants (ה, ו, י; א), which sufficed during the lifetime of the language, and for a still longer period afterwards (cf. § 1 k), must in the main have passed through the following stages²:—

(a) The need of a written indication of the vowel first made itself felt in cases where, after the rejection of a consonant, or of an entire syllable, a long vowel formed the final sound of the word. The first step in such a case was to retain the original final consonant, at least as a vowel letter, i. e. merely as an indication of a final vowel. In point of fact we find even in the Old Testament, as already in the Mēša' inscription, a ה employed in this way (see below) as an indication of a final *o*. From this it was only a step to the employment of the same consonant to indicate also other vowels when final (thus, e.g. in the inflection of the verbs הָלַךְ, the vowels \bar{a} , \bar{e} , \bar{e}). After the employment of ו as a vowel letter for \hat{o} and \hat{u} , and of י for \hat{e} and \hat{i} , had been established (see below, e) these consonants were also employed—although not consistently—for the same vowels at the end of a word.

c According to § 91 b and d, the suffix of the 3rd sing. masc. in the noun (as in the verb) was originally pronounced הוּ. But in the places where this הוּ with a preceding *a* is contracted into \hat{o} (after the rejection of the ה), we find the ה still frequently retained as a vowel letter, e.g. כִּנְיָהּ עִירָה Gn 49¹¹, cf. § 91 e; so throughout the Mēša' inscription אֶרְצָהּ, בֵּיתָהּ (also בִּתְהָהּ), בְּנָהּ, בָּהּ, לָהּ, הֶלְלָתָהּ; on the other hand already in the Siloam inscription רָעוּ מֶשָׁא, l. 8 = יָמֵיוּ *his days* is unusual, as also רִשָּׁהּ l. 20 if it is for רָאשֵׁיוּ *his chiefs*. The verbal forms with ה suffixed are to be read וְיִתְלַפֶּה (l. 6), וְאִתְחַבֶּה (l. 12 f.) and וְיִתְנַשֶּׁה (l. 19).

d As an example of the original consonant being retained, we might also include the י of the constr. state plur. masc. if its \hat{e} (according to § 89 d) is

¹ In Sanskrit, in the Old Persian cuneiform, and in Ethiopic, short *a* alone of all the vowels is not represented, but the consonant by itself is pronounced with short *a*.

² Cf. especially Stade, *Lehrb. der hebr. Gr.*, p. 34 ff.

³ According to Stade, the employment of ה for \bar{a} probably took place first in the case of the locative accusatives which originally ended in הָ, as קְרִימָהּ, אֶרְצָהּ.

⁴ The form רָעוּ contradicts the view of Oort, *Theol. Tijds.*, 1902, p. 374, that the above instances from the Mēša'-inscription are to be read *benhu, bahu, lahu*, which were afterwards vocalized as *beno, bo, lo*.

contracted from an original *ay*. Against this, however, it may be urged that the Phoenician inscriptions do not usually express this *é*, nor any other final vowel.¹

(b) The employment of ם to denote *ô*, *û*, and of י to denote *ê*, *î*, may *e* have resulted from those cases in which a ם with a preceding *a* was contracted into *au* and further to *ô*, or with a preceding *u* coalesced into *û*, and where י with *a* has been contracted into *ai* and further to *ê*, or with a preceding *i* into *î* (cf. § 24). In this case the previously existing consonants were retained as vowel letters and were further applied at the end of the word to denote the respective long vowels. Finally ן also will in the first instance have established itself as a vowel letter only where a consonantal ן with a preceding *a* had coalesced into *ô* or *û*.

The orthography of the Siloam inscription corresponds almost exactly with the above assumptions. Here (as in the Mēša' inser.) we find all the long vowels, which have not arisen from original diphthongs, *without* vowel letters, thus *אֵשׁ*, *קֵל*, *אֶמֶת*; *מִיָּמָן* (or *מִיָּמָן*); *צִד*. On the other hand *מִיָּמָן* (from *mauša'*), *עִיד* (from *'auā*); *מִיָּמָן* also, if it is to be read *מִיָּמָן*, is an instance of the retention of a י which has coalesced with *i* into *î*. Instances of the retention of an originally consonantal ן as a vowel letter are *מִיָּמָן*, *מִיָּמָן*, and *מִיָּמָן*, as also *רֵאשׁ*. Otherwise final *ā* is always represented by ה: *אֶמֶת*, *הָיָה*, *וְרָה*, *נִקְרָה*. To this ם alone would form an exception (cf. however the note on יום, § 96), instead of יום (Arab. *yaum*) *day*, which one would expect. If the reading be correct, this is to be regarded as an argument that a consciousness of the origin of many long vowels was lost at an early period, so that (at least in the middle of the word) the vowel letters were omitted in places where they should stand, according to what has been stated above, and added where there was no case of contraction. This view is in a great measure confirmed by the orthography of the Mēša' inscription. There we find, as might be expected, *דַּיְבִן* (= *Daibōn*, as the *Δαιβῶν* of the LXX proves), *חֹרֶבֶן* (*ô* from *au*), and *בֵּיתָה* (*ê* from *ai*), but also even *הַשְּׁעִנִּי* instead of *הַשְּׁעִנִּי* (from *haus-*), *וְאִשִּׁיב* = *וְאִשִּׁיב* four times, *בֵּיתָה* once, for *בֵּיתָה* and *בֵּיתָה* (from *bail*); *לֵלָה* = *לֵלָה*, *אֵן* = *אֵן* or *אֵן*.

¹ Thus there occurs, e.g. in Melit. I, l. 3 *שְׁנֵי בְנֵי שֶׁנְּבִנְיָה* the two sons; elsewhere כ for בּי (but כּי in the Mēša' and Siloam inser.) *וְהָיָה* (the latter in the Siloam inser.), *בְּנֵת* = *בְּנֵתִי* (so Mēša') or *בְּנֵתִי*, &c. Cf. on the other hand in Mēša', *אֲנִכִּי* = *אֲנִכִּי* (unless it was actually pronounced *'anōkh* by the Moabites!). As final *ā* is represented by ה and ן and final *i* by י, so final *û* is almost everywhere expressed by ם in Mēša', and always in the Siloam inscription. It is indeed not impossible that Hebrew orthography also once passed through a period in which the final vowels were left always or sometimes undenoted, and that not a few strange forms in the present text of the Bible are to be explained from the fact that subsequently the vowel letters (especially ם and י) were not added in all cases. So Chwolson, 'Die Quiescentia ה in der althebr. Orthogr.,' in *Travaux du Congrès... des Orientalistes*, Petersb. 1876; cf. numerous instances in Ginsburg, *Introd.*, p. 146 ff.

² *הַשְּׁעִנִּי* is the more strange since the name of king *הַשְּׁעִנִּי* is represented as *A-u si'* in cuneiform as late as 728 B.C.

g (c) In the present state of Old Testament vocalization as it appears in the Masoretic text, the striving after a certain uniformity cannot be mistaken, in spite of the inconsistencies which have crept in. Thus the final long vowel is, with very few exceptions (cf. § 9 d, and the very doubtful cases in § 8 k), indicated by a vowel letter—and almost always by the same letter in certain nominal and verbal endings. In many cases the use of י to mark an *ô* or *û*, arising from contraction, and of י for *ê* or *î*, is by far the more common, while we seldom find an originally consonantal נ rejected, and the simple phonetic principle taking the place of the historical orthography. On the other hand the number of exceptions is very great. In many cases (as e.g. in the plural endings נִי— and מִי) the vowel letters are habitually employed to express long vowels which do not arise through contraction, and we even find short vowels indicated. The conclusion is, that if there ever was a period of Hebrew writing when the application of fixed laws to all cases was intended, either these laws were not consistently carried out in the further transmission of the text, or errors and confusion afterwards crept into it. Moreover much remained uncertain even in texts which were plentifully provided with vowel letters. For, although in most cases the context was a guide to the correct reading, yet there were also cases where, of the many possible ways of pronouncing a word, more than one appeared admissible.¹

h 3. When the language had died out, the ambiguity of such a writing must have been found continually more troublesome; and as there was thus a danger that the correct pronunciation might be finally lost, the vowel signs or vowel points were invented in order to fix it. By means of these points everything hitherto left uncertain was most accurately settled. It is true that there is no historical account of the date of this vocalization of the O. T. text, yet we may at least infer, from a comparison of other historical facts, that it was gradually developed by Jewish grammarians in the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. under the influence of different Schools, traces of which have been preserved to the present time in various differences of tradition.² They mainly followed, though with independent regard to

¹ Thus e.g. קָטַל can be read *qāṭal*, *qātāl*, *qūṭāl*, *q'ṭāl*, *qōṭāl*, *qittēl*, *qattēl*, *quṭṭāl*, *qēṭēl*, and several of these forms have also different senses.

² The most important of these differences are, (a) those between the Orientals, i. e. the scholars of the Babylonian Schools, and the Occidentals, i. e. the scholars of Palestine (Tiberias, &c.); cf. Ginsburg, *Introd.*, p. 197 ff.; (b) amongst the Occidentals, between Ben-Naphtali and Ben-Asher, who flourished in the first half of the tenth century at Tiberias; cf. Ginsburg, *Introd.*, p. 241 ff. Both sets of variants are given by Baer in the appendices

the peculiar nature of the Hebrew, the example and pattern of the older Syrian punctuation.¹

See Gesenius, *Gesch. d. hebr. Spr.*, p. 182 ff.; Hupfeld, in *Theol. Studien u. Kritiken*, 1830, pt. iii, who shows that neither Jerome nor the Talmud mentions vowel signs; Berliner, *Beiträge zur hebr. Gramm. im Talm. u. Midrasch*, p. 26 ff.; and B. Pick, in *Hebraica*, i. 3, p. 153 ff.; Abr. Geiger, 'Zur Nakdanim- [Punctuators-]Literatur,' in *Jüd. Ztschr. für Wissensch. u. Leben*, x. Breslau, 1872, p. 10 ff.; H. Strack, *Prolegomena critica in Vet. Test. Hebr.*, Lips. 1873; 'Beitrag zur Gesch. des hebr. Bibeltexes,' in *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.*, 1875, p. 736 ff., as also in the *Ztschr. f. die ges. luth. Theol. u. K.*, 1875, p. 619 ff.; 'Massorah,' in the *Protest. Real.-Enc.*, xii. 393 ff. (a good outline); A. Merx, in the *Verhandlungen des Orientalistenkongresses zu Berlin*, i. Berlin, 1881, p. 164 ff. and p. 188 ff.; H. Graetz, 'Die Anfänge der Vokalzeichen im Hebr.,' in *Monatsschr. f. Gesch. u. Wissensch. d. Judenth.*, 1881, pp. 348 ff. and 395 ff.; Hersmann, *Zur Gesch. des Streites über die Entstehung der hebr. Punctuation*, Ruhrort, 1885; Harris, 'The Rise... of the Massorah,' *JQR.* i. 1889, p. 128 ff. and p. 223 ff.; Mayer-Lambert, *REJ.* xxvi. 1893, p. 274 ff.; J. Bachrach, *Das Alter d. bibl. Vocalisation u. Accentuation*, 2 pts. Warsaw, 1897, and esp. Ginsburg, *Introd.* (see § 3 c), p. 287 ff.; Budde, 'Zur Gesch. d. Tiberiens. Vokalisation,' in *Orient. Studien zu Ehren Th. Nöldekes*, i. 1906, 651 ff.; Bacher, 'Diakrit. Zeichen in vormasoret. Zeit,' in *ZAW.* 1907, p. 285; C. Levias, art. 'Vocalization,' in the *Jewish Encycl.*—On the hypothesis of the origin of punctuation in the Jewish schools for children, cf. J. Dérenbourg in the *Rev. Crit.*, xiii. 1879, no. 25.

4. To complete the historical vocalization of the consonantal text *i* a phonetic system was devised, so exact as to show all vowel-changes occasioned by lengthening of words, by the tone, by gutturals, &c., which in other languages are seldom indicated in writing. The pronunciation followed is in the main that of the Palestinian Jews of about the sixth century A.D., as observed in the solemn reading of the sacred writings in synagogue and school, but based on a much older tradition. That the real pronunciation of early Hebrew is consistently preserved by this tradition, has recently been seriously questioned on good grounds, especially in view of the transcription of proper names in the LXX. Nevertheless in many cases, internal reasons, as well as the analogy of the kindred languages, testify in a high degree to the faithfulness of the tradition. At the same recension of the text, or soon after, the various other signs for reading (§§ 11–14, 16) were added, and the accents (§ 15).

§ 8. The Vowel Signs in particular.

P. Haupt, 'The names of the Hebrew vowels,' *JAOS.* xxii, and in the *Johns Hopkins Semitic Papers*, Newhaven, 1901, p. 7 ff.; C. Levias in the *Hebr. Union Coll. Annual*, Cincinnati, 1904, p. 138 ff.

to his critical editions. Our printed editions present uniformly the text of Ben-Asher, with the exception of a few isolated readings of Ben-Naphtali, and of numerous later corruptions.

¹ See Geiger, 'Massorah bei d. Syrern,' in *ZDMG.* 1873, p. 148 ff.; J. P. Martin, *Hist. de la ponctuation ou de la Massore chez les Syriens*, Par. 1875; E. Nestle, in *ZDMG.* 1876, p. 525 ff.; Weingarten, *Die syr. Massora nach Bar Hebraeus*, Halle, 1887.

Preliminary Remark.

The next two sections (§§ 8 and 9) have been severely criticized (Philippi, *ThLZ.* 1897, no. 2) for assigning a definite quantity to each of the several vowels, whereas in reality $\bar{\text{—}}$, — , — are merely signs for \bar{a} , e , o : 'whether these are long or short is not shown by the signs themselves but must be inferred from the rules for the pause which marks the breaks in continuous narrative, or from other circumstances.' But in the twenty-fourth and subsequent German editions of this Grammar, in the last note on § 8 a [English ed. p. 38, note 4], it was stated: 'it must be mentioned that the Masoretes are not concerned with any distinction between long and short vowels, or in general with any question of quantity. Their efforts are directed to fixing the received pronunciation as faithfully as possible, by means of writing.

For a long time only שבעה מלכים *seven kings* were reckoned (*vox memor.* in Elias Levita אֱלִיָּהוּ אֱלִיָּהוּ אֱלִיָּהוּ, Šureq and Qibbuš being counted as one vowel.

The division of the vowels in respect of quantity is a later attempt at a scientific conception of the phonetic system, which was not invented but only represented by the Masoretes (Qimchi, *Mikhlol*, ed. Rittenb. 136 a, distinguishes the five long as *mothers* from their five daughters).

I have therefore long shared the opinion that 'the vowel-system represented by the ordinary punctuation (of Tiberias) was primarily intended to mark only differences of quality' (Sievers, *Metrische Studien*, i. 17). There is, however, of course a further question how far these 'later' grammarians were mistaken in assigning a particular quantity to the vowels represented by particular signs. In Philippi's opinion they were mistaken (excluding of course \bar{e} , \bar{o} when written *plene*) in a very great number of cases, since not only does — stand, according to circumstances, for \bar{a} or \bar{e} , and — for \bar{a} or \bar{e} , but also — for \bar{e} or \bar{e} , and — for \bar{o} or \bar{o} , e. g. קָבַר and קָבַר, out of pause $\bar{k}\bar{a}\bar{b}\bar{e}\bar{a}$, $\bar{q}\bar{a}\bar{b}\bar{e}\bar{a}$ (form קָבַר), but in pause $\bar{k}\bar{a}\bar{b}\bar{e}\bar{a}$, $\bar{q}\bar{a}\bar{b}\bar{e}\bar{a}$.

I readily admit, with regard to *Qameš* and *Segol*, that the account formerly given in § 8 f. was open to misconception. With regard to *Sere* and *Holem*, however, I can only follow Philippi so long as his view does not conflict with the (to me inviolable) law of a long vowel in an open syllable before the tone and (except *Pathah*) in a final syllable with the tone. To me קָבַר = $\bar{k}\bar{a}\bar{b}\bar{e}\bar{a}$, &c., is as impossible as e. g. עֵנַב = $\bar{e}\bar{n}\bar{a}\bar{b}$ or בֹּרַח = $\bar{b}\bar{o}\bar{r}\bar{a}\bar{h}$, in spite of the analogy cited by Sievers (p. 18, note 1) that 'in old German e. g. original \bar{i} and \bar{u} often pass into \bar{e} and \bar{o} dialectically, while remaining in a closed syllable.

- a 1. The full vowels (in contrast to the half-vowels or vowel trills, § 10 a-f), classified according to the three principal vowel sounds (§ 7 a), are as follows:—

First Class. A-sound.

- A { 1. — ¹ *Qāmēš* denotes either \bar{a} , \bar{a} , more strictly \bar{a} (the obscure Swedish \bar{a}) and \bar{a} ,² as יָד $\bar{y}\bar{a}\bar{d}$ (hand), ראשם $\bar{r}\bar{a}\bar{s}\bar{h}\bar{e}\bar{m}$ (heads), or \bar{a} (in future transcribed as \bar{o}), called *Qāmēš ḥatūph*, i. e. hurried *Qameš*. The latter occurs almost exclusively as a modification of \bar{u} ; cf. c and § 9 u.
2. — *Pathah*, \bar{a} , בַּת $\bar{b}\bar{a}\bar{t}$ (daughter).

¹ In early MSS. the sign for *Qameš* is a stroke with a point underneath, i. e. according to Nestle's discovery (*ZDMG.* 1892, p. 411 f.), *Pathah* with *Holem*, the latter suggesting the obscure pronunciation of *Qameš* as \bar{a} . Cf. also Ginsburg, *Introd.*, p. 609.

² Instead of the no doubt more accurate transcription \bar{a} , \bar{a} we have

Also 3. ֿ *Segôl*, an open *e*, ֿ (\bar{a} or $\bar{ä}$), as a modification of \bar{a} ,¹ either in an untuned closed syllable, as in the first syllable of יָדְךָ *yădḵhēm* (your hand) from *yădḵhēm*—or in a tone-syllable as in פֶּסַח *pēsah*; cf. $\pi\acute{o}\sigma\chi\alpha$, and on the really monosyllabic character of such formations, see § 28 e. But *Segôl* in an open tone-syllable with a following ֿ , as in גִּלְעָד *gēlēnā* (cf. § 75 f), יָדְךָ *yădḵhā* (cf. § 91 i), is due to contraction from *ay*.

Second Class. I- and E-sounds.

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| I | { | 1. ֿ <i>Hērēq</i> with <i>yod</i> , almost always ֿ , as צַדִּיק <i>ṣaddīq</i> (righteous). ֿ |
| | | 2. ֿ either ֿ (see below, i), as צַדִּיקִים <i>ṣaddīqīm</i> , only orthographically different from צַדִּיקִים (צַדִּיקִים),—or ֿ , as צַדִּיקוֹ <i>ṣiddqô</i> (his righteousness). |
| E | { | 3. ֿ <i>Serî</i> or <i>Šerē</i> with <i>yod</i> = ֿ , e.g. בֵּיתוֹ <i>bêthô</i> (his house).
ֿ either ֿ , but rarely (see below, i), or ֿ as שֵׁם <i>šēm</i> (name).
<i>Sere</i> can only be ֿ , in my opinion, in few cases, such as those mentioned in § 29 f. |
| | | 4. ֿ <i>Segôl</i> , $\bar{ä}$, a modification of ֿ , e.g. הַיְצִי <i>hăyṣî</i> (ground-form <i>hăṣî</i>); שֵׁן <i>šîn</i> (ground-form <i>šîn</i>). |

Third Class. U- and O-sounds.

- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| U | { | 1. ֿ <i>Šārēq</i> , usually ֿ , מָוֶת <i>mūth</i> (to die), rarely ֿ . ֿ |
| | | 2. ֿ <i>Qibbūs</i> , either ֿ , e.g. סֻלָּאָם <i>sullām</i> (ladder), or ֿ , e.g. קָמָוּ <i>qāmū</i> (rise up), instead of the usual ֿ . |
| O | { | 3. ֿ and ֿ <i>Hōlēm</i> , ֿ and ֿ , קוֹל <i>qôl</i> (voice), רֹב <i>rōbh</i> (multitude).
Often also a defective ֿ for ֿ ; rarely ֿ for ֿ .
On the question whether ֿ under some circumstances represents ֿ , see § 93 r. |
| | | 4. ֿ On <i>Qāmēṣ ḥātūph</i> = ֿ , generally modified from ֿ , as קָמֶץ <i>hōq</i> (statute), see above, a. |

retained \bar{a} , $\bar{ä}$ in this grammar, as being typographically simpler and not liable to any misunderstanding. For *Qāmēṣ ḥātūph*, in the previous German edition expressed by $\bar{ä}$, we have, after careful consideration, returned to ֿ . The use of the same sign ֿ for $\bar{ä}$ ($\bar{ä}$) and $\bar{ä}$, shows that the Massoretes did not intend to draw a sharp distinction between them. We must not, however, regard the Jewish grammarians as making a merely idle distinction between *Qāmēṣ rāḥab*, or broad *Qāmēṣ*, and *Qāmēṣ ḥātūph*, or light *Qāmēṣ*. It is quite impossible that in the living language an \bar{a} lengthened from $\bar{ä}$, as in *dāḇār*, should have been indistinguishable from e.g. the last vowel in יִשְׂרָאֵל or the first in יִשְׂרָאֵל .—The notation \bar{a} , $\bar{ä}$, ֿ expresses here the vowels essentially long, either naturally or by contraction; the notation \bar{a} , $\bar{ä}$, ֿ those lengthened only by the tone, and therefore changeable; \bar{a} , $\bar{ä}$, ֿ the short vowels. As regards the others, the distinction into ֿ and ֿ , ֿ and ֿ is sufficient; see § 9.—The mark ֿ stands in the following pages over the tone-syllable, whenever this is not the last, as is usual, but the penultimate syllable of the word, e.g. יִשְׂרָאֵל .

¹ These *Segôls*, modified from $\bar{ä}$, are very frequent in the language. The

d The names of the vowels are mostly taken from the form and action of the mouth in producing the various sounds, as פִּתּוּחַ *opening*; יָצִיר *a wide parting* (of the mouth), also שִׁבְרָה (= *ē*) *breaking, parting* (cf. the Arab. *kasr*); הִירָק (also הִרָק) *narrow opening*; הִלָּק *closing*, according to others *fullness*, i. e. of the mouth (also מִלָּא פִּימָה ¹ *fullness of the mouth*). קִבְּצָה ² also denotes a slighter, as שִׁבְרָה and קִבְּצָה (also קִבְּצָה פִּימָה) a firmer, compression or contraction of the mouth. סֵגוֹל (סֵגוֹל *bunch of grapes*) takes its name from its form. So שְׁלֹשׁ נְקֻדּוֹת (*three points*) is another name for Qibbūṣ.

c Moreover the names were mostly so formed (but only later), that the sound of each vowel is heard in the first syllable (קִבְּצָה for קִבְּצָה; פִּתּוּחַ for פִּתּוּחַ; יָצִיר for יָצִיר); in order to carry this out consistently some even write Sägöl, Qomes-hatuf, Qübbūṣ.

f 2. As the above examples show, the vowel sign stands regularly *under* the consonant, *after* which it is to be pronounced, רַ *rā*, רָ *rā*, רֶ *rē*, רִ *rī*, &c. The Pathah called *furtivum* (§ 22 *f*) alone forms an exception to this rule, being pronounced *before* the consonant, רוּחַ *rūḥ* (wind, spirit). The Hölēm (without *wāw*) stands on the left above the consonant, רֹ *rō* (but לֹ = *lō*). If א, as a vowel letter, follows a consonant which is to be pronounced with *ō*, the point is placed over its right arm, thus באֹ, ראֹשׁ; but e.g. באָם, since א here begins a syllable.

g No dot is used for the Hölēm when *ō* (of course without *wāw*) is pronounced after *sin* or before *šin*. Hence שֹׁנֵא *šōnā* (hating), נִשָּׂא *nēšā* (to bear), מִשָּׂה *mōšā* (not מִשָּׂה); but שֹׁמֵר *šōmēr* (a watchman). When *ō* precedes the *šin*, the dot is placed over its right arm, e.g. יִרְפֹּשׁ *yirpōš* (he treads with the feet), הַנִּשְׂאִים *hannōš'im* (those who carry).

In the sign י, the י may also be a consonant. The י is then either to be read *ōw* (necessarily so when a consonant otherwise without a vowel precedes, e.g. לֹוֶה *lōwē*, lending) or *wō*, when a vowel already precedes the י, e.g. עֲוֹן *‘āwōn* (iniquity) for עוֹן. In more exact printing, a distinction is at least made between י (*wō*) and י (i. e. either *ō* or, when another vowel follows the *wāw*, *ōw*).

Babylonian punctuation (see § 8 *g*, note 1) has only one sign for it and tone-bearing Pathah; see also Gaster, 'Die Unterschiedslosigkeit zwischen Pathach u. Segol,' in *ZAW*. 1894, p. 60 ff.

¹ On the erroneous use of the term *melo pum*, only in Germany, for *šureq* (hence also pronounced *melu pum* to indicate *ū*), see E. Nestle, *ZDMG*. 1904, p. 597 ff.; Bacher, *ibid.*, p. 799 ff., *Melopum*; Simonsen, *ibid.*, p. 807 ff.

² The usual spelling קִבְּצָה and פִּתּוּחַ takes the words certainly rightly as Hebrew substantives; according to De Lagarde (*Gött. gel. Anz.* 1886, p. 873, and so previously Luzzatto), קִבְּצָה and פִּתּוּחַ are rather Aram. participles, like *Dageš*, &c., and consequently to be transliterated *Qāmbāṣ* and *Pāthah*.

³ Since 1846 we have become acquainted with a system of vocalization different in many respects from the common method. The vowel signs, all except י, are there placed *above* the consonants, and differ almost throughout in form,

3. The vowels of the first class are, with the exception of אֵ in ה the middle and אֵ , אֵ , אֵ at the end of the word (§ 9 a-d, f), represented *only* by vowel signs, but the long vowels of the I- and U-class largely by vowel letters. The vowel sound to which the letter

and some even as regards the sound which they denote: $\text{אֵ} = \text{ā}$, $\text{אֵ} = \text{tone-bearing ā and ē}$, $\text{אֵ} = \text{ē}$, $\text{אֵ} = \text{ī}$, $\text{אֵ} = \text{ō}$, $\text{אֵ} = \text{ū}$ or ū . In an unsharpened syllable $\text{אֵ} = \text{toneless ā and ē}$, and also *Ḥaṭeph Pathah*; $\text{אֵ} = \text{toneless ē}$ and *Ḥaṭeph Səghōl*; $\text{אֵ} = \text{ī}$, $\text{אֵ} = \text{ū}$, $\text{אֵ} = \text{ō}$, and *Ḥaṭeph Qames*. Lastly in toneless syllables before *Dageš*, $\text{אֵ} = \text{ā}$, $\text{אֵ} = \text{ē}$, $\text{אֵ} = \text{ī}$, $\text{אֵ} = \text{ū}$, $\text{אֵ} = \text{ō}$. Š^owa is —.

The accents differ less and stand in some cases under the line of the consonants. Besides this complicated system of the Codex Babylonius (see below) and other MSS., there is a simpler one, used in Targums. It is still uncertain whether the latter is the foundation of the former (as Merx, *Chrest. Targ.* xi, and Bacher, *ZDMG.* 1895, p. 15 ff.), or is a later development of it among the Jews of South Arabia (as Praetorius, *ZDMG.* 1899, p. 181 ff.). For the older literature on this *Babylonian punctuation* ($\text{לְפָנֵי הַכְּתוּבָה}$), as it is called, see A. Harkavy and H. L. Strack, *Katalog der hebr. Bibelhandschr. der Kaiserl. öffentl. Bibliothek zu St. Petersburg*, St. Petersburg. and Lpz., 1875, parts i and ii, p. 223 ff. A more thorough study of the system was made possible by H. Strack's facsimile edition of the *Prophetarum posteriorum codex Babylonicus Petropolitani* (St. Petersburg, 1876, la. fol.) of the year 916, which Firkowitsch discovered in 1839, in the synagogue at Tschufutkale in the Crimea. The MS. has been shown by Ginsburg (*Recueil des travaux rédigés en mémoire . . . de Chacolson*, Berlin, 1899, p. 149, and *Introd.*, pp. 216 ff., 475 f.) to contain a recension of the Biblical text partly Babylonian and partly Palestinian; cf. also Barnstein, *The Targum of Onkelos to Genesis*, London, 1896, p. 6 f. Strack edited a fragment of it in *Hosea et Joel prophetarum ad fidem cod. Babylon. Petrop.*, St. Petersburg. 1875. Cf. also the publication by A. Merx, quoted above, § 7 h, and his *Chrestomathia Targumica*, Berlin, 1888; G. Margoliouth, in the *PSBA.* xv. 4, and M. Gaster, *ibid.*; P. Kahle, *Der masoret. Text des A. T. nach d. Überlief. der babyl. Juden*, Lpz. 1902, with the valuable review by Rahlfs in *GG.A.* 1903, no. 5; Nestle, *ZDMG.* 1905, p. 719 (Babylonian $\text{אֵ} = \text{v}$). According to the opinion formerly prevailing, this Babylonian punctuation exhibits the system which was developed in the Eastern schools, corresponding to and contemporaneous with the Western or Tiberian system, although a higher degree of originality, or approximation to the original of both systems of punctuation, was generally conceded to the latter. Recently, however, Wickes, *Accents of the Twenty-one Books*, Oxford, 1887, p. 142 ff., has endeavoured to show, from the accents, that the 'Babylonian' punctuation may certainly be an Oriental, but is by no means the Oriental system. It is rather to be regarded, according to him, as a later and not altogether successful attempt to modify, and thus to simplify, the system common to all the Schools in the East and West. Strack, *Wiss. Jahresb. der ZDMG.* 1879, p. 124, established the probability that the vowels of the superlinear punctuation arose under Arab influence from the vowel letters אֵ (so previously Pinsker and Graetz), while the Tiberian system shows Syrian influence.

A third, widely different system (Palestinian), probably the basis of the other two, is described by A. Neubauer, *JQR.* vii. 1895, p. 361 ff., and Friedländer, *ibid.*, p. 564 ff., and *PSBA.* 1896, p. 86 ff.; C. Leviaš, *Journ. of Sem. Lang. and Lit.*, xv. p. 157 ff.; and esp. P. Kahle, *Beitr. zu der Gesch. der hebr. Punctuation*, in *ZAW.* 1901, p. 273 ff. and in *Der masoret. Text des A. T.* (see above), chiefly dealing with the Berlin MS. Or. qu. 680, which contains a number of variants on the biblical text, and frequently agrees with the transcriptions of the LXX and Jerome.

points is determined more precisely by the vowel sign standing before, above, or within it. Thus—

י may be combined with *Hîrêq*, *Šêrê*, *Sêgôl* (יְ, יָ, יִ).

י with *Šêrêq* and *Hôlêm* (יֵ and יִ).¹

In Arabic the long *a* also is regularly expressed by a vowel letter, viz. 'Alêph (أ), so that in that language three vowel letters correspond to the three vowel classes. In Hebrew א is rarely used as a vowel letter; see § 9 b and § 23 g.

i 4. The omission of the vowel letters when writing *i*, *u*, *e*, *o* is called *scriptio defectiva* in contrast to *scriptio plena*. קול, קים are written *plene*, קלח, קם *defective*.

Cf. Bardowitz, *Studien zur Gesch. der Orthogr. im Althebr.*, 1894; Lidzbarski, *Ephem.*, i. 182, 275; Marmorstein, 'Midrasch der vollen u. defekt. Schreibung,' in *ZAW.* 1907, p. 33 ff.

k So far as the choice of the full or defective mode of writing is concerned, there are certainly some cases in which only the one or the other is admissible. Thus the full form is necessary at the end of the word, for *u*, *o*, *ô*, *ê*, *ê*, *ê*, as well as for *e* in הָנָה &c. (§ 9 f), also generally with *a*, *ā* (cf. however § 9 d), e.g. קָמְלִי, קָמְלִי, קָמְלִי. (But the Masora requires in Jer 26⁶, 44⁸; Ezr 6²¹; 2 Ch 32¹³ גָּיִי instead of גָּיִי; Zp 2⁹ גָּיִי [perhaps an error due to the following י] for גָּיִי; Is 40³¹ קוֹי [followed by י] for קוֹי; Jer 38¹¹ בָּלִי for בָּלִי.) On the other hand the defective writing is common when the letter, which would have to be employed as a vowel letter, immediately precedes as a strong consonant, e.g. גוֹיִם (*nations*) for גוֹיִים, כְּמוֹת (*commandments*) for כְּמוֹת.

l That much is here arbitrary (see § 7 g), follows from the fact that sometimes the same word is written very differently, e.g. הַקִּימוֹתִי Ez 16⁶⁰: הַקִּימוֹתִי and also הַקִּימוֹתִי Jer 23⁴; cf. § 25 b. Only it may be observed,

(a) That the *scriptio plena* in two successive syllables was generally avoided; cf. e.g. נְבִיא but נְבִיאִים; צָדִיק, but צָדִיקִים; קוֹל, קלוח; הוֹשֵׁעַ, מְצַחֵה.

(b) That in the later Books of the O. T. (and regularly in post-biblical Hebrew) the full form, in the earlier the defective, is more usual.

m 5. In the cognate dialects, when a vowel precedes a vowel-letter which is not kindred (heterogeneous), e.g. וְ, וּ, יְ, יָ, יִ, a diphthong (*au*, *ai*)² is formed if the heterogeneous vowel be *a*. This is also to be regarded as the Old Hebrew pronunciation, since it

¹ After the example of the Jewish grammarians the expression, 'the vowel letter rests (*quiesces*) in the vowel-sign,' has become customary. On the other hand, the vowel letters are also called by the grammarians, *matres lectionis* or *supports* (*fulcra*).

² Cf. T. C. Foote, *The diphthong ai in Hebrew* (Johns Hopkins Univ. Circulars, June, 1903, p. 70 ff.).

a consonant, as כֹּכַב, כֹּכָב (vulgar Arab. *yād, kaukāb*). In a closed syllable, however, it can only stand when this has the tone, עוֹלָם, עוֹלָם; whereas in an open syllable it is especially frequent *before* the tone, e.g. בֹּכֵר, בֹּכֵר. Where the tone is moved forward or weakened (as happens most commonly in what is called the construct state of nouns, cf. § 89 *a*) the original short *ā* (*Pathah*) is retained in a closed syllable, while in an open syllable it becomes *Šewā* (§ 27 *i*): קָבֵץ, constr. state קָבֵץ (*kaḥkām*); דְּבַר, דְּבַר (*debhār*); קָטָל, קָטָל. For examples of the retention, in the secondary tone-syllable, of *ā* lengthened from *ā*, see § 93 *xxx*.

d In some terminations of the verb (ךָ in the 2nd sing. masc. perf., ךַּ in the 2nd pl. fem. of the imperat., as well as in the 3rd and 2nd pl. fem. of the imperf.), in תָּא *thou* (masc.) and in the suffixes ךַּ and ךָּ, the final *ā* can stand even without a vowel letter. A ה is, however, in these cases (except with ךַּ) frequently added as a vowel letter.

On — for *ö* see below, *f*.

c 2. *Pathah*, or short *ā*, stands in Hebrew almost exclusively in a closed syllable with or without the tone (קָטָל, קָטָל). In places where it now appears to stand in an open syllable the syllable was originally closed, and a helping vowel (*ā, i*) has been inserted after the second radical merely to make the pronunciation easier, e.g. נָחַל (ground-form *nahl*), בַּיִת (Arab. *bait*), see § 28 *d*, and with regard to two cases of a different kind, § 26 *g, h*. Otherwise *ā* in an open syllable has almost without exception passed into *ā* (—), see above, *c*.

On the very frequent attenuation of *ā* to *i*, cf. below, *h*. On the rare, and only apparent union of *Pathah* with נ (נ—), see § 23 *d*, end. On *ā* as a helping-vowel, § 22 *f* (*Pathah furtivum*), and § 28 *e*.

f 3. *Segól* (ֶ, ֶ [ֶ]) by origin belongs sometimes to the second, but most frequently to the first vowel class (§ 27 *o, p, u*). It belongs to the first class when it is a modification of *a* (as the Germ. *Bad*, pl. *Büder*; Eng. *man*, pl. *men*), either in a toneless syllable, e.g. יָדָכֶם (for *yadkhèm*), or with the tone, e.g. אֶרֶץ from 'arṣ, אֶרֶץ Arab. *qārn*, אֶמֶת Arab. *qāmḥ*. This *Segól* is often retained even in the strongest tone-syllable, at the end of a sentence or of an important clause (in *pause*), as מָלָאֵךְ, אֶדְרָא (mālā'ekh, sādāq). As a rule, however, in such cases the *Pathah* which underlies the *Segól* is lengthened into *Qames*, e.g. אֶרֶץ, אֶרֶץ. A *Segól* apparently lengthened from *Šewā*, but in reality traceable to an original *ā*, stands in pausal forms, as אֶרֶץ (ground-form *pāry*), אֶרֶץ (yāhy), &c. On the cases where a ' (originally consonantal) follows this *Segól*, see § 75 *f*, and § 91 *k*.

II. Second Class. I- and E-sounds.

4. The long *i* is frequently even in the consonantal writing indicated *gr* by ' (a *fully* written *Hireq* '—); but a naturally long *i* can be also written *defectively* (§ 8 *i*), e. g. צְדִיק (righteous), plur. צְדִיקִים *šaddiqim*; יָרֵא (he fears), plur. יָרֵאִים. Whether a *defectively* written *Hireq* is long may be best known from the origin of the form; often also from the nature of the syllable (§ 26), or as in יָרֵאִים from the *Metheg* attached to it (§ 16 *f*).

5. The *short Hireq* (always written *defectively*) is especially frequent *h* in sharpened syllables (קָפַץ, קָפַץ) and in toneless closed syllables (קִינֹר *psalm*); cf. however קָפַץ in a closed tone-syllable, and even קִינֹר, with a helping *Segôl*, for *wayyiphn*. It has arisen very frequently by attenuation from *ä*, as in קָפַץ from original *däbärä*, קִינֹר (ground-form *šädq*),² or else it is the original *ä*, which in the tone-syllable had become *ē*, as in קָפַץ (thy enemy) from קָפַץ (ground-form *äyib*).³ It is sometimes a simple helping vowel, as in קָפַץ, § 28 *e*.

The earlier grammarians call every *Hireq* written *fully*, *Hireq magnum*; every one written *defectively*, *Hireq parvum*,—a misleading distinction, so far as quantity is concerned.

6. The longest *i* '— (more rarely defective —, e. g. עֵינִי for עֵינִי *i* Is 3^s; at the end of a word also הֵ—) is as a rule contracted from '— *ay* (*ai*), § 7 *a*, e. g. הַיָּקֶל (*palace*), Arab. and Syriac *haikal*.

7. The *Sere* without *Yôdh* mostly represents the tone-long *ē*, which, *h* like the tone-long *ä* (see *c*), is very rarely retained except *in* and *before* the tone-syllable, and is always lengthened from an original *ä*. It stands in an open syllable with or before the tone, e. g. סֵפֶר (ground-form *šiphr*) *book*, נִינָה (Arab. *šinät*) *sleep*, or with *Metheg* (see § 16 *d, f*) in the secondary tone-syllable, e. g. שְׁאֵלָה *my request*, נִלְכֵה *let us go*. On the other hand in a closed syllable it is almost always with the tone, as in בֶּן *son*, בֶּטֶן *dumb*.

Exceptions: (a) *ē* is sometimes retained in a toneless closed syllable, in *l* monosyllabic words before *Maqqeph*, e. g. נִיץ Nu 35¹⁸, as well as in the examples of *nāsôg 'āhôr* mentioned in § 29 *f* (on the quantity cf. § 8 *b 3* end); (b) in a toneless open final syllable, *Sere* likewise occurs in examples of the *nāsôg 'āhôr*, as נִיץ Ex 16²⁹; cf. Ju 9³⁹.

8. The *Segôl* of the I(E)-class is most frequently an *ē* modified from *m* original *ä*, either replacing a tone-long *ē* which has lost the tone, e. g.

¹ At least according to the Masoretic orthography; cf. Wellhausen, *Text der Bb. Sam.*, p. 18, Rem.

² Jerome (cf. Siegfried, *ZAW.* 1884, p. 77) in these cases often gives *ä* for *ä*.

³ Cf. the remarks of I. Guidi, 'La pronuncia del *šerä*,' in the *Verhandl. des Hamburger Orient.-Kongr.* of 1902, Leiden, 1904, p. 208 ff., on Italian *e* for Latin *i*, as in *fede = fīdem*, *pece = pīcem*.

יָר from יָר (give), יָר from יָר (thy creator) from יָר, or in the case discussed in § 93 o, יָר from the ground-forms *hīlq*, 'īzr; cf. also § 64 f. *Segol* appears as a simple helping-vowel in cases such as יָר for *sīphr*, יָר for *yigl* (§ 28 e).

III. Third Class. U- and O-sounds.

n 9. For the U-sound there is—

(1) the long *ū*, either (a) written fully, יָר *Šureq*, e.g. יָר (boundary), or (b) defectively written — יָר *Qibbūs* יָר; יָר;

(2) the short *u*, mostly represented by *Qibbūs*, in a toneless closed syllable and especially common in a sharpened syllable, in e.g. יָר (table), יָר (booth).

O Sometimes also *ū* in a sharpened syllable is written יָר, e.g. יָר ψ 102⁵, יָר Jb 5⁷, יָר Jer. 31²⁴, יָר Is 5⁵, יָר Gn 2²⁵ for יָר, &c.

For this *u* the LXX write o, e.g. יָר 'Οδολλδμ, from which, however, it only follows, that this *ū* was pronounced somewhat indistinctly. The LXX also express the sharp *Hireq* by ε, e.g. יָר = Εμμρ. The pronunciation of the *Qibbūs* like the German *ū*, which was formerly common, is incorrect, although the occasional pronunciation of the U-sounds as *ū* in the time of the punctators is attested, at least as regards Palestine¹; cf. the Turkish *būbbūl* for the Persian *bulbul*, and the pronunciation of the Arabic *dunyā* in Syria as *dūnyā*.

p 10. The O-sound bears the same relation to U as the E does to I in the second class. It has four varieties:—

(1) The *o* which is contracted from *aw* (= *au*), § 7 a, and accordingly is mostly written fully; יָר (*Holem plenum*), e.g. יָר (*a whip*), Arab. *sawf*, יָר (*iniquity*) from יָר. More rarely defectively, as יָר (*thine ox*) from יָר Arab. *ṭaur*.

q (2) The long *ō* which arose in Hebrew at an early period, by a general process of obscuring, out of an original *ā*,² while the latter has been retained in Arabic and Aramaic. It is usually written *fully* in the tone-syllable, *defectively* in the toneless, e.g. יָר Arab. *qātīl*. Aram. *qātēl*, יָר Arab. 'alāh, Aram. 'alāh, plur. יָר; יָר (*leg*), Arab. *sāq*; יָר (*hero*), Arab. *gābbār*; יָר (*seal*), Arab. *ḥatām*; יָר (*pomegranate*), Arab. *rūmmān*; יָר (*dominion*), Aram. יָר and יָר Arab. *sūlān*; יָר (*peace*), Aram. יָר, Arab. *sālām*. Sometimes the form in *ā* also occurs side by side with that in *ō* as יָר and יָר (*coat of mail*; see however § 29 u). Cf. also § 68 b.

r (3) The tone-long *ō* which is lengthened from an original *ū*, or from an *ō* arising from *ū*, by the tone, or in general according to the

¹ Cf. Delitzsch, *Physiologie u. Musik*, Lpz. 1868, p. 15 f.

² Cf. above, b, end. On Jerome's transliteration of o for ā, see ZAW. 1884, p. 75.

laws for the formation of syllables. It occurs not only in the tone-syllable, but also in an open syllable before the tone, e.g. שְׁרָץ (ground-form *quḏš*) *sanctuary*; בִּרְךָ for *burrah*, יִקְרָא, ψ 104²⁸, as well as (with *Metheg*) in the secondary tone-syllable; יִקְרָא, יִקְרָא. But the original *ō* (*ū*) is retained in a toneless closed syllable, whereas in a toneless open syllable it is weakened to *Šwā*. Cf. כָּל *all*, but כָּל־ (*kāl*), כָּל־ (*kāllām*); יִקְרָא, יִקְרָא, יִקְרָא, where original *ū* is weakened to *Šwā*: *yiqrēlā*, Arab. *yaqtūlū*. This tone-long *ō* is only as an exception written fully.

(4) — *Qameš-ḥaṭuph* represents *ō* (properly *ā*, cf. § 8 a, note 2) modified from *ū* and is therefore classed here. It stands in the same relation to *Holem* as the *Šwā* of the second class to *Sere*, כָּל־ *kāl*, וַיִּקְרָא *wayyāqōm*. On the distinction between this and *Qameš*, see below, *u*.

11. The following table gives a summary of the gradation of the *t* three vowel-classes according to the quantity of the vowels:—

First Class: A.	Second Class: I and E.	Third Class: U and O.
— original <i>ā</i> (Arabic <i>ā</i>). N—.	— <i>ē</i> , from original <i>ay</i> (<i>ai</i>). — or — long <i>i</i> .	— <i>ō</i> , from original <i>au</i> (<i>au</i>). — or — <i>ō</i> obscured from <i>ā</i> . — or — <i>ū</i> .
— tone-long <i>ā</i> (from original <i>ā</i>) chiefly in the tone-syllable but also just before it.	— tone-long <i>ē</i> (from <i>i</i>) generally in the tone-syllable but also just before it.	— tone-long <i>ō</i> (from original <i>ū</i>) in the tone-syllable, otherwise in an open syllable.
— (as a modification of <i>ā</i>) sometimes a tone-long <i>ē</i> , sometimes <i>ē</i> . — short <i>ā</i> . [— <i>ā</i> attenuated from <i>ā</i> ; see <i>h</i> .] Utmost weakening to — <i>ā</i> , — <i>ē</i> , — <i>ē</i> .	— <i>ē</i> . — short <i>i</i> . Utmost weakening to — <i>ā</i> , — <i>ē</i> , or — <i>ē</i> .	— <i>ō</i> , modified from <i>ū</i> . — short <i>ū</i> , especially in a sharpened syllable. Utmost weakening to — <i>ā</i> , — <i>ē</i> , — <i>ē</i> , or — <i>ē</i> .

Rem. On the distinction between *Qameš* and *Qameš-ḥaṭuph*.¹

According to § 8 a, long *ā* or *ā* (*Qameš*) and short *ō* or *ā* (*Qameš-ḥaṭuph*) are in manuscripts and printed texts generally expressed by the same sign (—), e.g. וַיִּקְרָא *qām*, כָּל־ *kāl*. The beginner who does not yet know the grammatical

¹ These statements, in order to be fully understood, must be studied in connexion with the theory of syllables (§ 26) and *Metheg* (§ 16 c-ē).

origin of the words in question (which is of course the surest guide), may depend meanwhile on the following principal rules:—

1. The sign —^1 is δ in a toneless closed syllable, since such a syllable can have only a short vowel (§ 26 o). The above case occurs—

(a) When *Šewā* follows as a syllable-divider, as in חֶכְמָה *hōkh-mā* (wisdom), אֹכֶל־לֶאֱדָא *ōkh-lā* (food). With *Metheg* — is \bar{a} (\bar{a}) and according to the usual view stands in an open syllable with a following *Šewā* mobile, e.g. אֵכֶלָה *ā-khēlā* (she ate); but cf. § 16 i.

(b) When a closed syllable is formed by *Dageš forte*, e.g. חַנּוּנִי *hōnnēnī* (have mercy upon me); but בְּתִים (with *Metheg*, § 16 f ξ) *bāttim*.

(c) When the syllable in question loses the tone on account of a following *Maqqēph* (§ 16 a), e.g. כָּל־הָאָדָם *kōl-hā-ādām* (all men).

In ψ 35¹⁰ and Pr 19⁷ *Maqqēph* with כָּל is replaced by a conjunctive accent (*Merṭha*); so by *Darga*, Ju 19⁶ with מִטָּעַר, and Ez 37⁸ with וַיִּקְרָם (so Baer after Qimhi; ed. Mant., Ginsburg, Kittel וַיִּקְרָם).

(d) In a closed final syllable without the tone, e.g. וַיָּקֹם *wayyāqōm* (and he stood up).—In the cases where δ or \bar{a} in the final syllable has become toneless through *Maqqēph* (§ 16 a) and yet remains, e.g. כְּהִנְיִיחַ עֵינַי *Est* 4⁸, שְׁתִּלֵּי *Gn* 4²⁵, it has a *Metheg* in correct manuscripts and printed texts.

In cases like הִלְלָאָה, לָמָּה *lāmmā*, the tone shows that — is to be read as \bar{a} .

2. The cases in which — appears to stand in an open syllable and yet is to be read as δ require special consideration. This is the case, (a) when *Ḥateph-Qameš* follows, e.g. פָּעִלוּ *his work*, or simple vocal *Šewā*, e.g. דָּרְבָן *ox goad*; Jo 4⁷; נִשְׁמְרָה (so ed. Mant., Ginsb.) *preserve* ψ 86², cf. 16¹ and the cases mentioned in § 48 i, note, and § 61 f; other examples are Ob 11, Ju 14¹⁵); *Ḥateph-Pataḥ* follows in לִמְשַׁחֲךָ (so Ginsburg; Baer לִמְשַׁחֲךָ) 1 S 15¹, לְהַרְגֶנּוּ 24¹¹, and יִפְנִישֶׁךָ (so Baer, Gn 32¹⁸, others יִפְנִישֶׁךָ); (b) before another *Qameš-ḥaṭuph*, e.g. פָּעִלְךָ *thy work*; on אֶרֶה־לִּי and קְבֹה־לִּי Nu 23⁷, see § 67 o; (c) in the two plural forms קְדָשִׁים *sanctuaries* and שְׁרָשִׁים *roots* (also written קְדָשִׁי and שְׁרָי). In all these cases the Jewish grammarians regard the *Metheg* accompanying the — as indicating a *Qāmeš raḥabh* (broad *Qameš*) and therefore read the — as \bar{a} ; thus *pā-ṭō, dā-rēbān, pā-ṭēkḥā, qā-dāšim*. But neither the origin of these forms, nor the analogous formations in Hebrew and in the cognate languages, nor the transcription of proper names in the

¹ In the Babylonian punctuation (§ 8 g, note) \bar{a} and δ are carefully distinguished. So also in many MSS. with the ordinary punctuation and in Baer's editions of the text since 188c, in which — is used for δ as well as for \bar{a} . Cf. Baer-Delitzsch, *Liber Jobi*, p. 43. But the identity of the two signs is certainly original, and the use of — for δ is misleading.

LXX, allows us to regard this view as correct. It is just possible that Qames is here used loosely for \bar{a} , as the equivalent of \bar{o} , on the analogy of קָמֶץ &c., § 93 g. As a matter of fact, however, we ought no doubt to divide and read $p\bar{o}^{\circ}l\bar{o}$ (for $p\bar{o}^{\circ}-l\bar{o}$), $p\bar{o}^{\circ}b-l^{\circ}kh\bar{a}$, $q\bar{o}d\bar{a}-\bar{s}im$.—Quite as inconceivable is it for *Metheg* to be a sign of the lengthening into \bar{a} in בְּחַיִּי הָיָה (Ex 11⁸), although it is so in בְּאֵי $b\bar{a}^{\circ}ni$ (in the navy), since here the \bar{a} of the article appears under the נ .

§ 10. The Half Vowels and the Syllable Divider (Šewā).

1. Besides the full vowels, Hebrew has also a series of vowel *a* sounds which may be called *half vowels* (Sievers, *Murmelvokale*). The punctuation makes use of these to represent extremely slight sounds which are to be regarded as remains of fuller and more distinct vowels from an earlier period of the language. They generally take the place of vowels *originally short* standing in *open syllables*. Such short vowels, though preserved in the kindred languages, are not tolerated by the present system of pointing in Hebrew, but either undergo a lengthening or are weakened to Šewā. Under some circumstances, however, the original short vowel may reappear.

To these belongs first of all the sign ְ , which indicates an extremely short, slight, and (as regards pronunciation) indeterminate vowel sound, something like an obscure half ϵ (ְ). It is called *Šewā*¹, which may be either *simple Šewā* (*Šewā simplex*) as distinguished from the compound (see *f*), or *vocal Šewā* (*Šewā mobile*) as distinguished from *Šewā quiescens*, which is silent and stands as a mere syllable divider (see *i*) under the consonant which closes the syllable.

The vocal *Šewā* stands under a consonant which is closely united, as *c* a kind of grace-note, with the following syllable, either (*a*) at the beginning of the word, as קָטַל $q^{\circ}t\bar{o}l$ (to kill), מָלַל $m^{\circ}mall\bar{e}$ (filling), or (*b*) in the middle of the word, as קָטַלָּה $q\bar{o}-t^{\circ}l\bar{a}$, יָקַטְלָה $yiq-t^{\circ}l\bar{a}$.

In former editions of this Grammar *Šewā* was distinguished as *medium* ְ when it followed a short vowel and therefore stood in a supposed 'loosely closed' or 'wavering' syllable, as in מְלִכִּי , בְּנִפְלִי . According to Sievers, *Metrische Studien*, i. 22, this distinction must now be abandoned. These syllables are really closed, and the original vowel is not merely shortened, but entirely elided. The fact that a following B^gadk^hphath letter (§ 6 n) remains spirant instead of taking *Dageš lene*, is explained by Sievers on the 'supposition that the change from hard to spirant is older than the elision

¹ On שְׁוָא , the older and certainly the only correct form (as in Ben Asher), see Bacher, *ZDMG*. 1895, p. 18, note 3, who compares Šewayya, the name of the Syriac accentual sign of similar form ـَ (=Hebr. Zaqeph). The form שְׁבָא , customary in Spain since the time of Menaḥem b. Sarūq, is due to a supposed connexion with Aram. שְׁבַת *rest*, and hence would originally have denoted only *Šewā quiescens*, like the Arabic *sukūn* (rest). The derivation from שְׁבָה , שְׁבִי (stem שָׁב , Levias, *American Journ. of Philol.*, xvi. 28 ff.) seems impossible.

of the vowel, and that the prehistoric *malukai* became *malakhai* before being shortened to *malkeh*. In cases like פָּסָה (from פָּסָה), יָקָה (from יָקָה) the dropping of the *Dages forte* shows that the original vowel is completely lost.

^c The sound *ē* has been adopted as the normal transcription of simple *Šewā mobile*, although it is certain that it often became assimilated in sound to other vowels. The LXX express it by ε, or even by η, קְרוֹבִים *Xeroubím*, קְלָלוֹת *qellót*, more frequently by α, שְׁמוֹנָה *Samónē*, but very frequently by assimilating its indeterminate sound to the following principal vowel, e.g. שְׁלֹמֹה *Šolomán* (as well as *Šalomán*), צְבָאוֹת *Sabáwōt*, נָחָה *Nathahá*.¹ A similar account of the pronunciation of *Šewā* is given by Jewish grammarians of the middle ages.²

How the *Šewā* sound has arisen through the vanishing of a full vowel is seen, e.g. in קָרַב from *bārūkā*, as the word is still pronounced in Arabic. In that language the full short vowel regularly corresponds to the Hebrew *Šewā mobile*.

^f 2. Connected with the simple *Šewā mobile* is the compound *Šewā* or *Hāteph (correctum)*, i.e. a *Šewā* the pronunciation of which is more accurately fixed by the addition of a short vowel. There are three *Šewā*-sounds determined in this way, corresponding to the three vowel classes (§ 7 a):—

(—) *Hāteph-Páthah*, e.g. קָמוֹר *hámōr*, ass.

(—) *Hāteph-Segól*, e.g. קָמוֹר *emōr*, to say.

(—) *Hāteph-Qāmēs*, e.g. קָלוֹי *hólí*, sickness.

These *Hātephs*, or at least the first two, stand especially under the four guttural letters (§ 22 l), instead of a simple *Šewā mobile*, since these letters by their nature require a more definite vowel than the indeterminate simple *Šewā mobile*. Accordingly a guttural at the beginning of a syllable, where the *Šewā* is necessarily vocal, can never have a mere *Šewā simplex*.

On — the shorter *Hātef* as compared with — cf. § 27 v.

^g Rem. A. Only — and — occur under letters which are not gutturals. *Hāteph-Páthah* is found instead of simple *Šewā* (especially *Šewā mobile*), chiefly (a) under strengthened consonants, since this strengthening (commonly called doubling) causes a more distinct pronunciation of the *Šewā mobile*, שְׁבָרִים *šebārím*, Zc 4¹². According to the rule given by Ben-Asher (which, however, appears to be unknown to good early MSS. and is therefore rejected by Ginsburg, *Introd.*, p. 466; cf. Foote, *Johns Hopkins Univ. Circulars*, June 1903,

¹ The same occurs frequently also in the Greek and Latin transcriptions of Phoenician words, e.g. מָלָכָה *Malaga*, גְּבוּלִים *gubulím* (Schröder, *Die phöniz. Spr.*, p. 139 ff.). Cf. the Latin augment in *memorāi*, *pupugi*, with the Greek in *τέρνφα*, *τερυμμένος*, and the old form *memorāi*.

² See especially *Yehuda Hayyūg*, pp. 4 f. and 130 f. in Nutt's edition (Lond. 1870), corresponding to p. 200 of the edition by Dukes (Stuttg. 1844); Ibn Ezra's *Sakoth*, p. 3; Gesenius, *Lehrgebäude der hebr. Sprache*, p. 68. The *Manuel du lecteur*, mentioned above, § 6 b, also contains express rules for the various ways of pronouncing *Šewā mobile*: so too the *Dikduke ha-šemim*, ed. by Baer and Strack, Lpz. 1879, p. 12 ff. Cf. also Schreiner, *ZAW*, vi. 236 ff.

p. 71 f.), the *Haṭeph* is necessary¹ when, in a strengthened medial consonant with *Šewá* (consequently not in cases like וְיָהִי, &c.), preceded by a Pathah, the sign of the strengthening (*Dageš forte*) has fallen away, e.g. הִלְלוּ (but ed. Mant. and Ginsb. הִלְלוּ) *praise ye!* וְהָאֱלֹהִים Ju 16¹⁶; no less universally, where after a consonant with *Šewá* the same consonant follows (to separate them more sharply, and hence with a *metheg* always preceding), e.g. כְּוִרְיִם ψ 68⁷; קָלְלָתְךָ (ed. Mant. and Ginsb. קָלְלָהּ) Gn 27¹³ (but not without exceptions, e.g. הִקְקִי Ju 5¹⁵, Is 10¹; צִלְלִי Jer 6⁵, and so always הִנְנִי *behold me*, הִנְנִי *behold us*; on כ before the suffix ה, see § 20 b); also in certain forms under *Kaph* and *Reš* after a long vowel and before the tone, e.g. מִאֲבֹתָהּ Gn 3¹⁷; בָּרְכִי ψ 103¹; וְהִשְׁרַתְהוּ 1 K 14 (but וְהִתְבָּרְכוּ ψ 72¹⁷, cf. Jer 4², 1 Ch 29²⁰, because the tone is thrown back on to the *ā*. After *ē Šewá* remains even before the tone, as בָּרְכוּ, &c.; but before *Maqqef* אֲלֶכְהֶנָּה Baer Ex 4¹⁸, 2 S 15⁷, Jer 40¹⁵, but ed. Mant., Jabl., Ginsb. אֲלֶהּ²); (b) under initial sibilants after a copulative, e.g. וְיָהִי Gn 12¹²; cf. Jer 48²⁰; וְיִסְחַר Is 45¹⁴; וְיִשְׁרֶה Lv 25³⁴; וְיִשְׁקָה Gn 27²⁶; וְיִשְׁמַע Nu 23¹⁸, Is 37¹⁷, Dn 9¹⁸, cf. Ju 5¹², 1 K 14²¹, 2 K 9¹⁷, Jb 14¹, Ec 9⁷—to emphasize the vocal character of the *Šewá*. For the same reason under the emphatic מ הוֹשִׁיעֵנִי Jer 22²⁸; cf. Jb 33²⁵; after *Qoph* in וְקָרַחְתִּי (so Baer, but ed. Mant., Jabl., Ginsb. וְקִי) Ez 23⁴¹; וְקָרַב־ ψ 55²²; cf. Jer. 32⁹; under *Reš* in אֲרַחֶה (ed. Mant. אֲרִי) Gn 18²¹; וְרָעַם ψ 28⁹; even under ח Ezr 26²¹; under ב Est 2⁸; וְבִרְבֶּךָ so Jabl., Ginsb., but ed. Mant. וְבִרְבִי Dt 24¹³; (c) under sonants, sibilants or *Qoph* after *š*, e.g. יִצְחָק Gn 21⁶, cf. 30³⁸ and Ez 21²⁸ (under *p*); וְאֲמַרְוּת ψ 12⁷; וְהִתְמַלֶּךְ Jer 22¹⁵; וְהִתְמַלֶּךְ Jos 11²; וְהִתְמַלֶּךְ ψ 74⁵—for the same reason as the cases under *b*³; according to Baer also in וְהִתְמַלֶּךְ Dn 1 S 30²⁸; וְהִתְמַלֶּךְ Gn 32¹⁸ after *š* (cf. § 9 v), as well as after *a* in וְהִתְמַלֶּךְ Dn 9¹⁰; וְהִתְמַלֶּךְ Gn 27²⁸; וְהִתְמַלֶּךְ 2 K 7⁸.

B. The *Haṭeph-Qames* is less restricted to the gutturals than the first two, *h* and stands more frequently for a simple *Šewá mobile* when an original O-sound requires to be partly preserved, e.g. at the beginning, in רָאִי (ground-form *rū'y*) *vision* (cf. § 93 z) בְּנִינִי 2 Ch 31¹², &c., קָרַע (*Q'ré* (*K'eth.* "בּוֹנִי"); עַמּוֹנִיּוֹת *Ammonitish women*, 1 K 11¹ (sing. עַמּוֹנִית); יִרְדֶּבֶךָ for the usual יִרְדֶּבֶךָ Ez 35⁶, from יִרְדֶּבֶךָ; וְיִרְדֶּבֶךָ Nu 23²⁵, Jer 31²⁸, and elsewhere before suffixes, cf. § 60 a; קָרַדְךָ *his pate* (from קָרַדְךָ ψ 7¹⁷, &c.; אֲשַׁקֶּמָּה Is 18⁴ *Q'ré*. Further, like *—*, it stands under consonants, which ought to have *Dageš forte*, as in לִקְחָהּ (for לִקְחָהּ) Gn 2²³. In this example, as in וְיִסְחַר 1 K 13⁷; וְיִסְחַר 2 K 7¹⁸; and וְיִסְחַר Jer 22²⁰, the *Haṭeph-Qames* is no doubt due to the influence of the

¹ See Delitzsch, 'Bemerkungen über masoretisch treue Darstellung des alttestament. Textes,' in the *Zischr. f. luth. Theol. u. Kirche*, vol. xxiv. 1863, p. 409 ff.

² On the uncertainty of the MSS. in some cases which come under *a*, see *Minḥat shay* (the Masoretic comm. in ed. Mant.) on Gn 12⁵ and Ju 7⁴.

³ Ben-Asher requires *—* for *—* (even for *Šewá quiescens*) generally before a guttural or ר; hence Baer reads in 2 S 15⁵ בְּקִרְבִי, ψ 18⁷ אֲקִרָא; 49¹⁵ לִשְׁאוֹל; 65⁵ תִּבְחָר; 68²⁴ תִּמְחִי; Pr 30¹⁷ תִּלְעַג; Jb 29²⁶ אֲבַחֵר; cf. Delitzsch, *Psalms*, 12⁷, note.

following guttural as well as of the preceding U-sound. (Elsewhere indeed after *י* in similar cases *Ha'aph-Pathah* is preferred, see above, *b*; but with *לָקַחְהָ* cf. also *סָבְלוּ* Is 9³, 10²⁵, 14²⁵, where the U-sound must necessarily be admitted to have an influence on the *Šwā* immediately following.) In *נָתַרְהָ* (*u-ī'hor*) Jb 17⁹ it is also influenced by the following O-sound. In *קָמְיָ* S 28⁸ *Qerē*, the original form is *קָמֵם*, where again the *ō* represents an *ū*. It is only through the influence of a following guttural that we can explain the forms *נָקְרָאָה* Est 2¹⁴; *נָבְחָל* Pr 28²²; *נָכְרָהָ* Jer 49⁷; *אִפְשָׁעָה* Is 27⁴; *וְאִשְׁעָהָ* Dn 8¹³; *שָׁמְעָהָ* ψ 39¹⁸; *בִּסְעָהָ* 2 K 2¹ (Baer's ed. also in ver. 11); *הִקְהָיִים* 2 Ch 34¹² (ed. Mant., Opius, &c. *הִקְיָ*). Finally in most of the examples which have been adduced, the influence of an emphatic sound (*ק*, *ט*, cf. also *אֶלְקָטָהָ* Ru 2²⁷), or of a sibilant is also to be taken into account.

3. The sign of the *simple Šwā* — serves also as a mere syllable divider. In this case it is disregarded in pronunciation and is called *Šwā quiescens*. In the middle of a word it stands under every consonant which closes a syllable; at the end of words on the other hand it is omitted except in *final י* (to distinguish it better from final *י*), e.g. *מֶלֶךְ* *king*, and in the less frequent case, where a word ends with a mute after another vowelless consonant as in *נָרְךְ* *nard*, *תָּהָ* *thou fem.* (for *'ant*), *תָּהָ* *thou fem. hast killed*, *וַיִּשְׁקֵה* and *he watered*, *וַיִּשְׁבֶּה* and *he took captive*, *אַל־תִּשְׁתֵּה* *drink thou not*; but *וַיִּרְאֵה*, *חָטָה*.¹

However, in the examples where a mute closes the syllable, the final *Šwā* comes somewhat nearer to a vocal *Šwā*, especially as in almost all the cases a weakening of a final vowel has taken place, viz. *אֶתְיָ* *'attē* from *אֶתִי* *'attī* (*'antī*), *קָטְלָהָ* from *קָטְלָתִי* (cf. in this form, the 2nd sing. fem. perf. Qal, even *בָּאֵתְיָ*, after a vowel, Gn 16⁸, Mi 4¹⁰, &c., according to the readings of Baer), *יִשְׁבֶּה* from *יִשְׁבֶּהָ*, &c. The Arabic actually has a short vowel in analogous forms. In *נָרְךְ* borrowed from the Indian, as also in *קִשְׁטָה* (*qōṣṭā*) Pr 22²¹; and in *אֶל־הוֹקָהָ* *ne addās* (for which we should expect *הוֹקָהָ*) Pr 30⁶ the final mute of itself attracts a slight vowel sound.

Rem. The proper distinction between *simple Šwā mobile* and *quiescens* depends on a correct understanding of the formation of syllables (§ 26). The beginner may observe for the present, that (1) *Šwā* is always *mobile* (a) at the beginning of a word (except in *אֶתְיָ*, *שָׁתִי* § 97 *b*, note); (b) under a consonant with *Daye forte*, e.g. *גִּיד־אֶפְחִי*; (c) after another *Šwā*, e.g. *יִקְטְלִי* *yiqṭēlī* (except at the end of the word, see above, *i*). (2) *Šwā* is *quiescens* (a) at the end of a word, even in the *י*; (b) before another *Šwā*.

§ 11. Other Signs which affect the Reading.

Very closely connected with the vowel points are the *reading-signs*, which were probably introduced at the same time. Besides the diacritical point over *ו* and *ש*, a point is placed *within* a consonant

¹ On *יָתְיָ* as an ending of the 2nd sing. fem. perf. Qal of verbs *לָחַק*, see § 75 *m*.

to show that it has a stronger sound. On the other hand a horizontal stroke (*Rāphē*) over a consonant is a sign that it has *not* the stronger sound. According to the different purposes for which it is used the point is either (1) *Dageš forte*, a sign of strengthening (§ 12); or (2) *Dageš lene*, a sign of the harder pronunciation of certain consonants (§ 13); or (3) *Mappiq*, a sign to bring out the full consonantal value of letters which otherwise serve as vowel letters (§ 7 b), especially in the case of ן at the end of the word (§ 14 a). The *Rāphē*, which excludes the insertion of any of these points, has almost entirely gone out of use in our printed texts (§ 14 e).

§ 12. *Dageš in general,¹ and Dageš forte in particular.*

Cf. Graetz, 'Die mannigfache Anwendung u. Bedeut. des Dagesch,' in *Monatsschr. für Gesch. u. Wiss. d. Judent.*, 1887, pp. 425 ff. and 473 ff.

1. *Dageš*, a point standing in the middle of a consonant,² denotes, *a* according to § 11, (a) the *strengthening*³ of a consonant (*Dageš forte*), e.g. קִפָּל *qippāl* (§ 20); or (b) the *harder* pronunciation of the letters קִנָּה *(Dageš lene)*. For a variety of the latter, now rarely used in our printed texts, see § 13 c.

The root קנשׁ in Syriac means *to pierce through, to bore through* (with sharp iron); hence the name *Dageš* is commonly explained, solely with reference to its form, by *puncture, point*. But the names of all similar signs are derived rather from their grammatical significance. Accordingly קנשׁ may in the Masora have the sense: *acutere (literam)*, i.e. *to sharpen a letter*, as well as to *harden it*, i.e. to pronounce it as hard and without aspiration. קנשׁ *acuens (literam)* would then be a sign of sharpening and hardening (like *Mappiq* קפיק *proferens, as signum prolationis*), for which purposes a *prick* of the pen, or *puncture*, was selected. The opposite of *Dageš* is קנשׁ *soft*, § 14 e, and § 22 n.

2. In grammar *Dageš forte*, the *sign of strengthening*, is the more *c* important. It may be compared to the *sicilicus* of the Latins (*Luculus* for *Lucullus*) or to the stroke over *m̄* and *n̄*. In the unpointed text it is omitted, like the vowels and other reading signs.

For the different kinds of *Dageš forte*, see § 20.

¹ Oort, *Theol. Tijdschr.* 1902, p. 376, maintains that 'the Masoretes recognized no distinction between *Dageš lene* and *forte*. They used a *Dageš* where they considered that a letter had the sharp, not the soft or aspirated sound.' This may be true; but the old-established distinction between the two kinds of *Dageš* is essential for the right understanding of the grammatical forms.

² *Wāw* with *Dageš* (וּ) cannot in our printed texts be distinguished from a *wāw* pointed as שׁוּרֻק (וּ); in the latter case the point should stand higher up. The וּ is, however, easily to be recognized since it cannot take a vowel before or under it.

³ Stade, *Lehrb. der hebr. Gr.*, Lpz. 1879, pp. 44, 103, rightly insists on the expression *strengthened pronunciation* instead of the older term *doubling*, since the consonant in question is only written once. The common expression arises from the fact that in transcription a *strengthened* consonant can only be indicated by writing it as double.

§ 13. *Dageš lene*.Ginsburg, *Introd.*, p. 114 ff.: Dagesh and Raphe.

- a 1. *Dageš lene*, the sign of *hardening*, is in ordinary printed texts placed only within the כּכּכּכּ letters (§ 6 n) as a sign that they should be pronounced with their original hard sound (without aspiration), e.g. מֶלֶךְ *mèlèkh*, but מַלְכוֹ *mal-kô*; תָּפַר *tāphār*, but יִתְּפַר *yith-pār*; שָׁתָּה *šāthā*, but יִשְׁתָּה *yis̄-tè*.
- b 2. The cases in which a *Dageš lene* is to be inserted are stated in § 21. It occurs almost exclusively at the beginning of words and syllables. In the middle of the word it can easily be distinguished from *Dageš forte*, since the latter always has a vowel before it, whereas *Dageš lene* never has; accordingly the *Dageš* in אִפִּי *'appi*, רַבִּים *rabbīm* must be *forte*, but in יִגְדַּל *yigdal* it is *lene*.
- c A variety of the *Dageš lene* is used in many manuscripts, as well as in Baer's editions, though others (including Ginsburg in the first two cases, *Introd.*, pp. 121, 130, 603, 662) reject it together with the Hatafs discussed in § 10 g. It is inserted in consonants other than the *Bēgadkēphath* to call attention expressly to the beginning of a new syllable: (a) when the same consonant precedes in close connexion, e.g. בָּכַל־לֵבִי ψ 9², where, owing to the *Dageš*, the coalescing of the two *Lameds* is avoided; (b) in cases like מַה־סִּי ψ 62⁸ = *maḥ-si* (not *māḥ^a-si*); (c) according to some (including Baer; not in ed. Mant.) in לָא in the combination לָא לוֹ Dt 32⁵, or לָא לוֹ Hb 1¹, 2⁶ &c. (so always also in Ginsburg's text, except in Gn 38⁹); see also § 20 e and g.—Delitzsch appropriately gives the name of *Dageš orthopneum* to this variety of *Dageš* (*Bibl. Kommentar*, 1874, on ψ 94¹²); cf. moreover Delitzsch, *Luth. Ztschr.*, 1863, p. 413; also his *Complutensische Varianten zu dem Alttest. Texte*, Lpz. 1878, p. 12.
- d 3. When *Dageš forte* is placed in a *Bēgadkēphath*, the strengthening necessarily excludes its aspiration, e.g. אִפִּי, from אִנְפִּי.

§ 14. *Mappiq and Rāphè*.

- a 1. *Mappiq*, like *Dageš*, also a point *within* the consonant, serves in the letters א ה ו י as a sign that they are to be regarded as full consonants and not as vowel letters. In most editions of the text it is only used in the consonantal ה at the end of words (since ה can never be a vowel letter in the middle of a word), e.g. גַּבְהָהּ (to be high), אֶרְצָה *'arsāh* (her land) which has a consonantal ending (shortened from *-hā*), different from אֶרְצָה *'ārṣā* (to the earth) which has a vowel ending.
- b Rem. 1. Without doubt such a *Hē* was distinctly aspirated like the Arabic *Hā* at the end of a syllable. There are, however, cases in which this ה has lost its consonantal character (the *Mappiq* of course disappearing too), so that it remains only as a vowel letter; cf. § 91 e on the 3rd fem. sing.
- c The name מַפִּיק means *proferens*, i. e. a sign which brings out the sound of the letter distinctly, as a consonant. The same sign was selected for this

and for *Dageš*, since both are intended to indicate a hard, i.e. a strong, sound. Hence *Rāphè* (see e) is the opposite of both.

2. In MSS. *Mappiq* is also found with נ, י, ץ, to mark them expressly as *d* consonants, e.g. נִי (gōy), יִן (qāw, qāu), for which י is also used, as יִשְׁן, &c. For the various statements of the Masora (where these points are treated as *Dageš*), see Ginsburg, *The Massorah*, letter נ, § 5 (also *Introd.*, pp. 557, 609, 637, 770), and 'The Dageshed Alephs in the Karlsruhe MS.' (where these points are extremely frequent), in the *Verhandlungen des Berliner Orientalisten-Kongresses*, Berlin, i. 1881, p. 136 ff. The great differences in the statements found in the Masora point to different schools, one of which appears to have intended that every audible נ should be pointed. In the printed editions the point occurs only four times with נ (נ or נ), Gn 43²⁵, Lv 23¹⁷, Ezr 8¹⁸ and Jb 33²¹ (נִי; where the point can be taken only as an orthophonetic sign, not with König as *Dageš forte*). Cf. Delitzsch, *Hibb*, 2nd ed., p. 439 ff.

2. *Rāphè* (רָפֶה i.e. weak, soft), a horizontal stroke over the letter, e is the opposite of both kinds of *Dageš* and *Mappiq*, but especially of *Dageš lene*. In exact manuscripts every בּוּרְכָה letter has either *Dageš lene* or *Rāphè*, e.g. מֶלֶךְ, מֶלֶךְ, שָׁמַיָּה. In modern editions (except Ginsburg's 1st ed.) *Rāphè* is used only when the absence of a *Dageš* or *Mappiq* requires to be expressly pointed out.

§ 15. The Accents.

On the ordinary accents (see below, e), cf. W. Heidenheim, מִשְׁפָּטֵי הַטַּעֲמִים *a* [*The Laws of the Accents*], Rüdellheim, 1808 (a compilation from older Jewish writers on the accents, with a commentary); W. Wickes (see also below), טַעֲמֵי כ"א ספרים [*The Accents of the Twenty-one Books*], Oxford, 1887, an exhaustive investigation in English; J. M. Japhet, *Die Accente der hl. Schrift* (exclusive of the books אֲנֹכִי), ed. by Heinemann, Frankf. a. M. 1896; Prätorius, *Die Herkunft der hebr. Accente*, Berlin, 1901, and (in answer to Gregory's criticism in the TLZ, 1901, no. 22) *Die Uebernahme der früh-mittelgr. Neumen durch die Juden*, Berlin, 1902; P. Kahle, 'Zur Gesch. der hebr. Accente,' ZDMG. 55 (1901), 167 ff. (1, on the earliest Jewish lists of accents; 2, on the mutual relation of the various systems of accentuation; on p. 179 ff. he deals with the accents of the 3rd system, see above, § 8 g, note); Margolis, art. 'Accents,' in the *Jewish Encycl.* i (1901), 149 ff.; J. Adams, *Sermons in Accents*, London, 1906.—On the accents of the Books תנ"ך (see below, h), S. Baer, תורת אמת [*Accental Laws of the Books* אֲמִת], Rüdellheim, 1852, and his appendix to Delitzsch's *Psalmcommentar*, vol. ii, Lpz. 1860, and in the 5th ed., 1894 (an epitome is given in Baer-Delitzsch's *Liber Psalmorum hebr.*, Lpz. 1861, 1874, 1880); cf. also Delitzsch's most instructive 'Accentuologischer Commentar' on Psalms 1-3, in his *Psalmcommentar* of 1874, as well as the numerous contributions to the accentual criticism of the text, &c., in the editions of Baer and Delitzsch, and in the commentaries of the latter; W. Wickes, טַעֲמֵי אֲמִת [*Accents of the Poet. Books*], Oxford, 1881; Mitchell, in the *Journal of Bibl. Lit.*, 1891, p. 144 ff.; Baer and Strack, *Dikduke ha-f'amim*, p. 17 ff.

1. As Prätorius (see above) has convincingly shown, the majority of *b* the Hebrew accents, especially, according to Kahle (see above), the 'Conjunctivi', were adopted by the Jews from the neums and punctuation-marks found in Greek gospel-books, and, like these, their primary purpose was to regulate minutely the public reading of the sacred

text. The complete transformation and amplification of the system (in three different forms, see § 8 g, note), which soon caused the Jews to forget its real origin, is clearly connected with the gradual change from the speaking voice in public reading to chanting or singing. The accents then served as a kind of musical notes.¹ Their value as such has, however, with the exception of a few traces, become lost in transmission. On the other hand, according to their original design they have also a twofold use which is still of the greatest importance for grammar (and syntax), viz. their value (a) as *marking the tone*, (b) as *marks of punctuation* to indicate the logical (syntactical) relation of single words to their immediate surroundings, and thus to the whole sentence.²

c 2. As a mark of the tone the accent stands almost invariably (but see below, e) with the syllable which has the principal tone in the word. This is usually the ultima, less frequently the penultima. Amongst the Jewish grammarians a word which has the tone on the ultima is called *Milra'* (Aram. מִלְרָא i.e. accented below³), e.g. קָטָל *qātāl*; a word which has the tone on the penultima is *Mil'el* (Aram. מִלְעֵל, accented above), e.g. מֶלֶךְ *mēlēkh*. Besides this, in many cases a *secondary tone* is indicated in the word by *Mēthēg* (cf. § 16). Examples such as יָחַד נֶעְמְדָה Is 50⁸ (cf. 40¹⁸, Ex 15⁸, Jb 12¹⁵, La 2¹⁶) are regarded by the Jewish grammarians as even *proparoxytone*.⁴

d 3. As marks of interpunctuation the accents are subdivided into those which *separate* (*Distinctivi* or *Domini*) and those which *connect* (*Conjunctivi* or *Servi*). Further a twofold system of accentuation is to be noted: (a) the common system found in twenty-one of the Books (the כ"א i.e. twenty-one), and (b) that used in the first three Books of the *Hagiographa*, viz. Psalms, Proverbs, and Job, for which the *vox memor.* is אָמַת, from the initial consonants of the names, פְּתִילִים Psalms, מִשְׁלֵי Proverbs, אֵיב Job, or more correctly, according to their original sequence, תָּאִם (תָּאִם *twin*), so that מַעְבֵּי תָאִם means the accents (sing. טַעַם) of these three Books. The latter system is not only richer and more complicated in itself, but also musically more significant than the ordinary accentuation.

¹ On the attempts of Christian scholars of the sixteenth century to express the Hebrew accents by musical notes, cf. Ortenberg, *ZDMG*. 1889, p. 534.

² At the same time it must not be forgotten that the value of the accent as a mark of punctuation is always relative; thus, e.g. 'Aḥnāh as regards the logical structure of the sentence may at one time indicate a very important break (as in Gn 1⁴); at another, one which is almost imperceptible (as in Gn 1¹).

³ 'Above' in this sense means what comes before, 'below' is what comes after; cf. Bacher, *ZAW*, 1907, p. 285 f.

⁴ Cf. Delitzsch on Is 40¹⁸.

I. The Common Accents.

Preliminary remark. The accents which are marked as *prepositive* stand to the right over or under the initial consonant of the word; those marked as *postpositive*, to the left over or under the last consonant. Consequently in both cases the tone-syllable must be ascertained independently of the accent (but cf. below, d).

A. DISJUNCTIVE ACCENTS (*Distinctivi* or *Domini*).¹

1. (—) סִלּוּק Sillûq (*end*) always with the tone-syllable of the last word before Sôph pāsûq (:), the verse-divider, e.g. : וְאֵלֶּיךָ יָשׁוּב׃.
2. (—) אֲתָנָה 'Athnâh or אֲתָנְחָתָה 'Athnahtâ (*rest*), the principal divider within the verse.
- 3 a. (—) סֶגוֹלְתָה Segôltâ, *postpositive*, marks the fourth or fifth subordinate division, counting backwards from 'Athnâh (e.g. Gn 1^{7.28}).
- 3 b. (|—) שַׁלְשֵׁלֶת Šalšeleth (i.e. *chain*), as disjunctive, or Great Šalšeleth, distinguished by the following stroke² from the conjunctive in the poetic accentuation, is used for

¹ All the disjunctives occur in Is 39².—The earlier Jewish accentuologists already distinguish between מַלְכִּים *Reges* and מְשִׁרְתִּים *Servi*. The division of the disjunctive accents into Imperatores, Reges, Duces, Comites, which became common amongst Christian grammarians, originated in the *Scrutinium S. S. ex accentibus* of Sam. Bohlius, Rostock, 1636, and, as the source of manifold confusion, had better be given up. The order of the accents in respect to their disjunctive power is shown in general by the above classification, following Wickes. In respect to the height of tone (in chanting) 1, 2, 5, 4, 8, which were *low* and long sustained notes, are to be distinguished from the *high* notes (7, 3^a, 6, 13, 9), and the highest (3^b, 11, 12, 10); cf. Wickes, *ב"ט* p. 12 ff.—The name מְשִׁרְתִּים (later = *accents* in general) was originally restricted to the disjunctives, see Kahle, l. c., p. 169.

² This stroke is commonly confused with *Paseq*, which has the same form. But *Paseq* (= *restraining, dividing*, also incorrectly called *P^siq*) is neither an independent accent, nor a constituent part of other accents, but is used as a mark for various purposes; see the Masoretic lists at the end of Baer's editions, and Wickes, *Accents of the Twenty-one Books*, p. 120 ff., where *Paseq* is divided into *distinctivum, emphaticum, homonymicum, and euphonicum*. The conjecture of Olshausen (*Lehrb.*, p. 86 f.), that *Paseq* served also to point out marginal glosses subsequently interpolated into the text, has been further developed by E. von Ortenberg, 'Die Bedeutung des Paseq für Quellenscheidung in den BB. d. A. T.,' in *Progr. des Domgymn. zu Verden*, 1887, and in the article, 'Paseq u. Legarmeh,' in *ZAW*, 1887, p. 301 ff. (but see Wickes, *ibid.* 1888, p. 149 ff.; also E. König, in the *Ztschr. f. kirchl. Wiss. u. kirchl. Leben*, 1889, parts 5 and 6; Maas, in *Hebraica*, v. 121 ff., viii. 89 ff.). Prætorius, *ZDMG*, 1899, p. 683 ff., pointed out that *Paseq* (which is pre-masoretic and quite distinct from *Legarmeh*) besides being a divider (used especially for the sake of greater clearness) also served as a sign of abbreviation. For further treatment of *Paseq* see H. Grimme, 'Paseqstudien,' in the *Bibl. Ztschr.*, i. 337 ff., ii. 28 ff., and *Psalmenprobleme*, &c., Freiburg (Switzerland), 1902, p. 173, where it is argued that *Paseq* indicates variants in a difficult sentence; J. Kennedy, *The Note-line in the Heb. Scriptures*, Edinb. 1903, with an index of all the occurrences of *Paseq*, p. 117 ff. According to Kennedy the 'note-line', of which he distinguishes sixteen different kinds, is intended to draw attention to some peculiarity in the text; it existed long before the Masoretes, and was no longer understood by them. See, however, the reviews of E. König, *Theol.*

Sególtā (seven times altogether) when this would stand at the head of the sentence; cf. Gn 19¹⁶, &c.

- 4 a. (𐤀) זָקֶף זָקֶף גדֹל Zāqēph gādōl, and
 4 b. (𐤁) זָקֶף קָטֹן Zāqēph qātōn. The names refer to their musical character. As a disjunctive, Little Zāqēph is by nature stronger than Great Zāqēph; but if they stand together, the one which comes first is always the stronger.
5. (𐤂) טִפְחָא Tiphhā or טַרְחָא Tarhā, a subordinate disjunctive before Sillūq and 'Athnāh, but very often the principal disjunctive of the whole verse instead of 'Athnāh; always so when the verse consists of only two or three words (e.g. Is 2¹⁸), but also in longer verses (Gn 3²¹).
6. (𐤃) רֶבְחִיא Rebhīa'.
7. (𐤄) זַרְקָא Zarqā, *postpositive*.
- 8 a. (𐤅) פַּשְׁטָא Paštā, *postpositive*,¹ and
 8 b. (𐤆) יֶתִיב Yethibh, *prepositive*, and thus different from Melupākḥ. Yethibh is used in place of Paštā when the latter would stand on a monosyllable or on a foretoned word, not preceded by a conjunctive accent.
9. (𐤇) תֵּבְחִיר Telbhir.
- 10 a. (𐤈) גֶּרֶשׁ Gèresḥ or טֶרֶס Tères, and
 10 b. (𐤉) גֶּרָשָׁיִם Gerāšāyim² or Double Gèresḥ, used for Gèresḥ, when the tone rests on the ultima, and 'Azlā does not precede.
- 11 a. (𐤊) פָּזֶר Pāzēr, and
 11 b. (𐤋) פָּזֶר גדֹל Pāzēr gādōl (Great Pāzēr) or קַרְנֵי פָּרָה Qarnē pārah (cow-horns), only used 16 times, for special emphasis.
12. (𐤌) תֵּלִישָׁא גדֹל Telišā gedōlā or Great Telišā, *prepositive*.
13. (𐤍) לְגַרְמֵחַ Legarmēh, i.e. Mūnaḥ (see below) with a following stroke.

Stud. u. Krit., 1904, p. 448 ff., G. Beer, *TLZ.* 1905, no. 3, and esp. A. Klostermann, *Theol. Lit.-blatt*, 1904, no. 13, with whom Ginsburg agrees (*Verhandlungen des Hamb. Or.-kongresses von 1902*, Leiden, 1904, p. 210 ff.) in showing that the tradition with regard to the 479 or 480 uses of *Paseq* is by no means uniform. The purpose of *Paseq* is clearly recognizable in the five old rules: as a divider between identical letters at the end and beginning of two words; between identical or very similar words; between words which are absolutely contradictory (as *God* and *evil-doer*); between words which are liable to be wrongly connected; and lastly, between heterogeneous terms, as 'Eleazar the High Priest, and Joshua'. But the assumption of a far-reaching critical importance in *Paseq* is at least doubtful.—Cf. also the important article by H. Fuchs, 'Pesiq ein Glossenzeichen,' in the *Vierteljahrsschrift f. Bibelkunde*, Aug. 1908, p. 1 ff. and p. 97 ff.

¹ If the word in question has the tone on the penultima, Paštā is placed over it also, e.g. וְהָיָה Gn 1²; cf. below, l.

² Wickes requires Geršāyim (גֶּרְשָׁיִם).

B. CONJUNCTIVE ACCENTS (*Conjunctivi* or *Servi*).

g

14. (—) מִנָּה Mûnah.
15. (—) מְהֻפָּךְ Mehuppākḥ or מְהֻפָּךְ Mahpākḥ.
- 16 a. (—) מֵרֶכָה or מְרֻכָה Mêrekhā, and
- 16 b. (—) מְרֻכָה מֵרֶכָה Mêrekhā khephûlā or Double Mêr^okhā.
17. (—) דָּרְגָה Dargā.
18. (—) אֲזֵלָה 'Azlā, when associated with Gêreš (see above) also called Qadmā.
19. (—) תִּלְשָׁה קֶטַנָּה Telišā qeṭannā or Little Telišā, *postpositive*.
20. (—) גִּלְגָּל Galgal or יְרָה Yerah.
- [21. (—) מְאֵיילָה Me'ayyēlā or מֵאֵיילָה Māyēlā, a variety of Tiphḥa, serves to mark the secondary tone in words which have Sillûq or 'Athnāḥ, or which are united by Maqqēph with a word so accentuated, e.g. מֵאֵיילָה גִּן Gn 8¹⁸.]

II. The Accents of the Books תנ"ך.

A. DISTINCTIVI.

h

1. (—) Sillûq (see above, I, 1).
2. (—) עֹלֶה וְיֹרֵד 'Ôlê weyôred,¹ a stronger divider than
3. (—) 'Athnāḥ (see above, I, 2). In shorter verses 'Athnāḥ suffices as principal distinctive; in longer verses 'Ôlê weyôred serves as such, and is then mostly followed by 'Athnāḥ as the principal disjunctive of the second half of the verse.
4. (—) Rebhi' gādôl (Great Rebhi').
5. (—) Rebhi' mugrāš, i.e. Rebhi' with Gêreš on the same word.
6. (—) Great Šalšēleth (see above, I. 3 b).
7. (—) שִׁנּוֹר Šinnôr (Zarqā), as *postpositive*, is easily distinguished from שִׁנּוֹרִית Šinnôrith similarly placed, which is not an independent accent, but stands only over an open syllable before a consonant which has Mêrekhā or Mahpākḥ.
8. (—) Rebhi' qāṭôn (Little Rebhi') immediately before 'Ôlê weyôred.
9. (—) דֶּלִי Delî or Tiphḥā, *prepositive*, to the right underneath the initial consonant, e.g. דֶּלִי (consequently it does not mark the tone-syllable).

¹ Wrongly called also Mêr^okhā m^ohuppākḥ (*Mêr^okhā mahpakhatum*), although the accent underneath is in no way connected with Mêr^okhā; cf. Wickes, l. c., p. 14.

10. (𐤀) Pázēr (see above, I, 11 a).
 11 a. (𐤁) Mēhuppākh lēgarmēh, i.e. Mahpākh with a following stroke.
 11 b. (𐤂) 'Azlā lēgarmēh, i.e. 'Azlā with a following stroke.

i

B. CONJUNCTIVE.

12. (𐤃) Mērekhā (see above, I, 16 a).
 13. (𐤄) Mūnah (see above, I, 14).
 14. (𐤅) 𐤍𐤏𐤕 Mūy or Mūnah superior.
 15. (𐤆) 𐤏𐤕𐤏 Tarhā (under the tone-syllable, and thus easily distinguished from No. 9).
 16. (𐤇) Galgal or Yerah (see above, I, 20).
 17. (𐤈) Mēhuppākh or Mahpākh (see above, I, 15).
 18. (𐤉) 'Azlā (see above, I, 18).
 19. (𐤊) Šalšēleth qeṭannā (Little Šalšēleth).

The last three are distinguished from the disjunctives of the same name by the absence of the stroke.

- [20. (𐤋) Šinnōrith, see above under No. 7.]

REMARKS ON THE ACCENTS.

I. *As Signs of the Tone.*

- k 1. As in Greek and English (cf. *elμ* and *elμ*, *compact* and *compact*) so also in Hebrew, words which are written with the same consonants are occasionally distinguished by the position of the tone, e.g. 𐤁𐤏𐤕 *banū* (they built), 𐤁𐤏𐤕 *bānu* (in us); 𐤒𐤏𐤕 *qāma* (she stood up), 𐤒𐤏𐤕 *qamā* (standing up, *fem.*).
 l 2. As a rule the accent stands on the tone-syllable, and properly on its initial consonant. In the case of prepositives and postpositives alone (see above, e) the tone-syllable must be ascertained independently of the accent. In many MSS. as well as in Baer's editions of the text, the postpositive sign in foretoned words stands also over the tone-syllable after the analogy of Paṣṭā (see above, I, 8 a, note); e.g. 𐤏𐤕𐤏𐤕 𐤏𐤕𐤏 Gn 19⁴; so the prepositive sign in cases like 𐤏𐤕𐤏 Gn 8¹³.

II. *As Signs of Punctuation.*

- m 3. In respect to this use of the accents, every verse is regarded as a period which closes with Sillūq, or in the figurative language of the grammarians, as a province (*ditto*) which is governed by the great distinctive at the end. According as the verse is long or short, i.e. the province great or small, there are several subordinate *Domini* of different grades, as governors of greater and smaller divisions. When possible, the subdivisions themselves are also split up into parts according to the law of dichotomy (see Wickes, *The Accents of the Twenty-one Books*, p. 29 ff.).—When two or more *equivalent* accents (Zaqēph, R^hhia) occur consecutively, the accent which precedes marks a greater division than the one which follows; cf. e.g. the Zaqēph, Gn 1^{20 a}.
 n 4. In general a conjunctive (*Servus*) unites only such words as are closely connected in sense, e.g. a noun with a following genitive or a noun with an

adjective. For the closest connexion between two or more words *Maqqēph* is added (§ 16 a).

5. The consecution of the several accents (especially the correspondence of *O* disjunctives with their proper conjunctives) conforms in the most minute details to strict rules, for a further investigation of which we must refer to the above-mentioned works. Here, to avoid misunderstanding, we shall only notice further the rule that in the accentuation of the books מִתְחִילָה, the *Rēbhī^a* *mugrāš* before *Silluq*, and the *Dēhī* before *ʾAṭnāh*, must be changed into conjunctives, unless at least two toneless syllables precede the principal disjunctive. For this purpose *S^{wā}* *mobile* after *Qames*, *Sere*, or *Holem* (with *Metheg*) is to be regarded as forming a syllable. After *ʾOlē w^{yō}rēd* the *ʾAṭnāh* does not necessarily act as pausal (cf. Delitzsch on ψ 45⁶). The condition of our ordinary texts is corrupt, and the system of accents can only be studied in correct editions [see Wickes' two treatises].

6. A double accentuation occurs in Gn 35²², from וַיִּשְׁכַּח onward (where *p* the later accentuation, intended for public reading, aims at uniting vv. 22 and 23 into one, so as to pass rapidly over the unpleasant statement in v. 22); and in the Decalogue, Ex 20² ^{fr.}; Dt 5⁶ ^{fr.}. Here also the later (mainly superlinear) accentuation which closes the first verse with עֲבָרִים (instead of פָּנִי) is adopted simply for the purposes of public reading, in order to reduce the original twelve verses (with sublinear accentuation) to ten, the number of the Commandments. Thus עֲבָרִים at the end of v. 2 has *Silluq* (to close the verse) in the lower accentuation, but in the upper, which unites vv. 2-6 (the actual words of God) into a single period, only *Rēbhī^a*. Again פָּנִי, regarded as closing v. 3, is pointed פָּנִי (pausal *Qames* with *Silluq*), but in the upper accentuation it is פָּנִי with *Pathah* because not in pause. (Originally there may have been a third accentuation requiring עֲבָרִים and פָּנִי, and thus representing vv. 2 and 3 as the first commandment.) Further the upper accentuation unites vv. 8-11 into one period, while in vv. 12-15 the lower accentuation combines commandments 5-8 into one verse. Cf. Geiger, *Urschrift u. Übersetzungen der Bibel*, p. 373; Japhet, *op. cit.*, p. 158, and esp. K. J. Grimm, *Johns Hopkins Univ. Circ.* xix (May, 1900), no. 145.

§ 16. Of *Maqqēph* and *Methēg*.

These are both closely connected with the accents.

a

1. *Maqqēph* (מַקְקֶפֶה i.e. *binder*) is a small horizontal stroke between the upper part of two words which so connects them that in respect of tone and pointing they are regarded as one, and therefore have only one accent. Two, three, or even four words may be connected in this way, e.g. כָּל־אִדָּם *every man*, אֶת־כָּל־עֵשֶׂב *every herb*, Gn 1²⁹, לֹא־כָל־אִשָּׁר־לֹ *all that he had*, Gn 25⁵.

Certain monosyllabic prepositions and conjunctions, such as אֶל־ *to*, עַד־ *until*, עַל־ *upon*, עִם־ *with*, אֶל־ *na*, אִם־ *if*, מִן־ *from*, כִּי־ *lest*, are almost always found with a following *Maqqēph*, provided they have not become independent forms by being combined with prefixes, e.g. מֵעַל, מֵעַם, in which case *Maqqēph* as a rule does not follow. Occasionally *Maqqēph* is replaced by a conjunctive accent (see above, § 9 u, i c), as, according to the Masora, in Dt 27⁹, 2 S 20²³, Jer 25⁵⁰, 29²⁵, Ec 9⁴ in the case of אֶל־כָּל־; ψ 47⁵, 60², Pr 3¹² in the case of אֶת־, the objective particle. Longer words are, however, con-

b

nected by Maqqēph with a following monosyllable, e.g. הַתְּהִלָּה־נָח Gn 6⁹, שִׁבְעָה־עָשָׂר Gn 17; or two words of more than one syllable, e.g. שִׁבְעָה־עָשָׂר *seventeen*, Gn 7¹¹. Cf. the Greek proclitics *ev*, *ek*, *eis*, *ei*, *ds*, *ov*, which are *atonic*, and lean on the following word.

c 2. Mètheg (מֶתֶג) i.e. *a bridle*), a small perpendicular stroke under the consonant to the left of the vowel, indicates most frequently the secondary stress or counter-tone, as opposed to the principal tone marked by the accents. It serves, however, in other cases to point out that the vowel should not be hastily passed over in pronunciation, but should be allowed its full sound. Hence other names of *Mèthëg* are *Ma'ā-rīkh*, i.e. *lengthener*, and *Ga'yā*, i.e. *raising* of the voice, which is *Great Ga'yā* with long vowels, otherwise *Little Ga'yā*.¹

d It is divided into: 1. The *light Mèthëg*. This is subdivided again into (a) the ordinary *Mèthëg* of the counter-tone, as a rule in the second (open) syllable before the tone, e.g. הָאֵלֶּם (cf. also such cases as מִלְחָמָה); but also in the third when the second is closed, e.g. הָאֲרָבָעִים (also in such cases as עֶבֶד־הַפָּלֶה, and when the third is not suitable for it, even in the fourth (open) syllable before the tone. This *Mèthëg* may be repeated in the fourth syllable before the tone, when it already stands in the second, e.g. שֶׁבַע־עָתִידִים. Finally it is always added to the vowel of an open ultima, which is joined by Maqqēph to a word beginning with a toneless syllable and so without *Mèthëg* (e.g. בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל, on the other hand רִשְׁפֵי־קִשֶׁת, לֹא־אֶהְיָה), or to a word beginning with *Šwā* before the tone-syllable, e.g. מִי־לֶךְ, &c.; the object being to prevent the *Šwā* from becoming *quiescent*.

e The ordinary *light Mèthëg* is omitted with a movable *ī* copulative, consequently we do not find יְבָנִים, &c. (nor even יְבָנִי, &c., contrary to *b*, *a*; but יְבָנִי, &c., according to *b*, *δ*, cf. § 10 g. *b*).

f (b) The *firm* or *indispensable Mèthëg*. (a) With all long vowels (except in certain cases, *ī* copulative, see above), which are followed by a *Šwā mobile* preceding the tone-syllable, e.g. יִשְׁנֵנִי, &c. (β) To emphasize a long vowel in a closed syllable immediately before Maqqēph, e.g. שֶׁת־לִי Gn 4²⁵ (not *šeth-lî*); hence also with פָּלֶה ψ 138², and אֶת־ Jb 41²⁰ (for *qāl-* and *āṭ-*; cf. also מִאֶת־ Jo 15¹⁸, &c.). (γ) With Šere, which has become toneless through retraction of the tone, in order to prevent its being pronounced as *Šghōl*, e.g. אֶהְיֶה־דַּעַת Pr 12¹ (not *ʾdhēh*). (δ) With all vowels before composite *Šwā*, e.g. יַעֲקֹב, &c. (except when the following consonant is strengthened, e.g. יַעֲקֹבִי Is 62³, because the strengthening by *Dageš* excludes the retarding of the vowel by *Mèthëg*); so in the cases discussed in § 28 c, where a short vowel has taken the place of a *Ḥateph*, as יַעֲקֹבִי, &c. (e) In the preformative syllable of all forms of הָיָה *to be*, and הָיָה *to live*, when *Šwā quiescens* stands under the ה or ח, e.g. יְהִיָּה, תְּהִיָּה (*yih-yè, tih-yè*), &c., cf.

¹ Cf. as the source of this account of *Mèthëg*, the exhaustive treatment by S. Baer, 'Mèthëg-Setzung nach ihren überlieferten Gesetzen,' in A. Murr's *Archiv für die wissenschaftl. Erforschung des A. Test.*, Heft i, Halle, 1867, p. 56 ff., and Heft ii. 1868, p. 194 ff.; Baer and Strack, *Dikduke ha-ʿamim*, p. 30 ff.

§ 63 a. (§) With the Qameṣ of the plural forms of בֵּית *house* (thus בְּתִים *bāttīm*, cf. § 96 under בֵּית), and with הֵן ¹ *prithēe*! to guard against the pronunciation *bāttīm*, *hēnnā*.—Every kind of light *Methēg* may in certain circumstances be changed into a conjunctive accent, e. g. בְּתִים 2 Ch 34¹¹, &c.

2. The *grave Methēg* (*Ga'yā* in the more limited sense) is especially employed ^g in the following cases in order more distinctly to emphasize a short vowel or an initial *Šwā*: (a) with the *Pathah* of the article or of the prefixes ב, ב, ל, when followed by *Šwā* under a consonant without *Dageš*, e. g. הַמֶּלֶךְ, הַמֶּלֶךְ, &c., but not before י (before which י also remains without *Methēg*, with the exception of וְיָהּ and וְיָהּ, when they are followed by *Maqqeph*, or accented with *Pašā*), nor before the tone-syllable of a word, and neither *before* nor *after* the common *Methēg*; likewise not in words which are connected by a conjunctive accent with the following word; (b) with the interrogative ה with *Pathah* (except when it precedes י, *Dageš forte* or the tone-syllable of the word), e. g. הֲיִשָּׁבֵעַ. When a *Šwā* follows the ה and after the *Šwā* there is an untuned syllable, Baer places the *Methēg* to the right of the *Pathah*, e. g. הֲיִשָּׁבֵעַ Gn 27³³ (but ed. Mant. and Ginsb. 'הַי); (c) with the *Pathah* or *Šgol* of the article before a guttural (which cannot take *Dageš*), e. g. הַהָרִים, הַהָיִים.—The *Šwā-Ga'yā* (ֶ) is especially important in the accentuation of the תָּא"ם, for purposes of musical recitation; it stands chiefly in words whose principal tone is marked by a disjunctive without a preceding conjunctive, e. g. הָיָה ψ 1³.

3. The *euphonic Ga'yā*, to ensure the distinct pronunciation of those consonants which in consequence of the loss of the tone, or because they close a syllable, might easily be neglected, e. g. וְיִשָּׁבֵעַ לוֹ Gn 24⁹; פֶּדְיָהָ אֶרֶם (here to avoid a hiatus) 28², or in such cases as רִדְתָּ אֶל Jb 33⁴, &c.; תִּרְשָׁא Gn 1¹¹.

Methēg (especially in the cases mentioned in 1, b, a) is a guide to correct ² pronunciation, since it distinguishes *ā* from *ō* (except in the case noted in § 9 v, b) and *i* from *ī*; e. g. אָכְלָה 'ā-khēlā (she has eaten), but אִכְלָה 'ikhla (food), since the ׀ stands here in a toneless closed syllable, and must therefore be a short vowel; thus also יִרְאוּ *yī-rē'ū* (they fear), but יִרְאוּ *yir'ū* (they see), יִשְׁנוּ (they sleep), but יִשְׁנוּ (they repeat). The Jewish grammarians, however, do not consider the syllables lengthened by *Methēg* as open. They regard the *Šwā* as *quiescent* in cases like אִכְלָה, and belonging to the preceding vowel; cf. Baer, *Thorat 'Emeth*, p. 9, and in Merx's *Archiv*, i. p. 60, Rem. 1, and especially *Dikduke ha-t'amim*, p. 13.

§ 17. Of the *Qere* and *Kethibh*. *Masora marginalis* and *finalis*.

On *Qere* and *Kethibh* see Ginsburg, *Int.*, p. 183 ff.]

1. The margin of Biblical MSS. and editions exhibits variants ^a of an early date (§ 3 c), called קִרְיָ ² to be read, since, according to

¹ The common form is קִרְיָ, with an accent on both syllables, in which case, according to Qimḥi, the tone is always to be placed on the former. For the above mode of writing and position of the tone cf. Is 38³, Jon 1¹⁴, 4², ψ 116⁴.

² On the necessity of the punctuation קִרְיָ as passive participle (= *legendum*)

the opinion of the Jewish critics, they are to be preferred to the *בְּתִיב*, i.e. what is *written* in the text, and are actually to be read instead of it.

On this account the vowels of the marginal reading (the *Q^{erê}*) are placed under the consonants of the text, and in order to understand both readings properly, the vowels in the text must be applied to the marginal reading, while for the reading of the text (the *K^{ethibh}*) its own vowels are to be used. Thus in Jer 42⁶ אֲנִי occurs in the text, in the margin אֲנִי *we* (or according to Jewish tradition אֲנִי) in the text, in the margin אֲנִי. A small circle or asterisk in the text always refers to the marginal reading.

b 2. Words or consonants which are to be passed over in reading, and are therefore left unpointed, are called *בְּתִיב וְלֹא קָרִי* (*scriptum et non legendum*), e.g. אֵת Jer 38¹⁶, אֵם 39¹², יִרְרָךְ 51³. Conversely, words not contained in the text, but required by the Masora (as indicated by the insertion of their vowels), are called *קָרִי וְלֹא בְּתִיב*, e.g. 2 S 8³, Jer 31³⁸. See further Strack, *Prolegomena Critica*, p. 85; *Dikduke ha-ʿamim*, §§ 62, 64; Blau, *Masoretische Untersuchungen*, p. 49 ff.

c 3. In the case of some very common words, which are *always* to be read otherwise than according to the *K^{ethibh}*, it has not been considered necessary to place the *Q^{erê}* in the margin, but its vowels are simply attached to the word in the text. This *Q^{erê perpetuum}* occurs in the Pentateuch in הוּא (*Q^{erê} היא*) wherever הוּא stands for the feminine (§ 32 l), and in נָעַר (*K^{ethibh} נָעַר, Q^{erê} נָעֲרָה*) always, except in Dt 22¹⁹ (but the Sam. text always has היא, נְעָרָה). The ordinary explanation of this supposed archaism, on the analogy of Greek *ὁ παῖς* and *ἡ παῖς*, our *child*, is inadequate, since there is no trace elsewhere of this epicene use; נָעַר for נְעָרָה is rather a survival of a system of orthography in which a final vowel was written defectively, as in קָטַלְתָּ; cf. § 2 n.—Other instances are: יִשְׁשַׁכָּר (Q. יִשְׁשָׁכָר) Gn 30¹⁸ &c., see the *Lexicon*, and Baer and Delitzsch, *Genesis*, p. 84, and below, note to § 47 b; יִרְשָׁלָם (Q. יִרְשָׁלַיִם), properly יִרְשָׁלָם; יְהוָה (Q. יְהוֹה), properly יְהוָה; יְהוָה (Q. יְהוֹה) properly יְהוָה *Yahwè* (cf. § 102 m, and § 135 q, note); on שְׁתֵּי, שְׁנֵי for שְׁנֵי, see § 97 d, end.

d 4. The masoretic apparatus accompanying the biblical text is divided into (a) *Masora marginalis*, consisting of (a) *Masora (marginalis) magna* on the upper and lower margins of MSS.; (β) *Masora (marginalis) parva* between and on the right and left of the columns;

instead of קָרִי *Q^{erê}*, which was formerly common but is properly a past tense (= *lectum est*), see Kautzsch, *Gramm. des Bibl.-Aram.*, p. 81, note.

(b) *Masora finalis* at the end of the several books, counting Samuel, Kings, Minor Prophets, Ezra-Nehemiah, Chronicles, each as one book. On all three varieties see especially Ginsburg, *Introd.*, p. 423 ff., and the appendices containing (p. 983 ff.) the masoretic treatise from the St. Petersburg MS. of A.D. 1009, and (p. 1000 ff.) specimens of the *Masora parva* and *magna* on two chapters.

In nearly all printed editions only the *Masora finalis* is found, indicating ^e the number of verses, the middle point of the book, &c., and a scanty selection from the *Masora parva*. The following alphabetical list of technical expressions (some of them Aramaic) and abbreviations, may suffice with the help of the lexicon to elucidate the subject. Further details will be found in the appendix to Teile's edition of the Hebrew O. T., p. 1222 ff.

אות letter. אָמַץ nisi, except. אֶמְצֵע middle. אֶמְסֵק=אֶסֶף in the formula פֶּלֶא אֶסֶף without 'Athnah or Soph-pasug i.e. although no 'Athnah or Soph-pasug is written.

בָּ with, before names of vowels or accents, as בָּזָקָה קָמֶץ Games with Zaqeph used instead of Pathah (§ 29 i).—ב' as a numeral=two, as in ב' טַעֲמִים two accents. במקצת, see מקצת =בני"א =בְּנוֹסְתָא אֲחֵרִיתָא (Aramaic) in another copy; pl. בְּנוֹסְתָן אֲחֵרִיתָן.—בְּנוֹסְתָן אֲחֵרִיתָן in other books. בָּתֵּר (Aram.) after. דָּגוּשׁ fem. דְּגוּשָׁה marked with Dages (or Mappiq). דָּף leaf, page.

דָּוָר fem. דְּוָרָא (Aram.) small. חֹל profane, not sacred, e.g. יִצְרִי Gn 19² because not referring to God. חֲזִין except. חָסֵר written defectively, also wanting as 'א 'aleph is omitted. טַעַם accent (see ב) ; טַעַם in Hiphil to chant an accent.

יָתִיר superfluous.

כָּאן here. כָּלֵל (Aram.) total, as adv. in general.

לֹא=לֹאִית (Aram., from לֹאִית non est)=the form is not found elsewhere.

מְדֻקָּא accurately corrected. מְלֵא full i.e. written plene. מִלְמַטָּה below=מִלְמַטָּה (ש' 15 c). מִלְמַטָּה=מִלְמַטָּה (ש' 15 c). מְנַדְרֹת separated, the name of the strangely formed Nūns before ψ 107²² ff. (ש' 5 n). מְקָרָא that which is read, the name for all the O. T. scriptures. מְקָצָת part.

נָח fem. נָחָה quiescent, i.e. not sounded. נֶעְלָם concealed, i.e. only retained orthographically. נָקוּד a point. נִקְוֶד pointed.

סָא see ב. סִימָן σημειον, sign, esp. a mnemonic word or, frequently, sentence.

סָךְ=סָכּוּם total. סוּף פָּסוּק=סָךְ (ש' 15 f).

עֲמוּד column of a page.

פָּסוּק a masoretic verse. פְּסָקָא a space, esp. in the phrase בְּאֶמְצֵע פָּסוּק within a verse, e.g. Gn 35²²; cf. H. Grätz, *Monatschrift für Gesch. u. Wiss. des Judentums*, 1878, p. 481 ff., and H. Strack, *ibid.* 1879, p. 26 ff.

קָרִי=קָרִי, see above, c. קָרִי properly קָרִי before. קָמוּצָה fem. קָמוּצָה pointed with Qames. קוֹרֵא reader of the sacred text.

רַבְתִּי, רַבְתָּה, רַבְתִּי (Aram., all fem. sing.) large.

תְּלִיָּה word (consisting of more than one letter). תְּלִיָּה suspensa (ש' 5 n, note 3). תְּנִי (Aram.) two.

CHAPTER II

PECULIARITIES AND CHANGES OF LETTERS: THE SYLLABLE AND THE TONE

§ 18.

THE changes which take place in the forms of the various parts of speech, depend partly on the peculiar nature of certain classes of letters and the manner in which they affect the formation of syllables, partly on certain laws of the language in regard to syllables and the tone.

§ 19. *Changes of Consonants.*

a The changes which take place among consonants, owing to the formation of words, inflexion, euphony, or to influences connected with the progress of the language, are *commutation, assimilation, rejection, addition, transposition, softening.*

1. *Commutation*¹ may take place between consonants which are either *homorganic* or *homogeneous* (cf. § 6 q), e.g. מְעֵל, מְעַל, מְעִל to *exult*, לָהָה, לָהָה, אֶמָּל to *be weary*, נָחַץ and נָחַץ to *press*, קָרַב and קָרַב to *close*, מָלַט and מָלַט to *escape*. In process of time, and partly under the influence of Aramaic, the harder and rougher sounds especially were changed into the softer, e.g. קָחַץ into קָחַץ to *laugh*, מָעַל into מָעַל to *reject*, and the sibilants into the corresponding mutes: י into ה, ש into ה, ז into ט. In many cases these mutes may be regarded as a return to an earlier stage of the pronunciation.

2. The interchange of consonants, however, belongs rather to the lexicographical treatment of stems² than to grammatical inflexion. To the latter belong the interchange (*a*) of ה and ט in *Hithpa'el* (§ 54 b); (*b*) of י and י in verbs *primae Yôd* (§ 69), יָלַח for יָלַח, &c.

b 2. *Assimilation* usually takes place when one consonant which closes a syllable passes over into another beginning the next syllable, and forms with it a strengthened letter, as *illustris* for *inlustris*, *affero* for *adfero*, συλλαμβάνω for συναλμβάνω. In Hebrew this occurs,

¹ Cf. Barth, *Etymologische Forschungen*, Lpz. 1893, p. 15 ff. ('Lautverschiebungen').

² See in the *Lexicon*, the preliminary remarks on the several consonants.

(a) most frequently with מ, e.g. מִשָּׁם (for *min-šām*) *from there*, מִזֶּה *C* (for *min-zè*) *from this*, יָתֵן (for *yintēn*) *he gives*. מ is not assimilated after the prefix לְ, e.g. לִמְנָה, nor as a rule before gutturals (except sometimes before ח), nor when it is the third consonant of the stem, e.g. שִׁמְנָה (cf. however נִתְּנָה for *nāthāntā*) except when another Nun follows, cf. § 44 o; nor in some isolated cases, as Dt 33⁹, Is 29¹, 58³, all in the principal pause; on הִנֵּה and הִנְיָה ψ 68³, see § 51 k, and § 66 f.

(b) Less frequently and only in special cases with ל, ת, ר, e.g. יִקַּח *d* (for *yilqah*) *he takes*; מִדְּבַר for *mithdabbēr*; יִתְּמָא for *yithṭammā*; תִּתְּכֹנֶנֶן for *tithkōnēn*; תִּתְּנָא for *tithnā*; אֶחָד for *’ahadt*; but in 1 S 4¹⁹ for לֵלֵךְ read probably לֵלֵךְ.

(c) In isolated cases with ה, ו, י, e.g. אֶפְרַיִם *prithēe*! if from אֶפְרַיִם *C*; ו and י mostly before sibilants in the verbal forms enumerated in § 71.

In all these cases, instead of the assimilated letter, a *Dageš forte* *f* appears in the following consonant. *Dageš*, however, is omitted when the strengthened consonant would stand at the end of a word, since the strengthening would then be less audible (§ 20 l), e.g. נֶסֶם *nose* (from *’anp*), תִּתְּנָה *to give* (from *tint*).

The cases are less frequent where a weak letter is lost in pronunciation,¹ and in place of it the preceding stronger sound is sharpened, i.e. takes *Dageš*, e.g. קָטְלָתוֹ from קָטְלָתוֹ (§ 59 g). קָטְלָתוֹ for קָטְלָתוֹ (§ 66 e) is an Aramaism.

3. Complete *rejection* takes place only in the case of weaker consonants, especially the sonants מ and ל, the gutturals א and ה, and the two half vowels ו and י. Such rejection takes place,

(a) at the beginning of a word (*aphaeresis*), when these weak consonants (א, ו, ל, י) are not supported by a full vowel, but have only Šewâ, e.g. וְהָיָה *we*, also וְהָיָה; וְדַע for וְדַע; קַח for לְקַח; וְשֵׁשׁ for וְשֵׁשׁ, יְהִי for יְהִי Ez 2¹⁰.

Aphaeresis of a weak consonant with a full vowel is supposed to occur in יָרָה Ju 19¹¹ for יָרָה; in יָרָה 2 S 22⁴¹ for יָרָה; in יָשׁוּב for יָשׁוּב Je 42¹⁰; on קַח Ez 17⁵ for לְקַח, and on קַח Ho 11³ for לְקַח, see § 66 g, end. In reality, however, all these forms are to be regarded merely as old textual errors.

(b) In the middle of a word (*syncope*), when Šewâ precedes the weak consonant²; thus in the case of א (see further § 23 b-f, and

¹ Such a suppression of a letter is sometimes inaccurately called 'backward assimilation'.

² Syncope of a strong consonant (ע) occurs in יְהִי *prithēe*! if this stands for יְהִי (see *Lexicon*), also in וְשֵׁשׁ Am 8³, קִישׁוֹת for וְשֵׁשׁ (cf. וְשֵׁשׁ 9⁵), and

§ 68 b-k), e.g. in כוּם for כוּמ. As a rule in such cases, however, the *א* is orthographically retained, e.g. לְקַרְאָת for לְקַרְאָת. Syncope occurs frequently in the case of ה, e.g. לְהַמְלִיךָ for לְהַמְלִיךָ (§ 23 k and § 35 n), יְהַמְלִיךְ for יְהַמְלִיךְ (§ 53 a).

Syncope of *א* with *Šewā* occurs in such cases as בְּאֲדָנִי for בְּאֲדָנִי (cf. § 102 m); וְאֶעֱשֶׂה Zc 11⁵.¹ On the cases in which *א* is wholly omitted after the article, see § 35 d.

Finally, the elision of ו and י in verbs ל'ה (§ 75 h) is an instance of syncope.—On the syncope of ה between two vowels, see § 23 k.

(c) At the end of a word (*apocope*), e.g. גִּלְוֹ pr. name of a city (cf. Gilonite); וְיָרָא, where *א* though really rejected is orthographically retained, &c. On the apocope of ו and י in verbs ל'ה, see § 24 g, and § 75 a.

Bolder changes (especially by violent apocope), took place in earlier periods of the language, notably the weakening of the feminine ending ה—*ā* to ה—*ā*, see § 44 a, and § 80 f.

m 4. To avoid harshness in pronunciation a helping sound, Aleph prosthetic² with its vowel, is prefixed to some words, e.g. אֶרֶץ and אֶרֶץ arm (cf. χθές, ἐχθές; *spiritus*, French *esprit*).—A prosthetic ע occurs probably in עֶקֶב *scorpion*; cf. Arab. 'usfūr bird (stem *šafara*).

n 5. *Transposition*³ occurs only seldom in the grammar, e.g. הַשְׁתַּמֵּר for הַשְׁתַּמֵּר (§ 54 b) for the sake of euphony; it is more frequent in the lexicon, e.g. שְׂמֹלֶה and שְׂמֹלֶה *garment*, but is mostly confined to sibilants and sonants.

o 6. *Softening* occurs e.g. in כֹּכַב from *kaukabh*=*kaukabh* for *kubhkabh* (cf. Syriac *raurab*=*rabrah*); מִטְּפוֹת *phylacteries* for *taph-tāphōth*; according to the common opinion, also in אִישׁ *man* from 'inš, cf. however § 96.

§ 20. *The Strengthening (Sharpening) of Consonants.*

a 1. The strengthening of a consonant, indicated by *Dageš forte*, is necessary and essential (*Dageš necessarium*)

(a) when the same consonant would be written twice in succession

in בְּלֶה Jos 19³ for בְּלֶה (as in 15²⁹). Probably, however, וְנִשְׁקָה and בְּלֶה are only clerical errors, as is undoubtedly כֹּאֵר Am 8⁸ for כֹּאֵר (9⁵).

¹ Frensdorff, *Ochla W'ochla*, p. 97 f., gives a list of forty-eight words with quiescent *א*.

² This awkward term is at any rate as suitable as the name *Alef protheticum* proposed by Nestle, *Marginalien u. Materialien*, Tübingen, 1893, p. 67 ff.

³ Cf. Barth, *Etymologische Studien*, Lpz. 1893, p. 1 ff.; Königsberger, in *Zeitschrift f. wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1894, p. 451 ff.

without an intermediate vowel or *Šewā mobile*; thus we have נָתַנִּי for נָתַן *nāthān-nā* and שָׁתַּתִּי for שָׁתַּן.

(b) in cases of assimilation (§ 19 b-f), e.g. יִתֵּן for *yintēn*.

In both these cases the *Dageš* is called *compensativum*.

(c) When it is characteristic of a grammatical form, e.g. לָמַד *he has learned*, לָמַד *he has taught* (*Dageš characteristicum*). In a wider sense this includes the cases in which a consonant is sharpened by *Dageš forte*, to preserve a preceding short vowel (which in an open syllable would have to be lengthened by § 26 e), e.g. גְּמָלִים *camels* for *gēmālīm*; cf. § 93 ee and *kk*, § 93 pp.

This coalescing of two consonants as indicated above does not take place ^b when the first has a vowel or *Šewā mobile*. In the latter case, according to the correct Masora, a compound *Šewā* should be used, preceded by *Methēg*, e.g. הוֹלִלִים, קִלְלִים, &c. (cf. § 16). This pointing is not used before the suffix י, e.g. חִבְּרִיךָ Gn 27⁴, but the first ח has a vocal *Šewā*, otherwise the second ח would have *Dageš lene*. Also when the former of the two consonants has been already strengthened by *Dageš forte*, it can only have a vocal *Šewā*, and any further contraction is therefore impossible. This applies also to cases where *Dageš forte* has been omitted (see below, m), e.g. הָלָלוּ properly הָלְלוּ = *hal-lū*. The form הִלְלִיךָ ¹⁴9 (not הִלְלִיךָ) might be explained as imperat. *Pi'el* = הִלְלִיךָ; if it were imperat. *Qal* the non-contraction of the monosyllabic root would be as strange as it is in שָׁרְרוּ Jer 49²⁸, and in the imperf. יִשְׁרְרוּ Jer 5⁹.

2. A consonant is sometimes strengthened merely for the sake of *C euphony* (*Dageš euphonicum*), and the strengthening is then not so essential. This occurs¹—

(a) when two words are closely united in pronunciation by *Dageš forte conjunctivum*: (1) in the first letter of a monosyllable or of a word having the tone (or occasionally the counter-tone) on the first syllable,² when closely connected with the preceding word, if that word ends in a tone-bearing *Qameš* (הַ) with *Šewā mobile* preceding, or a tone-bearing הַ, —called דְּחִיּוּץ (i. e. *compressed*) by the Jewish grammarians.

The term monosyllable here and in *f* (by § 28 e) includes Segholates like דָּפַף, שָׁחַר, &c., as well as forms like פָּרַי, שָׂאֵל, שָׂמוּ, and even בָּנֵעַן.

¹ Cf. Baer, 'De primarum vocabulorum literarum dagessatione,' in his *Liber Proverborum*, Lpz. 1880, pp. vii-xv; F. Prätorius, 'Über den Ursprung des Dag. f. conjunctivum,' in *ZAW.* 1883, p. 17 ff. (ascribed to an original assimilation of ה or נ).

² לָאמַר alone, although having the tone on the ultima, invariably takes the *Dageš forte conj.* when כִּשְׁמָה with a conjunctive accent precedes, Ex 6^{10, 29, 15²⁴}, &c.

Some limit the use of the *D^hiq* to the closest connexion of a monosyllable with a following *B^gadk^hphath*. However, it also applies to cases like לְכֹהֵנִים Nu 22⁶; לְקַחְהוּאֹת Gn 23²; יִצְחָקֶיךָ ψ 91¹¹; and even with רֵאשׁ מַעֲנֶה־ךָ Pr 15¹; וְשִׁנְהֶתְּךָ Gn 43¹⁵. In all these examples the tone, were it not for the Maqqēph, would be on the ultima of the first word.

- d Rem. 1. When הָ this, has Maqqēph after it, a *Dageš forte conj.* always follows, even if the next word is neither a monosyllable nor has the tone on the initial syllable; thus not only in וְהָיָה־נָמוֹ Jer 23⁶, but also in וְהָיָה־פְרִיָה Nu 13²⁷, 1 Ch 22¹. In הָיָה־נָמוֹ Gn 19² (where Maqqēph is represented by a conjunctive accent, § 9 u, 1 c, and § 16 b), the S^ghōl coincides with the secondary tone-syllable. On the origin of *Dag. f. conj.* after מָה (מָה) *what?*, see § 37 b, c.
- e 2. Such cases as נָאֻה־נָאֻה Ex 15^{1,21}, the 2nd כַּמְכָּה in ver. 11, נָאֻה־נָאֻה ver. 13, כַּמְכָּה ver. 16, do not belong here. In these the *Dageš* can only be intended for *Dag. tene*, see § 21 d.

f (2) In the first letter of a monosyllable, or of a word with the tone on the first syllable after a closely connected *mil'el* ending in הָ or הֶ. Such a *mil'el* is called by the Jewish grammarians מְרַחֵק (Aram. = Heb. מְרַחֵק) *veniens e longinquo* (in respect of the tone). The attraction of the following tone-syllable by *Dageš forte conj.* is here also due to the exigencies of rhythm, e.g. שְׁבִיתִי־שָׁבִי ψ 68¹⁰; הוֹשִׁיעָה־נָא ψ 118²⁵ (so ed. Mant., but Ginsburg and Kittel הוֹשִׁיעָה־נָא); הוֹשִׁיעָה־נָא Is 5¹⁴; אֶרְצָה־כְּנָעַן Gn 11³¹. The *Mil'el* may, however, also be due to a subsequent retraction of the tone (*nāsōg 'ahōr*, § 29 e), as in עֲשֵׂה־פְרִי Gn 1¹¹.—The prefixes הָ, הֶ, לְ, and יִ alone do not take a *Dageš* in this case, except in לְ, always, and לְיִלָּה ψ 19³. Such forms as הוֹשִׁיעָה־נָא Gn 21²³, מְלָאֵה־שָׁחַר ψ 26¹⁰, רָחֵקָה־מִנִּי Jb 21¹⁶, and even נַעֲמֶדָה־יָחַד Is 50⁸ (i.e. the cases where the tone is thrown back from the ultima on to the syllable which otherwise would have *Metheg*), are likewise regarded as *mil'el*. On the other hand, e.g. חָרָה־לָּךְ Gn 4⁶, not לָּךְ since the first ā of חָרָה could not have *Metheg*. When words are closely united by Maqqēph the same rules apply as above, except that in the first word *Metheg*, in the secondary tone, takes the place of the accent, cf. עֲשֵׂה־פְרִי Gn 1¹²; הִנְיָדָה־נָא Gn 32³⁰, &c. Finally, the *Dageš* is used when the attracted word does not begin with the principal tone, but with a syllable having *Metheg*, יִרְשֵׁי הַמָּדָה ψ 37⁹; אֲלֵהָ יַעֲקֹב Is 44²¹; עֲשֵׂתִי קִנְיָתִי Ex 25²⁹, provided that the second word does not begin with a *B^gadk^hphath* letter (hence e.g. אֲלֵהָ תוֹלְדוֹת Gn 2⁴).

- g Rem. Such cases as כְּנָךְ Dt 32⁹, and כְּשִׁיתִי 32¹⁵, and נָעוֹת (so Baer, but not ed. Mant., &c.) 1 S 1¹³ are therefore anomalous; also, because beginning with

a B^egadh^ephath, בִּגְדָה־פָּתֵחַ Ex 15¹¹ (cf. however above, e); בִּזְרֹעַ Jos 8²⁸; בִּזְרֹעַ־יָדָאֵךְ Jb 5²⁷.—It is doubtful whether we should include here those cases in which *Dageš forte* occurs after a word ending in a toneless *u*, such as קָיָמוֹ Gn 15¹⁴, Ex 12³¹; Ex 12¹⁵ (שָׂאֵר), Dt 2²⁴; also לֹא Gn 19², 1 S 8¹⁰; לוֹ Ju 18¹⁹, Est 6¹³ (where P. Haupt regards the *Dageš* as due to the enclitic character of the לוֹ) מָעַט Ho 8¹⁰; מָדָר Jer 49³⁰; מָדָר 1 S 15⁶. When we explained the *Dageš* in these examples not as conjunctive, but orthophonic (see above, § 13 c, and Delitzsch, *Psalmen*, 4th ed. on ψ 94^{12 a}), we, especially had in view those cases in which the consonant with *Dageš* has a *S^ewā*. The extension of the use of *Dageš* to consonants with a strong vowel, seems, however, to indicate that these are cases of the מְרַחֵק אֲתֵי, which was required by some Masoretes but not consistently inserted. On the other hand, the *Dageš forte* in י after a preceding *i* (ψ 118^{5,18}), and even after *u* (ψ 94¹²), is due to an attempt to preserve its consonantal power; see König, *Lehrgeb.*, p. 54 b.

(b) When a consonant with *S^ewā* is strengthened by *Dageš forte* *h dirimens* to make the *S^ewā* more audible. In almost all cases the strengthening or sharpening can be easily explained from the character of the particular consonant, which is almost always a sonant, sibilant, or the emphatic *Qôph*; cf. עֲנִיִּי Lv 25⁵, Dt 32³² (for עֲנִיִּי Is 33¹ (where, however, בְּבִלְתִּיךְ is to be read); cf. Na 3¹⁷, Jb 9¹⁸, 17², Jo 1¹⁷ (with מ); Is 57⁶ (with ל); Ju 20^{43,1} 1 S 1⁶ (with ר); Gn 49^{10,17} (and so always in עֲקָרִי Ju 5²², Ct 1⁸ and עֲקֻבוֹת ψ 77²⁰, 89⁵²); Ex 15¹⁷, Dt 23¹¹, Ju 20³², 1 S 28¹⁰ (פ)²; Ex 2³, Is 58³, Am 5²¹, ψ 141³, Pr 4¹³ (צ); Pr 27²⁵ (ש); Is 25³, ψ 37¹⁵, Jer 51⁵⁶, Neh 4⁷ (ש). Also, with כ Ho 3²; with ב Is 9³, Jer 4⁷; with ח 1 S 10¹¹. In many instances of this kind the influence of the following consonant is also observable.

(c) When a vowel is to be made specially emphatic, generally in *i* the principal pause, by a *Dageš forte affectuosum* in the following consonant. Thus in a following sonant, Ju 5⁷ (חֲדָלָה), Jb 29²¹ (וַיִּחַלֵּה), 22¹² (רָפָה); Ez 27¹⁹ (in נ); in ח Is 33¹², 41¹⁷, Jer 51⁵⁸, perhaps also Jb 21¹³ (וַיִּחַלֵּה).

(d) When the sonants ל, מ, נ are strengthened by *Dageš forte firmativum* in the pronouns הֵמָּה, הֵנָּה, אֵלֶּה, and in לָמָּה why? cf. also בְּמָה, בְּמָה whereby? בְּמָה how much? (§ 102 k, l), to give greater firmness to the preceding tone-vowel.

3. Omission of the strengthening, or at least the loss of the *Dageš forte* occurs,

(a) almost always at the end of a word, since here a strengthened

¹ The ordinary reading הִרְרִיפָהוּ, where ר is without *Dageš*, is only intelligible if the ר has *Dageš*.

² Also in ψ 45¹⁰ read בִּיקְרוּתֵיךְ with Baer and Ginsburg, following Ben Asher, and in Pr 30¹⁷ לִיקְהֵת (Ben Naphthali בִּיקֵּן and לִיקֵּן).

consonant cannot easily be sounded.¹ In such cases the preceding vowel is frequently lengthened (§ 27 d), e. g. רַבב *multitude*, from רבב; עַם *people*, with a distinctive accent or after the article, עַם, from עמם; but e. g. גַּן *garden*, בַּת *daughter*, with the final consonant virtually sharpened. On the exceptions תָּה thou (fem.) and תָּתְהּ thou (fem.) *hast given* Ez 16³³, see § 10 k.

- m (b) Very frequently in certain consonants with *Šewa mobile*, since the absence of a strong vowel causes the strengthening to be less noticeable. This occurs principally in the case of ו and י (on י and י after the article, see § 35 b; on י after מוה, § 37 b); and in the sonants מ, נ and ל; also in the sibilants, especially when a guttural follows (but note Is 62³, מַאֲסָיו, as ed. Mant. and Ginsb. correctly read, while Baer has מַאֲסִי with compensatory lengthening, and others even מַאֲסִי Gn 27^{28,39}; מַשְׁלֵשׁ 38²⁴ for מַשֵּׁי, 1 K 7²⁸; מַשְׁקֵה 1 K 19²⁰ from מַשְׁק, Ez 40⁴³ and מַשְׁפָּטִים ψ 104¹⁸; מַשְׁתִּים Jon 4¹¹, מַצְפֵּדִים Ex 8¹ &c.);—and finally in the emphatic פ.³

Of the *Beqadkephath* letters, ב occurs without *Dageš* in מְבַצֵּר Ju 8³; ג in מְבַנֶּה Ez 32³⁰; ד in נְדָה Is 11¹² 56⁸, ψ 147² (not in Jer 49⁵⁶), supposing that it is the Participle Niph'al of נָדַח; lastly, ה in הַתְּצִי Is 22¹⁰. Examples, עֲנִי, וְהִי (so always the preformative ה in the imperf. of verbs), מְלַמֵּל, לְמַנְחֵם, הַנִּי, הַלֵּל, מְלֵא, בָּסֵא, יִשְׂאוּ, יִקְחוּ, מְקַלֵּחַ, מְקַצֵּה, &c. In correct MSS. the omission of the *Dageš* is indicated by the *Rāphè* stroke (§ 14) over the consonant. However, in these cases, we must assume at least a *virtual* strengthening of the consonant (*Dageš forte implicitum*, see § 22 c, end).

(c) In the Gutturals, see § 22 b.

- n Rem. 1. Contrary to rule the strengthening is omitted (especially in the later Books), owing to the lengthening of the preceding short vowel, generally *hireq* (cf. *mīle* for *mille*), e. g. יִהְיֶה he makes them afraid, for יִהְיֶה Hb 21⁷ (where, however, it is perhaps more correct to suppose, with König, a formation on the analogy of verbs יָעַל, and moreover to read יִהְיֶה with the LXX), יִקֵּחַ Is 50¹¹ for יִקָּח.

- O 2. Very doubtful are the instances in which compensation for the strengthening is supposed to be made by the insertion of a following י. Thus for

¹ So in Latin *fel* (for *fell*), gen. *fellis*; *mel*, *mellis*; *os*, *ossis*. In Middle High German the doubling of consonants never takes place at the end of a word, but only in the middle (as in Old High German), e. g. *val* (*Fall*), gen. *valles*; *swam* (*Schwamm*), &c., Grimm, *Deutsche Gramm.*, 2nd ed., i. 383.

² *Dageš forte* is almost always omitted in מ when it is the prefix of the participle Pi'el or Pu'al, hence ψ 104³ הַמְקַרֵּה who layeth the beams, but הַמְקַרֵּה the roof Ec 10¹⁸ (cf. הַמְלַאכָה the work, &c.).

³ According to some also in מ in חֲסִיעִי Is 17¹⁰; but see Baer on the passage.

מַעֲוִיָּה Is 23¹¹, read מַעֲוִיָּה (or מַעֲוִיָּה); and for תִּמְנוֹן La 3²², read תִּמְנוֹן. In Nu 23¹³ קִבְּנוֹ is not an instance of compensation (see § 67 o, end).

§ 21. *The Aspiration of the Tenuēs.*¹

The *harder* sound of the six *B^gadk^ephath* letters, indicated by *a Dageš lene*, is to be regarded, according to the general analogy of languages, as their older and original pronunciation, from which the softer sound was weakened (§ 6 n and § 13). The original hard sound is maintained when the letter is initial, and after a consonant, but when it immediately follows a vowel or *Šwā mobile* it is softened and aspirated by their influence, e.g. פָּרָא *pāras*, יִפְרֹץ *yiphrōṣ*, כֹּל *kōl*, לֶחֶל *l^ekhōl*. Hence the *B^gadk^ephath* take *Dageš lene*

(1) at the beginning of words: (a) without exception when the preceding word ends with a vowelless consonant, e.g. עֲלֶכֶן *‘al-kēn* (therefore), פֵּרִי עֵץ *p^eri ‘ēṣ* (fruit-tree); (b) at the beginning of a section, e.g. בְּרֵאשִׁית Gn 1¹, or at the beginning of a sentence, or even of a minor division of a sentence after a distinctive accent (§ 15 d), although the preceding word may end with a vowel. The distinctive accent in such a case prevents the vowel from influencing the following tenuis, e.g. וַיְהִי כַּאֲשֶׁר *and it was so, that when*, Ju 11⁵ (but וַיְהִי Gn 1⁷).

Rem. 1. The vowel letters ה, ו, י, א, as such, naturally do not close a C syllable. In close connexion they are therefore followed by the aspirated *B^gadk^ephath*, e.g. בָּהֶם וַיִּמָּצֵא, &c. On the other hand, syllables are closed by the consonantal ו and י (except קִרְתָּהּ Is 34¹¹; נֶשְׁבָּה Ez 23⁴²; אֶרְנִי אֲרָנִי ψ 68¹⁸), and by ה with *Mappiq*; hence e.g. there is *Dageš lene* in עֲלֵי פִיהֶם and always after יוֹהֵה, since the *Q^erē perpetuum* of this word (§ 17) assumes the reading אֶרְנִי.

2. In a number of cases *Dageš lene* is inserted, although a vowel precedes in close connexion. This almost always occurs with the prefixes ב and כ in the combinations בָּב, כָּב, כֶּב (i. e. when a *B^gadk^ephath* with *Šwā* precedes the same or a kindred aspirate) and בִּמ (see Baer, *L. Psalmorum*, 1880, p. 92,² on ψ 23³); cf. e.g. י S 25¹, Is 10³, ψ 34², Jb 19²; כֵּן is uncertain; כָּר, כִּר, and כֶּב according to David Qimḥi do not take *Dageš*, nor כֵּן, כָּב, and כֶּב according to the *Dikduke ha-š'amim*, p. 30. Sometimes the *B^gadk^ephath* letters, even with a full vowel, take *Dageš* before a spirant (and even before פ in בְּחַמְשָׁה 1 K 12³²); cf. the instances mentioned above, § 20 e (mostly *tenuēs* before א). In all these cases the object is to prevent too great an accumulation of aspirates. The LXX, on the other hand, almost always represent the כ and

¹ Cf. Delitzsch, *Ztschr. f. luth. Theol. u. Kirche*, 1878, p. 585 ff.

² Also *L. Proverbiorum*, 1880, Praef. p. ix; and *Dikduke ha-š'amim*, p. 30 (in German in König's *Lehrgeb.*, i. p. 62).

ב, even at the beginning of a syllable, by χ and ϕ ; $\chi\epsilon\rho\acute{o}\upsilon\beta$, $\chi\alpha\lambda\delta\alpha\iota\omicron\iota$, $\Phi\alpha\rho\phi\acute{\alpha}\rho$, &c.—The forms בְּרָכָר (after וְיִשְׁמְתִי) Is 54¹³, and בְּלָלָל (after וְנִלְלֵיתִי) Jer 20⁹ are doubly anomalous.

e (2) In the middle of words after $\acute{S}^w\acute{a}$ *quiescens*, i.e. at the beginning of a syllable immediately after a vowelless consonant,¹ e.g. יִרְפָּא *yirpā* (he heals), $\text{יֵהָרְגוּ$ *ye have killed*; but after $\acute{S}^w\acute{a}$ *mobile*, e.g. רָפָא *rēphā* (heal thou), בְּרָהָהָה *she was heavy*.

f On מְלִכִּי , וְיִשְׁכֵּךְ and similar forms, see § 10 i.

Whether $\acute{S}^w\acute{a}$ be vocal and consequently causes the aspiration of a following *tenuis*, depends upon the origin of the particular form. It is almost always vocal

(a) When it has arisen from the weakening of a strong vowel, e.g. רָפָא *pursue ye* (not רָפּוּ) from רָרָה ; מְלִכִּי (not מְלִכִּי), because originally *mālākhē*, but מְלִכִּי from the ground-form *malik*.

(b) With the ב of the pronominal suffixes of the 2nd pers. רָפָאְךָ , בְּרָהָהָהְךָ , since $\acute{S}^w\acute{a}$ mobile is characteristic of these forms (see § 58 f; § 91 b).

Rem. Forms like שְׁלַחְתָּ *thou* (fem.) *hast sent*, in which we should expect an aspirated ת after the vowel, cf. וַיַּחַדְךָ Ex 16⁹, have arisen from שְׁלַחְתָּ , וַיַּחַדְךָ , &c.; Pathah being here simply a helping vowel has no influence on the tenuis; cf. § 28 e.

§ 22. *Peculiarities of the Gutturals.*

a The four gutturals ה, ח, ע, א, in consequence of their peculiar pronunciation, have special characteristics, but א, as the weakest of these sounds, and sometimes also ע (which elsewhere as one of the harder gutturals is the opposite of א), differ in several respects from the stronger ה and ח.

b 1. They do not admit of *Dages forte*, since, in consequence of a gradual weakening of the pronunciation (see below, note 1), the strengthening of the gutturals was hardly audible to the Masoretes. But a distinction must be drawn between (a) the complete omission of the strengthening, and (b) the mere *echo* of it, commonly called *half doubling*, but better, *virtual strengthening*.

c In the former case, the short vowel before the guttural would stand in an open syllable, and must accordingly be lengthened or modified.²

¹ The exceptions יִקְרָאֵל Jos 15³⁸ (see *Minhat shay*, on this passage), 2 K 14⁷, and יִקְרָעֵם Jos 15⁵⁶ may perhaps be due to the character of the פ.

² Cf. *terra* and the French *terre*, the German *Rolle* and the French *rôle*; German *drollig* and French *drôle*. The omission of the strengthening shows a deterioration of the language. Arabic still admits of the strengthening of gutturals in all cases.

For a distinction must again be drawn between the full lengthening of *Pathah* into *Qameṣ*—mostly before א (always under the ה of the article, see § 35), as a rule also before ע, less frequently before ה, and least often before ו—and the modification of *Pathah* to *Seghōl*, mostly before a guttural with *Qameṣ*. In the other case (*virtual* strengthening) the *Dageṣ* is still omitted, but the strengthening is nevertheless regarded as having taken place, and the preceding vowel therefore remains short. This *virtual* strengthening occurs most frequently with ו, usually with ה, less frequently with ע, and very seldom with א. Examples of (a) אָמַן, הָאָדָם, הָעָם, הָהָר, יְהוּבָא (for *yihhābhē*); also אָמַר, הָהָרִים, הָעָנִי (see more fully on the pointing of the article before ע in § 35).—Of (b) הָחֹרֶשׁ (from *minhāt*), הָהוּא, בָּעֵר, נֶאֱמַן, &c.—In all these cases of virtual strengthening the *Dageṣ forte* is to be regarded at least as implied (hence called *Dageṣ forte implicitum, occultum, or delitescens*).

2. They prefer before them, and sometimes after them (cf. *h*), *d* a short A-sound, because this vowel is organically the nearest akin to the gutturals. Hence

(a) before a guttural, *Pathah* readily (and always before ה, ו, ע closing a syllable) takes the place of another short vowel or of a rhythmically long ē or ō, e.g. זָבַח *sacrifice*, not zēbh; דָּבַר *report*, not šemē. This is more especially so when *a* was the original vowel of the form, or is otherwise admissible. Thus in the Imperat. and Imperf. Qal of guttural verbs, שֶׁלַח *send thou*, יִשְׁלַח *he will send* (not *yislōh*); Perf. Piel שָׁלַח (but in Pausa יִשְׁלַח); יִהְיֶה *he will desire* (not *yihmōd*); וַיָּנַח *and he rested* (not *wayyānōh*); יָעַר *a youth*. In שָׁלַח *α* is the original vowel.

Rem. In such cases as דָּבַר, שָׁלַח, פָּלַח, פָּרַח, the א has no consonantal *ℓ* value, and is only retained orthographically (see § 23 a).

(b) After a heterogeneous long vowel, i.e. after all except *Qameṣ*, *f* the hard gutturals¹ (consequently not א), when standing at the end of the word, require the insertion of a rapidly uttered *ä* (*Pathah furtivum*) between themselves and the vowel. This *Pathah* is placed under the guttural, but sounded *before* it. It is thus merely an orthographic indication not to neglect the guttural sound in pronunciation, e.g. רָחַץ *raḥāh*, נֹעַ, רָע, הִשְׁלִיךְ, גָּבוֹהַ (when consonantal ה is

¹ Prätorius, *Ueber den rückwärtigen Accent im Hebr.*, Halle, 1897, p. 17, &c., remarks that *Pathah furtivum* has not arisen merely under the influence of the guttural, but is due to a duplication of the accented syllable, so that e.g. יָשִׁיב, יָצִיר would also be pronounced *yasībh*, *yašū'āh* although the short intermediate vowel was not so noticeable as before a guttural.

final it necessarily takes Mappiq), but e.g. רִיחִי, &c., since here the rapidly uttered *ā* is no longer heard.

g *I^{ch}* for *ich*, &c., in some Swiss dialects of German, is analogous; a *furtive Pathah* is here involuntarily intruded before the deep guttural sound. In Arabic the same may be heard in such words as *mesiah*, although it is not expressed in writing. The LXX (and Jerome, cf. *ZAW.* iv. 79) write *ε*, sometimes *α*, instead of *furtive Pathah*, e.g. נָח *Nāwε*, יְרִיעַ *Iēddōva* (also *Iaδdōv*).

h Rem. 1. The guttural may also have an influence upon the following vowel, especially in Segholate forms, e.g. נָעַר (not *na'ēr*) a youth, פָּעַל (not *pō'el*) deed. The only exceptions are אָהֵל, בָּהֵן, לָחֶם, רָחֶם.

i 2. Where in the present form of the language an *i*, whether original or attenuated from *Pathah*, would stand before or after a guttural in the first syllable of a word, a *Sēghōl* as being between *ā* and *i* is frequently used instead, e.g. יִחַבֵּשׁ (also יִחַבֵּשׁ), יִהְיֶה, יִהְיֶה, יִהְיֶה, &c.

k On the other hand, the slighter and sharper *Hireq* is retained even under gutturals when the following consonant is sharpened by *Dageš forte*, e.g. הִלֵּל, הִנֵּה, הִפֵּה; but when this sharpening is removed, *Sēghōl* is again apt to appear, e.g. הִנִּין constr. הִנִּין, הִנִּין constr. הִנִּין.

l 3. Instead of *simple Šwā mobile*, the gutturals take without exception a *compound Šwā*, e.g. שָׁחַטוּ, אָמַר, אָנִי, &c.

m 4. When a guttural with *quiescent Šwā* happens to close a syllable in the middle of a word, the strongly closed syllable (with *quiescent Šwā*) may remain; necessarily so with ח, ע, and ה at the end of the tone-syllable, e.g. שָׁחַטוּ, יִרְעֶה, but also *before* the tone (see examples under *i*), even with א.

But in the syllable before the tone and further back, the closed syllable is generally opened artificially by a *Hateph* (as being suited to the guttural) taking the place of the *quiescent Šwā*, and in particular that *Hateph* which repeats the sound of the preceding vowel, e.g. יִחַשֵׁב (also יִחַשֵׁב); יִחַוֵּן (also יִחַוֵּן); פָּעַל *pō'el* (for *pō'el*). But when, owing to a flexional change, the strong vowel following the *Hateph* is weakened into *Šwā mobile*, then instead of the *Hateph* its full vowel is written, e.g. יִעֲמֹד (from יִעֲמֹד), יִעֲמֹד (from יִעֲמֹד). The original forms, according to § 28 c, were *ya'mēdhā*, *ne'rēmā*, *pō'ekhā*. Hence יִעֲמֹד, &c., are really only different orthographic forms of יִעֲמֹד, &c., and would be better transcribed by *ya'amēdhā*, &c.

n Rem. 1. On the use of simple or compound *Šwā* in guttural verbs, see further §§ 62-65.

o 2. Respecting the choice between the three *Hatephs*, it may be remarked:
(a) ח, ה, ע at the beginning of a syllable prefer *—*, but א prefers *—*, e.g. חָמַר *ass*, הָרַג *to kill*, אָמַר *to say*; when farther from the tone syllable, however, the *—* even under א changes into the lighter *—*, e.g. אָלִי (poetic for אֵלִי) *to*, but אֵלֶיכֶם *to you*, אָכַל *to eat*, but אָכַל (*ʾakhāl*, toneless on account

of Maqqēph). Cf. § 27 *w*. The 1st pers. sing. imperf. Pi'el regularly has מֵאֲנִי . Likewise מֵאֲנִי is naturally found under \aleph in cases where the *Haṭeph* arises from a weakening of an original \ddot{a} (e.g. לִיֹּן lion, ground-form 'ary), and מֵאֲנִי if there be a weakening of an original u (e.g. לִיֹּן a fleet, עֲנִי affliction, cf. § 93 a, 2).

(b) In the middle of a word after a long vowel, a *Haṭeph-Pathah* takes the *p* place of a simple *Ṣeṣcā mobile*, e.g. מֵאֲנִי (see § 63 p); but if a short vowel precedes, the choice of the *Haṭeph* is generally regulated by it, e.g. *Perf. Hiph.* הֵעִמִּיד (see above, i), *Infim.* הֵעִמִּיד (regular form הֵקְטִיל); *Perf. Hoph.* הֵעִמֶּר (regular form הֵקְטֶל); but cf. שָׁחַדְתִּי Jb 6²² (§ 64 a).

5. The \aleph , which in sound approximates to the gutturals (§ 6 c), *q* shares with the gutturals proper their first, and to a certain extent their second, peculiarity, viz.

(a) The exclusion of the strengthening, instead of which the preceding vowel is almost always lengthened, e.g. בֵּרַךְ he has blessed for *birraḥh*, בִּרְךָ to bless for *barrēkh*.

(b) The preference for \ddot{a} as a preceding vowel, e.g. וַיֵּרָא and he saw (from יֵרָאֶה); וַיִּסַּב both for וַיִּסַּב and he turned back, and for וַיִּסַּב and he caused to turn back.

The exceptions to α are מִרְרָה *mōrrāh*, Pr 14¹⁰; כִּרְרָה *khōrrāh* and שִׁרְרָה *šōrrēkh*, S Ez 16⁴ (cf. Pr 3⁸); שִׁרְרָה Ct 5²; הִרְעִמָה 1 S 10⁶; הִרְאִיתָם 1 S 10²⁴, 17²⁵, 2 K 6³²; הִרְדִּיפָהוּ Ju 20⁴³ (cf. § 20 h); מִרְדָּה 1 S 23²⁸, 2 S 18¹⁶; also on account of רָחִיק (§ 20 c) Jer 22²², Pr 15¹, 20²², 2 Ch 26¹⁰; and on account of מִרְחִיק אֲתִי (§ 20 f) 1 S 15⁶, Jer 39¹², Hb 3¹³, Pr 11²¹, Jb 39⁸, Ez 9⁶. A kind of virtual strengthening (after מִן for מִן) is found in מִרְנֹנָה Is 14⁸. In Samaritan and Arabic this strengthening has been retained throughout, and the LXX write e.g. $\Sigma\acute{\alpha}\beta\beta\alpha$ for שָׁבַב .

§ 23. The Feebleness of the Gutturals \aleph and η .

1. The \aleph , a light and scarcely audible guttural breathing, as a rule *a* entirely loses its slight consonantal power whenever it stands without a vowel at the end of a syllable. It then remains (like the German *h* in *roh*, *geh*, *nahte*) merely as a sign of the preceding long vowel, e.g. מֵאֲנִי , הוֹצִיאָה (but when a syllable is added with an introductory vowel, according to *b* below, we have, e.g. מֵאֲנִי , הוֹצִיאָה , since the \aleph then stands at the beginning of the syllable, not מֵאֲנִי , הוֹצִיאָה), מֵאֲנִי , הוֹצִיאָה (cf., however, § 74 a), מֵאֲנִי (for *māša'tā*), מֵאֲנִי . Similarly in cases like הוֹצִיאָה , וַיֵּרָא , שָׁאֵן , &c. (§ 19 l), and even in הוֹצִיאָה (see above, § 22 e), the \aleph only retains an orthographic significance.

2. On the other hand, \aleph is in general retained as a strong consonant whenever it begins a syllable, e.g. מֵאֲנִי , or when it is protected by a *Haṭeph* after a short syllable, e.g. מֵאֲנִי , and finally,

when it stands in a closed syllable with quiescent *Šwā* after a preceding *Seghōl* or *Pathah*, e.g. נִדָּר, וַיֵּאָכֵר *nā'dār*, יֵאָדִימוּ *ya'dimū*. Even in such cases the consonantal power of *Ṣ* may be entirely lost, viz.

c (a) when it would stand with a long vowel in the middle of a word after *Šwā mobile*. The long vowel is then occasionally thrown back into the place of the *Šwā*, and the *Ṣ* is only retained orthographically, as an indication of the etymology, e.g. ראשִׁים *heads* (for *r^eāšim*), מאתיים *two hundred* (for *m^eāthāyim*), Ez 25⁶ for שִׁמְעָה Neh 6⁸ for שִׁמְעָה; מאתם Jb 31⁷, Dn 1⁴ for מאתם; מארה Is 10³³; חמאים *hōyim*, 1 S 14³³ for חמאים (cf. § 74 *h*, and § 75 *oo*); חמאים Nu 34¹⁴, from חמאי; so always חמאת or חמאות 1 K 14¹⁶, Mi 1⁵, &c., for חמאות. Sometimes a still more violent suppression of the *Ṣ* occurs at the beginning of a syllable, which then causes a further change in the preceding syllable, e.g. מלאכה *work* for מלאכה (as in the Babylonian punctuation), ישמעאל for ישמעאל; שמאל for שמאל *the left hand*, ground form *sim'al*.

d (b) When it originally closed a syllable. In these cases *Ṣ* is generally (by § 22 *m*) pronounced with a *Hateph*, *ḥ* or *ḥ*. The preceding short vowel is, however, sometimes lengthened and retains the following *Ṣ* only orthographically, e.g. נואל Nu 11²⁵ for נואל (cf. Ju 9⁴¹), and פארד Jo 2⁶ for פארד; לאמר for לאמר; לאלהים for לאלהים; but the contraction does not take place in לאלהים Is 10¹¹. The short vowel is retained, although the consonantal power of *Ṣ* is entirely lost, in נואל, &c. (see § 102 *m*), נואל Is 41²⁵, נואל Ez 28¹⁶ for נואל; cf. Dt 24¹⁰, 1 K 11³⁹, Is 10¹³.

e Instead of this *Ṣ* which has lost its consonantal value, one of the vowel letters *ḥ* and *ḥ* is often written according to the nature of the sound, the former with *ḥ* and the latter with *ḥ* and *i*, e.g. נואל *buffalo* for נואל. At the end of the word *ḥ* also is written for *Ṣ*, נואל *he fills* for נואל Jb 8²¹ (see below, *ḥ*).

f 3. When *Ṣ* is only preserved orthographically or as an indication of the etymology (quiescent), it is sometimes entirely dropped (cf. § 19 *k*), e.g. נואל Jb 1²¹ for נואל; נואל Jb 32¹⁸ for נואל; נואל Nu 11¹¹; נואל 2 S 20⁹; נואל Jer 8¹¹ for נואל; נואל 2 S 22⁴⁰, but נואל ψ 18⁴⁰; נואל Gn 25²⁴ for נואל; נואל 31³⁹ for נואל; נואל 1 S 17¹⁷ for נואל; נואל ψ 22²² for נואל; נואל Jb 22²⁹ for נואל; נואל 1 Ch 11³⁹ for נואל, and so 2 S 23²⁷; נואל 1 Ch 12³⁸ for נואל; נואל 2 K 19²⁵ *Kethibh* for נואל (cf. Is 37²⁶); נואל Jb 29⁶ for נואל. In נואל

¹ In Jer 22²², נואל is unquestionably a corruption of נואל for נואל.

1 K 5²⁵ (for "אֶבֶן") the strengthening of the following consonant by Dageš compensates for the loss of the א; in כָּטַרְתָּ Ez 20³⁷, if for "כָּטַרְתָּ" (but read כָּטַרְתָּ, with Cornill), the preceding vowel is lengthened; cf. above, c. On אֶמֶר for אֵמֶר, see § 68 g.

Rem. 1. In Aramaic the א is much weaker and more liable to change than g in Hebrew. In literary Arabic, on the other hand, it is almost always a firm consonant. According to Arabic orthography, א serves also to indicate a long a, whereas in Hebrew it very rarely occurs as a mere vowel letter after Qameš; as in קָאם Ho 10¹⁴ for קָם *he rose up*; קָאשׁ Pr 10⁴, 13²³ for קָשׁ *poor*; but in 2 S 11¹ the *Kethibh* הַמְלִאֲחִים *the messengers*, is the true reading; cf. § 7 b.

2. In some cases at the beginning of a word, the א, instead of a compound *h* Šewā, takes the corresponding full vowel, e.g. אָוֹר *girale* for אֲוֹר; cf. § 84 a, q, and the analogous cases in § 52 n, § 63 p, § 76 d, § 93 r (אֲהָלִים).

3. An א is sometimes added at the end of the word to a final ā, i, or ō, e.g. אֵלֶּכָּה for אֵלֶּכָּה Jo 10²⁴ (before אֵלֶּכָּה Is 28¹²). These examples, however, are not so much instances of 'Arabic orthography', as early scribal errors, as in אֵלֶּכָּה Je 10⁵ for אֵלֶּכָּה; and in אֵלֶּכָּה ψ 139²⁰ for אֵלֶּכָּה. Cf. also אֵלֶּכָּה Ec 11⁸ (§ 75 s) for אֵלֶּכָּה; אֵלֶּכָּה for אֵלֶּכָּה; אֵלֶּכָּה for אֵלֶּכָּה *then (enclitic)*; אֵלֶּכָּה for אֵלֶּכָּה *myriad*, Neh 7^{68.72}. On הֵיא and הֵיא see § 32 k.

4. The ה is stronger and firmer than the א, and never loses its *h* consonantal sound (i.e. *quiesces*) in the middle of a word¹ except in the cases noted below, in which it is completely elided by syncope. On the other hand, at the end of a word it is always a mere vowel letter, unless expressly marked by *Mappiq* as a strong consonant (§ 14 a). Yet at times the consonantal sound of ה at the end of a word is lost, and its place is taken by a simple ה or more correctly *h*, with *Rāphē* as an indication of its non-consonantal character, e.g. לָהּ *to her* for לָהּ, Zc 5¹¹, &c. (cf. § 103 g, and §§ 58 g, 91 e); cf. also הֵי for הֵי (from הֵי) in proper names like יִרְמְיָהּ, &c.—Finally, in very many cases a complete elision of the consonantal ה takes place by *syncope*: (a) when its vowel is thrown back to the place of a preceding *Šewā* mobile (see above, c, with א), e.g. לְהַפְקֵר for לְהַפְקֵר (the ה of the article being syncopeated as it almost always is); כְּיֹמִים for כְּיֹמִים [but see § 35 n], בְּשָׁמַיִם for בְּשָׁמַיִם; יְהוֹנָתָן for יְהוֹנָתָן; perhaps also בְּנֵיהֶם for בְּנֵיהֶם Ez 27³². (b) By contraction of the vowels preceding and following the ה, e.g. סִיחוּ (also written סִיחָה) from *sūsahu* (a + u = ō).—A violent suppression of ה together with its vowel occurs in כָּם (from כָּהֶם), &c.

¹ Only apparent exceptions are such *proper names* as עֲשָׂהֶל, פִּרְהָצוֹר, which are compounded of two words and hence are sometimes even divided. Cf. forms like הוֹאֵל, הוֹאֵל. Another exception is יִפְהִיָּה, the reading of many MSS. for the artificially divided form יִפְהִיָּה in the printed texts, Je 46²⁰.

l Rem. In connexion with *ō* and *ē*, a *ṭ* which only marks the vowel ending is occasionally changed into *ṭ* or *ṭ* (חֶטֶה=חֶטֶה, חֶטֶה=חֶטֶה Ho 6^o), and with any vowel into *ṭ* in the later or Aramaic orthography, but especially with *ā*, e.g. שָׁנָא *sleep*, שָׁנָא² for שָׁנָא; נֶשֶׁא Jer 23³⁹ for נֶשֶׁא, &c. Thus it is evident that final *ṭ* as a vowel letter has only an orthographical importance.

§ 24. *Changes of the Weak Letters ṭ and ṭ*.

Philippi, *Die Aussprache der semit. Konsonanten ṭ und ṭ* (mentioned above, § 5 b, note 1), a thorough investigation of their phonetic value as consonantal, i. e. non-syllabic, vowel-sounds, not palatal or labial fricatives; cf. also E. Sievers, *Metrische Studien*, i. 15.

a ṭ and ṭ are, as consonants, so weak, and approach so nearly to the corresponding vowels *u* and *i*, that under certain conditions they very readily merge into them. This fact is especially important in the formation of those weak stems, in which a ṭ or ṭ occurs as one of the three radical consonants (§ 69 ff., § 85, § 93).

1. The cases in which ṭ and ṭ lose their consonantal power, i. e. merge into a vowel, belong almost exclusively to the middle and end of words; at the beginning they remain as consonants.¹

The instances may be classified under two heads:

b (a) When either ṭ or ṭ with *quiescent* *šwā* stands at the end of a syllable immediately after a *homogeneous* vowel (*u* or *i*). It then merges in the homogeneous vowel, or more accurately it assumes its vowel-character (ṭ as *u*, ṭ as *i*), and is then contracted with the preceding vowel into *one* vowel, necessarily long, but is mostly retained orthographically as a (quiescent) vowel letter. Thus חֶטֶה for *huwšab*; חֶטֶה for *yiyqas*; so also at the end of the word, e.g. עֶבְרִי a Hebrew, properly *ibrīy*, fem. עֶבְרִיָּה, pl. עֶבְרִיִּים (and עֶבְרִיִּים); עֶשֶׂי Jb 41²⁶ for עֶשֶׂי (cf. עֶשֶׂי 1 S 25¹⁸ *Kethibh*). On the other hand, if the preceding vowel be heterogeneous, ṭ and ṭ are retained as full consonants (on the pronunciation see § 8 m), e.g. שָׁלֵו *quiet*, חֶטֶה *the month of May*, נָטִי *nation*, נָטִי *revealed*. But with a preceding *ā* the ṭ and ṭ are mostly contracted into *ō* and *ē* (see below, f), and at the end of a word they are sometimes rejected (see below, g).

Complete syncope of ṭ before *i* occurs in אִי *island* for אִי; עֶ ruins for עֶ; רִי *watering* Jb 37¹¹ for רִי; [בִּי *burning* Is 3²⁴ for בִּי, cf. §§ 84^a c, e, 93 y].

¹ Or as consonantal vowels (see above), and are then transcribed by P. Haupt, Philippi, and others, as *u*, *i*, following the practice of Indogermanic philologists. ṭ for ṭ and, alone is a standing exception, see § 26. i and § 104 c. On ṭ = *i* at the beginning of a word, cf. § 47 b, note. According to § 19 a, end, initial ṭ in Hebrew almost always becomes *i*; always in verbs originally *ṭ*, § 69 a. Apart from a few proper names, initial ṭ occurs only in חֶ *hook*, חֶ *child* Gn 11³⁰, 2 S 6²³ *Kethibh* [elsewhere חֶ], and the doubtful חֶ Pr 21⁸.

Thus an initial י after the prefixes בּ, ל, שׁ, which would then be *c* pronounced with *z* (see § 28 a), and also almost always after כּ (see § 102 b), coalesces with the *z* to *z*, e.g. בְּיְהוּדָה in *Judah* (for בְּיָדָה), וּבְיְהוּדָה and *Judah*, בְּיָאֵר as the *Nile*, לְיְהוּדָה for *Judah*, מִיָּד from the *hands* of.

(b) When ו and י without a vowel would stand at the end of the *d* word after *quiescent* *Šewā*, they are either wholly rejected and only orthographically replaced by ה (e.g. בִּכְה from *bikhy*, as well as the regularly formed בִּכְי *weeping*; cf. § 93 x) or become again vowel letters. In the latter case י becomes a homogeneous *Hireq*, and also attracts to itself the tone, whilst the preceding vowel becomes *Šewā* (e.g. פִּירִי from *piry*, properly *pary*); ו is changed sometimes into a toneless *u* (e.g. תִּחְוִי from *tuhw*).

Rem. In Syriac, where the weak letters more readily become vowel sounds, *e* a simple *i* may stand even at the beginning of words instead of י or ו. The LXX also, in accordance with this, write 'Ιουδα for יְהוּדָה, 'Ισαακ for יִצְחָק. Hence may be explained the *Syriac usage* in Hebrew of drawing back the vowel *i* to the preceding consonant, which properly had a simple vocal *Šewā*, e.g. (according to the reading of Ben-Naphtali¹) וְלֵלֶת Jer 25³⁰ for וְלֵלֶת (so Baer), כִּי־תִרְוֶן Ec 2²¹ for כִּי־תִרְוֶן, cf. also the examples in § 20 h, note 2; even וְיִחְלִי Jb 29²¹ (in some editions) for וְיִחְלִי. According to Qimhi (see § 47 b) יִקְטֹל was pronounced as *iqfōl*, and therefore the 1st pers. was pointed יִקְטֹל to avoid confusion. In fact the Babylonian punctuation always has *i* for *ā* in the 1st pers.

2. With regard to the *choice* of the long vowel, in which ו and י *f* quiesce after such vocalization and contraction, the following rules may be laid down:

(a) With a short *homogeneous* vowel ו and י are contracted into the corresponding long vowel (*ā* or *i*), see above, b.

(b) With short *ā* they form the diphthongs *ō* and *ē* according to § 7 a, e.g. מִיָּטִיב from מִיָּטִיב; יִנְשִׁיב from יִנְשִׁיב, &c.²

Rem. The rejection of the half vowels ו and י (see above, b) occurs especially *g* at the end of words after a heterogeneous vowel (*ā*), if according to the nature of the form the contraction appears impossible. So especially in

¹ According to Abulwalid, Ben-Naphtali regarded the *Yodh* in *all* such cases as a vowel letter.

² Instances in which no contraction takes place after *ā* are, מִיָּמִינִים i Ch 12²; מִצְרַיִם Ho 7¹² (but cf. § 70 b); הַיָּשָׁר ψ 5⁹ *Qrē*; the locatives בְּיָהָה, מִצְרַיִם, &c.—On the suffix יָכִי for יָהָה see § 91 l.—Sometimes both forms are found, as עוֹלָה and עוֹלָה; cf. חַי *living*, constr. state חַי. Analogous is the contraction of מָוֶת (ground-form *mawet*) *death*, constr. מוֹת; עַיִן (ground-form *'ayn* [*'ain*]) *eye*, constr. עֵין.

verbs הָלַךְ , e.g. originally $\text{הָלַךְ} = (\text{הָלַךְ})$, since ā after the rejection of the י stands in an open syllable, and consequently must be lengthened to ā . The הָ is simply an orthographic sign of the long vowel. So also שָׁלַח for šālav .¹ On the origin of הָ , see § 75 e; on כָּ as perf. and part. of קָנָה , see § 72 b and g; on וָ , &c., from וָלַד , see § 69 b.—On the weakening of י and י to א , see § 93 x.

§ 25. Unchangeable Vowels.

a What vowels in Hebrew are unchangeable, i.e. are not liable to attenuation (to šewā), modification, lengthening, or shortening, can be known with certainty only from the nature of the grammatical forms, and in some cases by comparison with Arabic (cf. § 1 m). This holds good especially of the *essentially* long vowels, i.e. those long by *nature* or *contraction*, as distinguished from those which are only lengthened *rhythmically*, i.e. on account of the special laws which in Hebrew regulate the tone and the formation of syllables. The latter, when a change takes place in the position of the tone or in the division of syllables, readily become short again, or are reduced to a mere *vocal šewā*.

b 1. The essentially long and consequently, as a rule (but cf. § 26 p, § 27 n, o), unchangeable vowels of the *second* and *third* class, ā , ē , ū , ō , can often be recognized by means of the vowel letters which accompany them (אָ , יָ , וָ , וּ); e.g. הֵיטִיב *he does well*, הַיָּכֵל *palace*, גְּבוּל *boundary*, קוֹל *voice*. The *defective* writing (§ 8 i) is indeed common enough, e.g. הֵיטֵב and הֵיטִיב for הֵיטִיב ; גְּבֹל for גְּבוּל ; קֹל for קוֹל , but this is merely an orthographic licence and has no influence on the quantity of the vowel; the ā in גְּבֹל is just as necessarily long, as in גְּבוּל .

As an exception, a merely tone-long vowel of both these classes is sometimes written *fully*, e.g. יָקוּם for יָקוּם .

c 2. The essentially or naturally long ā (*Qames impure*),² unless it has become ō (cf. § 9 g), has as a rule in Hebrew no representative among the consonants, while in Arabic it is regularly indicated by א ; on the few instances of this kind in Hebrew, cf. § 9 b, § 23 g. The naturally long ā and the merely tone-long ā therefore can only be distinguished by an accurate knowledge of the forms.

¹ The Arabic, in such cases, often writes etymologically هَلَا , but pronounces *galā*. So the LXX קִינִי Sina , Vulg. *Sina*; cf. Nestle, *ZAW.* 1905, p. 362 f. But even in Arabic سَلَا is written for سَلَو and pronounced *salā*.

² By *vocales impuræ* the older grammarians meant vowels properly followed by a vowel letter. Thus כְּתָב *ḵethābh* was regarded as merely by a licence for כְּתָבָה , &c.

3. Short vowels in closed syllables (§ 26 b), which are not final, are *d* as a rule unchangeable, e. g. מַלְבוּשׁ *garment*, מִדְבָּר *wilderness*, מַמְלָכָה *kingdom*; similarly, short vowels in sharpened syllables, i. e. before *Dageš forte*, e. g. נָשֵׁף *thief*.

4. Finally, those long vowels are unchangeable which, owing to the omission of the strengthening in a guttural or ר, have arisen by lengthening from the corresponding short vowels, and now stand in an open syllable, e. g. מַעַן for *mā'en*; בִּרְרָה for *burrah*.

§ 26. Syllable-formation¹ and its Influence on the Quantity of Vowels.

Apart from the unchangeable vowels (§ 25), the use of short or long *a* vowels, i. e. their lengthening, shortening, or change into vocal *Šewa*, depends on the *theory of syllable-formation*. The initial and final syllables especially require consideration.

1. The *initial* syllable. A syllable regularly begins with a consonant, or, in the case of initial ו and י (cf. note on § 5 b), a consonantal vowel.² The copula is a standing exception to this rule. According to the Tiberian pronunciation ו and is resolved into the corresponding vowel ו before *Šewa*, and the labials, e. g. וִירָבֵר, וִירָבֵר; the Babylonian punctuation in the latter cases writes ו, i. e. ו before a full vowel.

2. The *final* syllable. A syllable may end—

(a) With a vowel, and is then called an *open* or *simple* syllable, e. g. in קָטַל where the first and last are open. See below, e.

(b) With *one* consonant, and is then called a *simple closed* or *compound* syllable, as the second in קָטַל, לָבֵב. See below, o, p. Such are also the syllables ending in a strengthened consonant, as the first in קָטַל *qat-tēl*. See below, q.

(c) With *two* consonants, a *doubly closed* syllable, as קָטַל *qōṭl*, קָטַל *d*. Cf. below, r, and § 10 i-l.

3. *Open* or *simple* syllables have a long vowel, whether they have *e* the tone as in קָטַל *in thee*, קָטַל *he goes*, or are toneless as in קָטַל, קָטַב *a bunch of grapes*.³ A long vowel (Qames, less frequently Sere) is

¹ Cf. C. H. Toy, 'The Syllable in Hebrew,' *Amer. Journal of Philol.*, 1884, p. 494 ff.; H. Strack, 'The Syllables in the Hebrew Language,' *Hebraica*, Oct. 1884, p. 73 ff.

² We are not taking account here of the few cases in which initial *Yodh* is represented as simple *i*, by being written י or י, see § 24 e, and especially § 47 b, note; nor of certain other cases in which י with an initial vowel has only a graphic purpose, though it is indispensable in an unpuncted text.

³ In opposition to this fundamental law in Hebrew (a long vowel in an *open* syllable), the original short vowel is found always in Arabic, and sometimes

especially common in an open syllable before the tone (pretonic vowel), e. g. *לֵבָב, יָקִים, קָטַל, לָחֹץ*.¹

Short vowels in open syllables occur:

- f (a) In apparently dissyllabic words formed by means of a helping vowel from monosyllables, as *נָחַל* brook, *בֵּית* house, *יָרַב* let him increase, from *naḥl*, *bayt*, *yirb*; cf. also *יָסַד* the ending of the dual (§ 88). But see § 28 e.
- g (b) In the verbal suffix of the 1st pers. sing. (*נִי* me), e. g. *קָטַלְנִי* (Arab. *qātālānī*). The uncommon form *נִי*, however (Gn 30^e, cf. § 59f), proves that the tone-bearing *Pathah* produces a sharpening of the following sonant, and thus virtually stands in a closed syllable, even when the *Nun* is not expressly written with *Dageš*. In cases like *נִי* (§ 102, end) *Pathah* is retained in the counter-tone after the *N* has become quiescent.
- h (c) Sometimes before the toneless *ל* local (§ 90 c), e. g. *מִדְבָּרָה* towards the wilderness; only, however, in the constr. state (1 K 19¹), since the toneless suffix *ל* does not affect the character of the form (especially when rapidly pronounced in close connexion); otherwise it is *מִדְבָּרָה*.
- In all these cases the short vowel is also supported by the tone, either the principal tone of the word, or (as in h) by the secondary tone in the constr. st., or by the counter-tone with *Methag*, as in *נִי* above, g; cf. the effect of the *arsis* on the short vowel in classical prosody.
- i (d) In the combinations *וּ*, *וֹ*, *וֵ*, *וֶ*, *וִ*, e. g. *נַעֲרֹ* his boy, *יֹאכָר* he will bind, *בָּעֵל* his deed. In all these cases the syllable was at first really closed, and it was only when the guttural took a *Haṭeph* that it became in consequence open (but cf. e. g. *יֹאכָר* and *יֹאכָר*). The same vowel sequence arises wherever a preposition *בּ*, *בֹּ*, *ל*, or *ו* copulative is prefixed to an initial syllable which has a *Haṭeph*, since the former then takes the vowel

in the other Semitic languages, except of course in the case of naturally long vowels. The above examples are pronounced in Arabic *ʾiškā*, *qātālā*, *ʾināb*. Although it is certain therefore that in Hebrew also, at an earlier period, short vowels were pronounced in open syllables, it may still be doubted whether the present pronunciation is due merely to an artificial practice followed in the solemn recitation of the O. T. text. On this hypothesis we should have still to explain, e. g. the undoubtedly very old lengthening of *i* and *u* in an open syllable into *ī* and *ū*.

¹ That these pretonic vowels are really long is shown by Brockelmann, *Zd.* xiv. 343 f., from the transcription of Hebrew proper names in the Nestorian (Syriac) punctuation, and e. g. from the Arabic 'Ibrāhīm = *אַבְרָהָם*. He regards their lengthening in the syllable before the tone as a means adopted by the Masoretes to preserve the pronunciation of the traditional vowels. This explanation of the pretonic vowels as due to a precaution against their disappearing, is certainly right; as to whether the precaution can be ascribed to the Masoretes, see the previous note. For the pretonic vowel the Arabic regularly has a short vowel (*āḥūm*, *yāqūm*, &c.), the Aramaic simply a vocal *Šwā* (*לָחֹץ*, *יָקִים*, *קָטַל*, *לָבָב*); and even in Hebrew, when the tone is thrown forward the pretonic vowel almost always becomes *Šwā*, see § 27. It would, however, be incorrect to assume from this that the pretonic vowel has taken the place of *Šwā* only on account of the following tone-syllable. It always arises from an original short vowel, since such a vowel is mostly lengthened in an open syllable before the tone, but when the tone is moved forward it becomes *Šwā*.

contained in the *Ha'eph* (see § 102 *d* and § 104 *d*). To the same category belong also the cases where these prepositions with Hireq stand before a consonant with simple Šewā mobile, e.g. בְּדָבָר, בְּדָבָר, &c.

(*c*) In forms like יְחֹזְקִי *yāhā-š-gū* (they are strong), תְּחַלֵּה *pō'v-š-khā* (thy *k* died). These again are cases of the subsequent opening of closed syllables (hence, e.g. יְחֹזְקִי also occurs); תְּחַלֵּה is properly *pō'v-khā*; cf. generally § 22 *m*, end, and § 28 *c*.

Such cases as תְּחַלֵּה, תְּחַלֵּה (§ 96), תְּחַלֵּה (§ 67 *w*) do not come under this *l* head, since they all have *ā* in a virtually sharpened syllable; nor does the tone-bearing *S'ghôl* in suffixes (e.g. תְּחַלֵּה), and other cases, nor *S'ghôl* for *ā* before a guttural with *Qames* (§ 22 *c*). On תְּחַלֵּה and תְּחַלֵּה, see § 9 *v*.

4. The independent syllables with a firm vowel which have been *m* described above, are frequently preceded by a single consonant with vocal Šewā, simple or compound. Such a consonant with vocal Šewā never has the value of an independent syllable, but rather attaches itself so closely to the following syllable that it forms practically one syllable with it, e.g. תְּחַלֵּה (*cheek*) *tēhā*; תְּחַלֵּה (*sickness*) *tēhā*; יְחֹזְקִי *yil-m'ndhā*. This concerns especially the prefixes ה, ב, כ, ל. See § 102.

The Šewā mobile is no doubt in all such cases weakened from an original *n* full vowel (e.g. תְּחַלֵּה Arab. *yaqtū'ū*, תְּחַלֵּה Arab. *bikā*, &c.); from this, however, it cannot be inferred that the Masoretes regarded it as forming a kind of *open* syllable, for this would be even more directly opposed to their fundamental law (viz. that a long vowel should stand in an open syllable), than are the exceptions cited above, *f-k*. Even the use of Metheg with Šewā in special cases (see § 16 *f*) is no proof of such a view on the part of the Masoretes.

5. Closed syllables ending with one consonant, when without the *o* tone, necessarily have *short* vowels, whether at the beginning or at the end of words,¹ e.g. מְלִכָּה *queen*, תְּשֻׁבוֹן *understanding*, חִכְמָה *wisdom*, וְיָשָׁב *and he turned back*, וְיָשָׁב *(wayyāš'v)*.

A tone-bearing closed syllable may have either a long or short vowel, *p* but if the latter, it must as a rule be either Pathah or Seghōl.² The tone-bearing closed penultima admits, of the *long* vowels, only the tone-long *ā, ē, ō*, not the longest *ī, ē, ō, ū*; of the *short* vowels, only *ā, ē, ō*, not *ī, ū, ō* (but on *ī* and *ū*, see § 29 *g*). Thus תְּחַלֵּה (3rd pl. masc. Imperf. Hiph.) but תְּחַלֵּה 3rd pl. fem., and קָמִי (2nd pl. masc. Imperat. Qal) but קָמִי fem.

¹ In exceptions such as יְחַלֵּה Gn 4²⁵ (where *šat* is required by the character of the form, although the closed syllable has lost the tone owing to the following Maqqeph), Metheg is used to guard against a wrong pronunciation; similarly *ē* is sometimes retained before Maqqeph, e.g. יְחַלֵּה Gn 2¹³, יְחַלֵּה Gn 2¹⁶.

² See § 9 *e, f*. *ī* occurs thus only in the particles אֵם, עֵם, מֵן; but these usually (מֵן always) are rendered toneless by a following Maqqeph. Cf. also such forms as יְחַלֵּה § 26 *r* and § 75 *g*.

- q 6. A special kind of closed syllables are the *sharpened*, i. e. those which end in the same (strengthened) consonant with which the following syllable begins, e. g. אִמִּי 'im-mî, כֻּלִּי kûl-lî. If without the tone, they have, like the rest, short vowels; but, if bearing the tone, either short vowels as קָלִי, הָפְנִי, or long, as שֹׁפָה, הִפְּהָ.

On the omission of the strengthening of a consonant at the end of a word, see § 20 l.

- r 7. Syllables ending with *two* consonants occur only at the end of words, and have most naturally short vowels, וִישָׁב, קָטַלְתָּ; but sometimes *Sere*, as נִרְדָּה, וַיִּבְרָךְ, or *Holem*, הוֹסִיף קִשְׁטָה. Cf., however, § 10 i. Usually the harshness of pronunciation is avoided by the use of a helping vowel (§ 28 e).

§ 27. *The Change of the Vowels, especially as regards Quantity.*

- a The changes in sound through which the Hebrew language passed, before it assumed the form in which we know it from the Masoretic text of the O.T. (see § 2 k), have especially affected its vowel system. A precise knowledge of these vowel changes, which is indispensable for the understanding of most of the present forms of the language, is derived partly from the phenomena which the language itself presents in the laws of derivation and inflexion, partly from the comparison of the kindred dialects, principally the Arabic. By these two methods, we arrive at the following facts as regards Hebrew:
- b 1. That in an open syllable the language has frequently retained only a half-vowel (*Šwā mobile*), where there originally stood a full short vowel, e. g. עֲגָלָה (ground-form 'āgālāt) a *waggon*, צָרָה (ground-form šādāqāt) *righteousness*, קָטַלְתָּ (Arab. qātālā), יָקַטְלָה (Arab. jūqattilā).
- c 2. That vowels originally short have in the tone-syllable, as also in the open syllable preceding it, been generally changed into the corresponding tone-long vowels, ā into ā, ī into ē, ū into ō (see § 9, a-e, k, r). If, however, the tone be shifted or weakened, these tone-long vowels mostly revert to their original shortness, or, occasionally, are still further shortened, or reduced to mere *Šwā mobile*, or, finally, are entirely lost through a change in the division of syllables; e. g. מֵטֶר (Arab. mātār) *rain*, when in close dependence on a following genitive in the *construct state*, becomes מֵטֶר; עֶקֶב (Arab. 'āqīb) *heel*, dual עֶקְבִּים, dual *construct* (with attenuation of the original ā of the first syllable to ī) עֶקְבֵי [on the p, see § 20 h]; יָקַטַל (Arab. yāqtāl), plur. יִקְטְלוּ (Arab. yāqtālū). For instances of complete loss, as in מִפֶּה, cf. § 93 m.

According to § 26, the following details of vowel-change must be observed:

1. The original, or a kindred short vowel reappears—

d

(a) When a closed syllable loses the tone (§ 26 o). Thus, *hand*, but *the hand of Yahwe*; *son*, but *the son of the king*; *the whole*, but *the whole of the people*; so also when a tone-bearing closed syllable loses the tone on taking a suffix, e.g. *enemy*, but *thy enemy*; finally, when the tone recedes, *wayyāqōm*; *wayyāqōm*; *wayyāqōm*, but *wayyāqōm*.

(b) To the same category belong cases like *book*, but *my book*; *holiness*, but *my holiness*. In spite of the helping vowel, *book* and *holiness* are really closed syllables with a tone-long vowel; when the syllable loses the tone, the original *i* or *o* (properly *ū*) reappears.

The same is true of syllables with a virtually sharpened final consonant: the lengthening of original *i* to *ē* and *ū* to *ō* takes place only in a tone-bearing syllable; in a toneless syllable the *i* or *o* (or *ū*) remains, e.g. *mother*, but *my mother*; *law*, plur. *laws*; but *strength*, *strength* (and *strength*) *my strength*.

2. The lengthening of the short vowel to the corresponding long, *e* takes place—

(a) When a closed syllable becomes open by its final consonant being transferred to a suffix beginning with a vowel, or in general to the following syllable, e.g. *he has killed him*; *strength* primarily from *strength*. Similarly *ā* mostly becomes *ā* even before a suffix beginning with *š* *word mobile*; e.g. *strength* from *strength* from *strength*.

(b) When a syllable has become open by complete loss of the *f* strengthening of its final consonant (a guttural or *Rāš*), e.g. *strength* for *birrakh*, see § 22 c. Cf. also § 20 n.

(c) When a weak consonant (*ā*, *i*, *u*) following the short vowel *g* quiesces in this vowel, according to § 23 a, c, d, § 24 f, e.g. *strength* for *strength*, where the *ā*, losing its consonantal value, loses also the power of closing the syllable, and the open syllable requires a long vowel.

(d) Very frequently through the influence of the *pause*, i.e. the *h* principal tone in the last word of a sentence or clause (§ 29 k). Sometimes also through the influence of the article (§ 35 o).

3. When a word increases at the end and the tone is consequently *i* moved forward, or when, in the *construct state* (see § 89), or otherwise in close connexion with the following word, its tone is weakened, in such cases a full vowel (short or tone-long) may, by a change in the

division of syllables, be weakened to *Šewā mobile*, or even be entirely lost, so that its place is taken by the mere syllable-divider (*Šewā quiescens*). Examples of the first case are, שֵׁם *name*, pl. שְׁמוֹת, but שְׁמִי *my name*, שְׁמוֹתָם *their names*, דָּבָר *word*, constr. st. דְּבַר; צְדָקָה *righteousness*, constr. st. צִדְקָת; an example of the second case is, בְּרָכָה *blessing*, constr. st. בְּרִיָּת. Whether the vowel is retained or becomes *Šewā* (דָּם, דָּמִי, but שָׁם, שְׁמִי), and which of the two disappears in two consecutive syllables, depends upon the character of the form in question. In general the rule is that only those vowels which stand in an open syllable can become *Šewā*.

Thus the change into *Šewā* takes place in—

k (a) The \bar{a} and \bar{e} of the first syllable, especially in the inflexion of nouns, e. g. דָּבָר *word*, plur. דְּבָרִים; גָּדוֹל *great*, fem. גְּדוּלָּה; לֵבָב *heart*, plur. לְבָבַי *my heart*; but also in the verb, תָּשׁוּב *she will return*, plur. תִּשְׁבְּנָה, and so always, when the originally short vowel of the prefixes of the Imperfect comes to stand in an open syllable which is not pretonic. On the other hand, an \bar{a} lengthened from \bar{a} before the tone is retained in the *Perfect consecutive* of Qal even in the secondary tone, e. g. וְקָטְלָהּ; cf. § 49 i.

l (b) The short, or merely tone-long, vowels a , e , o of the ultima, especially in verbal forms, e. g. קָטַל, fem. קָטְלָה *qāṭlā*; יָקַטַל, fem. יָקְטְלָה *yiqṭlā*; but note also יִלְחָצוּן, יִתְדָּקֵן, &c., according to § 47 m and o. The helping vowels are either entirely omitted, e. g. מֶלֶךְ *king* (ground-form *malk*), מִלְכִּי *my king*; or, under the influence of a guttural, are weakened to Hāteph, e. g. נָעַר *boy*, נַעְרוֹ *his boy*. If the tone remains unmoved, the vowel also is retained, notwithstanding the lengthening of the word, e. g. יָקַטְלִי pausal-form for יָקְטְלִי.

m Where the tone moves forward two places, the former of the two vowels of a dissyllabic word may be shortened, and the second changed into *Šewā*. Cf. דָּבָר *word*; in the plur. דְּבָרִים; with heavy suffix דְּבָרֵיהֶם (cf. § 28 a) *their words*. On the attenuation of the \bar{a} to \bar{i} , see further, s, t.

n Rem. 1. An \bar{o} arising from *aw* = *au*, or by an obscuring of \bar{a} (see § 9 b), sometimes becomes \bar{u} , when the tone is moved forward, e. g. נָקוּם, נְקוּמָה *נקומה*, נְקוּמָה *Niph.* of קוּם; קָנוּס *flight*, fem. מְנוּסָה, with suffix, מְנוּסָי, מְנוּסָי *the not uncommon use of i in a sharpened syllable, as בְּהוּגִי Ez 20¹⁸ (for בְּהוּגִי, cf. also the examples in § 9 o), is to be regarded as an orthographic licence, although sometimes in such cases u may really have been intended by the Kethibh.*

o Of the vowels of the U-class, \bar{u} and tone-long \bar{o} stand in a tone-bearing

closed final syllable, and *o* in a toneless syllable, e.g. יָקִים *he will arise*, יָקָם jussive, *let him arise*, וַיָּקָם *and he arose*. The only instance of *ā* in an ultima which has lost the tone is וַיָּרָם Ex 16²⁰ (see § 67 n). Similarly, of vowels of the *I*-class, *e*, *i*, and *ē* stand in a tone-bearing closed final syllable, and *ē* in a toneless syllable, e.g. יָקִים *he will raise*, יָקָם *let him raise*, וַיָּקָם *and he raised*. The only instance of *i* in an ultima which has lost the tone is וַיָּרִץ Ju 5⁵³ (see § 67 p).

2. In the place of a *Pathah* we not infrequently find (according to § 9 f) *p* a *Seghōl* (*ē, ē*) as a modification of *ā*:

(a) In a closed antepenultima, e.g. in the proper names אֲבִיתָר and אֲבִיקָה, where LXX 'Αβι- = אֲבִי, which is certainly the better reading, cf. Ulmer, *Die semit. Eigennamen*, 1901, p. 12; or in a closed penultima, e.g. יָהֳרָה, but also יָדְכֶם *your hand*, for *yad^hkhēm*. In all these cases the character of the surrounding consonants (see § 6 q) has no doubt had an influence.

(b) Regularly before a guttural with *Qameṣ* or *Hateph Qameṣ*, *q* where the strengthening has been dropped, provided that a lengthening of the *Pathah* into *Qameṣ* be not necessary, e.g. אֲחָיו *his brothers*, for 'ahāw; פֹּחַשׁ *false*, for *kaḥāš*; פֶּחָה *governor*, constr. st. פִּתָּח; פֶּחָם *coal*; הַחַיִּים *the living* (with the article, הֶ for הָ); יִנְיָהֻם Nu 23¹⁹, &c., and so always before הֶ and הָ, as יִנְיָהֻם *the months*, see § 35 k. Before הֶ and הָ *Seghōl* generally stands only in the second syllable before the tone, e.g. הַהָרִים *the mountains*; הַעֲוֹן *the guilt*; immediately before the tone *Pathah* is lengthened into a (pretonic) *Qameṣ*, e.g. הַהָרִי, but cf. also הַפְּתָרִי Nu 8⁷. Before the weak consonants נ and ר (cf. § 22 c, q), the lengthening of the *Pathah* into *Qameṣ* almost always takes place, e.g. הָאָב *the father*, pl. הָאָבוֹת; הָרָאשׁ *the head*, pl. הָרָאשִׁים. Exceptions, הָרָה *towards the mountain*, Gn 14¹⁰, in the tone-syllable, for *hārrā*; יִבְרָכְיָהוּ (pr. name) for יִבְרָכְיָהוּ. On הָ as a form of the interrogative הָ (הֶ), see § 100 n; on מָה for מָה (מַה), § 37 e, f. Finally, אֲכַלְךָ Ex 33³ also comes partly under this head, in consequence of the loss of the strengthening, for אֲכַלְךָ, and יִתְקַצֵּם *Ezekiel* for יִתְקַצֵּם = יִתְקַצֵּם *God strengthens*.

(c) As a modification of the original *Pathah* in the first class of the *segholate* *q* forms (§ 93 g), when a helping vowel (§ 28 e) is inserted after the second consonant. Thus the ground-form *kalb* (*dog*), after receiving a helping *Seghōl*, is modified into כָּלֵב (also in modern Arabic pronounced *kelb*),¹ *yark* (*month*), with a helping *Pathah*, יָרַח. The same phenomenon appears also in the formation of verbs, in cases like יָגִל (jussive of the *Hiph'il* of גָּלָה), with a helping *Seghōl*, for *yagl*.

3. The attenuation of *ā* to *i* is very common in a toneless closed syllable. *S*

(a) In a firmly closed syllable, מִדּוֹ *his measure*, for מִדּוֹ (in a sharpened syllable); יִלְדֵתִי *I have begotten thee*, from יִלְדֵתִי with the suffix יָךְ; cf. Lv 11⁴⁴, Ez 38²³, and § 44 d. Especially is this the case in a large number of *segholates*

¹ So the LXX write Μελαχισδένε for מְלִיכִי־שֵׁדֶן.

from the ground-form *gaʔl*, when combined with singular suffixes, e.g. צַדִּיקִי *my righteousness*, for *saḏqi*.

(b) In a loosely-closed syllable, i.e. one followed by an aspirated *Begadkephath*, as מִדְּמָם *your blood*, for מִדְּמָם, and so commonly in the *st. constr. plur.* of segholates from the ground-form *gaṭl*, e.g. בִּגְדֵי from בִּגְד (ground-form *bagd*) *a garment*. In most cases of this kind the attenuation is easily intelligible from the nature of the surrounding consonants. It is evident from a comparison of the dialects, that the attenuation was consistently carried out in a very large number of noun and verb-forms in Hebrew, as will be shown in the proper places.¹

4. *S'ghöl* arises, in addition to the cases mentioned in *o* and *p*, also from the weakening of *ä* of the final syllable in the isolated cases ($\overline{\eta}_{\frac{1}{2}}$ for $\overline{\eta}_{\frac{1}{2}}$) in 1 S 28¹⁵ (? see § 48 *ä*), ψ 20⁴ (?), Is 59⁵, Pr 24¹⁴ (see § 48 *l*); for examples of Locative forms in $\overline{\eta}_{\frac{1}{2}}$ see § 90 *i* end.

[illegible]

6. To the chapter on vowel changes belongs lastly the *dissimilation of vowels*, i. e. the change of one vowel into another entirely heterogeneous, in order to prevent two similar, or closely related vowels, from following one another in the same word.² Hence רִיבָּה from רִיבָּה (unless). Cf. also הִצִּיץ from הִצִּץ; עָרַר from עָרַר; נָכַח from נָכַח; תָּיִב from תָּיִב; רָאָשׁ from רָאָשׁ; most probably also יָלֹד from יָלֹד, *offspring*, קָפֹד *porcupine*, for 'קָפֹד', see § 68 c, note.— On the proper names יְהוֹנָדָב and יִשְׁשֹׁבֶז, which were formerly explained in the same way, see now Prätorius, *ZDMG.* 1905, p. 341 f.

§ 28. *The Rise of New Vowels and Syllables.*

a 1. According to § 26 *m* a half-syllable, i. e. a consonant with Šewā mobile (always weakened from a short vowel), can only occur in close dependence on a full syllable. If another half-syllable with simple Šewā follows, the first takes a full short vowel again.³ This vowel is almost always *Hireq*. In most cases it is probably an attenuation of an original *ā*, and never a mere helping vowel. In some instances analogy may have led to the choice of the *ē*. Thus, according to § 102 *d*, the prefixes בּ, כּ, ל before a consonant with Šewā mobile become בֶּ, כֶּ, לֶ, e. g. בֶּפֶרִי, כֶּפֶרִי, לֶפֶרִי; before י they are pointed as בִּיהִרֶהָ (from *bi-yēhūdā*, according to § 24 c); so too with *Wāw copulative*, e. g. וְיִהְיֶה for וְיִי attenuated from וְיִי. The first half-

¹ Analogous to this attenuation of *ǣ* to *ī* is the Lat. *tango*, *attingo*; *laxus*, *prolixus*; to the transition of *ǣ* to *ē* (see above, *a*), the Lat. *carpo*, *decerno*; *spargo*, *conspargo*.

² Cf. Barth, *Die Nominalbildung in den semit. Spr.*, p. xxix; A. Müller, *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.*, 1892, p. 177 f., and Nestle *ibid.* p. 178 f.

³ Except *and*, which generally becomes *ɨ* before a simple *Š°wā*, cf. § 104 e.

syllable, after the restoration of the short vowel, sometimes combines with the second to form a firmly closed syllable, e. g. לָנֶפֶל Nu 14³ for *lînephōl*, and so almost always in the infin. constr. after ל (§ 45 g); in isolated cases also with ב, as בְּנִבֵּר Jer 17².

2. If a guttural with *Ḥateph* follows, the original *ā* of the prefixes *b* is retained before *Ḥateph Pathah*, but before *Ḥateph Seghol* or *Ḥateph Qameṣ* it is modified to the short vowel contained in the *Ḥateph*. Thus arise the vowel groups $\overline{\text{הִי}}$, $\overline{\text{וְהִי}}$, $\overline{\text{וְהִי}}$, e. g. וְהִי and *I, בְּאֶשֶׁר* as, לָעֵבֶר *to serve*, לֶאֱכֹל *to eat*, לְחָלִי *in sickness*. On the Metheg with every such short vowel, see § 16 f, 8. Sometimes here also a fully closed syllable is formed. In such a case, the prefix takes the short vowel, which would have belonged to the suppressed *Ḥateph*, e. g. לְחָמֶם for לְחָמֶם; Is 47¹⁴ לְחָמֶם (see § 67 cc); לְאֶסֶר but also לְאֶסֶר; and even לְעֶצֶר Jb 4², cf. Gn 32¹⁶. So always in the Infin. and Imperat. Qal of the verbs הָיָה *to be* and חָיָה *to live*, e. g. הָיִיתָ *to be*, וְהִי *and be ye*; even with מָן, as מְהִיִּיתָ, on which cf. § 102 b; but וְהִיִּיתָ *and be*, וְחָיִיתָ *and live*, have *ē* instead of *ī* under the prefix. For the Metheg, cf. § 16 f, e.

3. When a *Ḥateph* in the middle of a word, owing to flexional *c* changes, would stand before a vocal *Š^urd*, it is changed into the short vowel, with which it is compounded. This applies especially to cases in which the *Ḥateph* stands under a guttural instead of quiescent *Š^urd*, as an echo of the preceding short vowel, e. g. יַעֲמֹד *he will stand* (for יַעֲמֹד), but plur. יַעֲמֹדוּ for *ya^am^{dh}û*, and נֶהֱפְכוּ for *neh^{ph}kkhû* (*they have turned themselves*), עֲמַלְךָ *thy work*, cf. § 26 k. The syllables are to be divided *yā^a-m^{dh}û*, and the second *ā* is to be regarded exactly as the helping *Pathah* in נָעַר, &c.¹

4. At the end of words, syllables occur which close with two con-*d*sonants (§ 10 i, § 26 r), but only when the latter of the two is an emphatic consonant (ב, פ) or a tenuis (viz. כ, ד, ג, ת), e. g. יָשַׁב *let him turn aside*, וַיִּשְׁק *and he caused to drink*, תָּאֲמַרְתָּ *thou (fem.) hast said*, וַיִּבֶּה *and he wept*, וַיִּרְדָּה *and let him have dominion*, וַיִּשָּׁב *and he took captive*.

This harsh ending is elsewhere avoided by the Masora,³ which *c* inserts between the two final consonants a helping vowel, usually

¹ In Ju 16¹³ read תִּאֲרָנִי not (with Opatius, Hahn and others) תִּאֲרָנִי.

² With a final ה, the only example is תִּוְּסָה Pr 30⁶, where several MSS. and printed editions incorrectly have ה without Dageš. Instead of this masoretic caprice we should no doubt read תִּוְּסָה.

³ An analogy to this practice of the Masora is found among the modern Beduin, who pronounce such a helping vowel before *h, k, g, g*; cf. Spitta, *Gramm. des arab. Vulgärdialektes von Aegypten*, Lpz. 1880, § 43 d.

Seghôl, but with medial or final gutturals a *Pathah*,¹ and after ' a *Hireq*, e. g. וַיִּגְלֶה and he revealed, for wayyigil; יִרְבֹּץ let it multiply, for yirb; קִדְּשׁ holiness, ground-form qudš; נָחַל brook, ground-form nahl; תִּשְׁלַחְתָּ for תִּשְׁלַחְתָּ thou hast sent; בַּיִת house, ground-form bayt. These helping vowels are, however, to be regarded as exactly like *furtive Pathah* (§ 22 f, g); they do not alter the monosyllabic character of the forms, and they disappear before formative suffixes, e. g. קִדְּשִׁי my holiness, בַּיְתָּה home-ward.

f 5. On the rise of a full vowel in place of a simple *Sevôl*, under the influence of the pause, see § 29 m; on initial אֵ for אִ, see § 23 h.

§ 29. The Tone, its Changes and the Pause.

- a 1. The principal tone rests, according to the Masoretic accentuation (cf. § 15 c), as a rule on the final syllable, e. g. קָטַלְתָּ, דָּבָר, דְּבָרִים, דְּבָרִים, קָטַלְתָּם, קָטַלְתָּם, קָטַלְתָּם—in the last five examples on the formative additions to the stem. Less frequently it rests on the penultima, as in לַיְלָה night, קָטַלְתָּ, קָטַלְתָּ, קָטַלְתָּ; but a closed penultima can only have the tone if the ultima is open (e. g. קָטַלְתָּ, לַבְנָה, קָטַלְתָּ), whilst a closed ultima can as a rule only be without the tone if the penultima is open, e. g. וַיִּקָּם, וַיִּקָּם; see also below, e.
- b A kind of counter-tone or secondary stress, as opposed to the principal tone, is marked by *Metheg* (§ 16 c). Words which are closely united by *Maqqeph* with the following word (§ 16 a) can at the most have only a secondary tone.
- c 2. The original tone of a word, however, frequently shifts its place in consequence either of changes in the word itself, or of its close connexion with other words. If the word is increased at the end, the tone is moved forward (*descendit*) one or two places according to the length of the addition, e. g. דְּבָר word, plur. דְּבָרִים; דְּבָרֶיךָ your words; קֹדֶשׁ holy thing, plur. קֹדֶשִׁים; קָטַלְתָּ with suffix וְהוּא, with *Wāw consecutive* וְהוּא. On the consequent vowel-changes, see § 27 d, i-m.
- d 3. On the other hand, the original tone is shifted from the ultima to the penultima (*ascendit*):

¹ On the apparent exceptions אֵשׁ, &c., cf. § 22 e; other instances in which אֵ has entirely lost its consonantal value, and is only retained orthographically, are אֵת sin, אֵת valley (also אֵת), אֵת vanity (Jb 15²¹ קֵתִיב אֵת).

² In this form (§ 65 g) the *Dageš lene* remains in the final *Tāw*, although a vowel precedes, in order to point out that the helping *Pathah* is not to be regarded as a really full vowel, but merely as an orthographic indication of a very slight sound, to ensure the correct pronunciation. An analogous case is אֵת from אֵת (§ 75 r).

(a) In many forms of the Imperfect, under the influence of a prefixed *Wāw consecutive* (·1 see § 49 c-e), e.g. יֹאמַר *he will say*, וַיֵּאמֶר *and he said*; וַיֵּלֶךְ *he will go*, וַיֵּלֶךְ *and he went*. Cf. also § 51 n on the impf. Niph'al, and § 65 g, end, on the impf. Pi'el; on these forms in Pause, when the 1 consec. does not take effect, see below, p.

(b) For rhythmical reasons (as often in other languages), when *c* a monosyllable, or a word with the tone on the first syllable, follows a word with the tone on the ultima, in order to avoid the concurrence of two tone-syllables.¹ This rhythmical retraction of the tone, however (נִסְוֵי אַחֲרֵי *receding*, as it is called by the Jewish grammarians), is only admissible according to a, above, provided that the penultima, which now receives the tone, is an open syllable (with a long vowel; but see g), whilst the ultima, which loses the tone, must be either an open syllable with a long vowel, e.g. לֵלֶךְ Gn 1⁵, 4¹⁷, 27²⁵, Ex 16²⁹, ψ 5¹¹, 104¹⁴, Dn 11¹³, or a closed syllable with a short vowel, e.g. תִּנְאֶכֶל Gn 3¹⁹, Jb 3³, 22²⁸.² The *grave* suffixes בָּם, לָן, הֶם, הֵן are exceptions, as they never lose the tone. Moreover a fair number of instances occur in which the above conditions are fulfilled, but the tone is not retracted, e.g. esp. with הֵן, and before א; cf. Qimḥi, *Mikhlol*, ed. Rittenberg (Lyck, 1862), p. 4^b, line 13 ff.

Although *Sere* can remain in a closed ultima which has lost the tone, it *f* is perhaps not to be regarded in this case (see § 8 b) as a long vowel. At any rate it then always has, in correct editions, a retarding *Metheg*, no doubt in order to prevent its being pronounced as *Seghol*, e.g. לִבְעֵר קִין Nu 24²²; cf. Nu 17²³, Ju 20², Is 66³, Jer 23²⁹, Ez 22²⁵, ψ 37⁷, and even with a following *furtive Pathah* Pr 1¹⁹, 11²⁶, &c., although there is no question here of two successive tone-syllables. In other cases the shortening into *Seghol* does take place, e.g. הוֹלֵם פָּעַם Is 41⁷, for הוֹלֵם פָּעַם; מֵאֵת נֶשֶׁךְ 1 K 16²⁴.—The retraction of the tone even occurs when a half-syllable with a *Šewā* mobile precedes the original tone-syllable, e.g. וַיֵּאמְרוּ לוֹ Gn 19⁵, and frequently; וַיִּרְדּוּ בֹר ψ 28¹; תִּמְנֵנוּ לִי

¹ Even Hebrew *prose* proceeds, according to the accentuation, in a kind of iambic rhythm. That this was intended by the marking of the tone, can be seen from the use of *Metheg*.—Jos. Wijnkoop in *Darche hannesigah sive leges de accentus Hebraicae linguae ascensione*, Ludg. Bat. 1881, endeavours to explain, on euphonic and syntactical grounds, the numerous cases in which the usual retraction of the tone does not occur, e.g. וְבֹרָא הֵשֶׁךְ Is 45⁷, where the object probably is to avoid a kind of hiatus; but cf. also Am 4¹³. Prätorius, *Ueber den rückwärtigen Accent im Hebr.*, Halle, 1897, has fully discussed the *nasog 'ahor*.

² The reading עֲרִיִים (so even Opatius and Hahn) Ez 16⁷ for עֲרִיִים is rightly described by Baer as 'error turpis'.—That an unchangeable vowel in a closed final syllable cannot lose the tone is shown by Prätorius from the duplication of the accent (see above, § 22 f).

פֶּזֶר¹⁵; מִטְעֵי יִרְבֵּה Is 14¹⁹; as also when the tone-syllable of the second word is preceded by a half-syllable, e.g. עֲשֵׂה פָּרִי Gn 1¹¹ (on the *Dag. f.*, cf. § 20 f); לָתֶת לְךָ Gn 15⁷ (cf. § 20 c).

g According to the above, it must be regarded as anomalous when the Masora throws back the tone of a closed ultima upon a *virtually* sharpened syllable with a short vowel, e.g. אָחֵר בֵּן 1 S 10⁸, § 101 a; בּוֹ וְכָשָׁב Jb 8¹⁸, cf. Lv 5²²; לִצְחֹק בְּנֵי Gn 39^{14,17}, cf. Ho 9²; whereas it elsewhere allows a closed penultima to bear the tone only when the ultima is open. Still more anomalous is the placing of the tone on a *really* sharpened syllable, when the ultima is closed, as in הָיָה 2 S 23¹; נִכְרַשׁ Jb 34¹⁹; cf. also יָשַׁבְתִּין Gn 4²⁴, with Metheg of the secondary tone. We should read either הָיָה, or, with Frensdorff, *Massora Magna*, p. 167, Ginsb., Kittel, after Bomb., הָיָה. Other abnormal forms are וַיִּחְזֹק Ex 4⁴ (for similar instances see § 15 c, end) and וַיִּהְיֶינָה Dt 10⁶.

h (c) In *pause*, see i-v.

The meeting of two tone-syllables (see e, f) is avoided also by connecting the words with Maqqeph, in which case the first word entirely loses the tone, e.g. וַיִּכְתֹּב שָׁם and he wrote there, Jos 8³².

i 4. Very important changes of the tone and of the vowels are effected by the *pause*. By this term is meant the strong stress laid on the tone-syllable in the last word of a sentence (verse) or clause. It is marked by a great *distinctive accent*, *Silluq*, 'Athnah, and in the accentuation of the books חֲזָקָה, 'Ôlê w^eyôrêd (§ 15 h). Apart from these principal pauses (*the great pause*), there are often pausal changes (*the lesser pause*) with the lesser distinctives, especially *Segolta*, *Zaqeph qaton*, *Rêbhîw*, and even with *Pašta*, *Tiphḥa*, *Gereš*, and (Pr 30⁴) *Pazer*.¹ The changes are as follows:

k (a) When the tone-syllable naturally has a short vowel, it as a rule becomes tone-long in *pause*, e.g. קָטַל, קָטַל; מָיִם, מָיִם; קָטַלְתָּ, קָטַלְתָּ. An *ā* which has been modified to *Seghêl* usually becomes *ā* in *pause*, e.g. קָשָׁר (ground-form *qašr*) in *pause* קָשָׁר 2 K 11¹⁴; אָרָן, אָרָן Jer 22²⁰;

¹ In most cases, probably on account of a following guttural or (at the end of a sentence) ו (cf. e.g. Ex 21³¹, Jer 3⁹ [but Ginsb. וְחִתְּנָה], Ru 4⁴, Ec 11⁶ [but Ginsb. וַיִּשָּׁר]; before ו Jer 17¹¹) [see also § 29 w]. וַיִּשָּׁר 1 S 17¹⁷, וַיִּשָּׁר Is 65¹⁷, Pr 25³, where *ā* has *munaḥ*, are very irregular, but the lengthening here is probably only to avoid the cacophony *šāphāt 'ēl*. In the same way וַיִּצְלַח Ez 17¹⁵ (with *Maḥpakh* before ו) and וַיִּקְרָם Ez 37⁸ (with *Darga* before ו) are to be explained. The four instances of וַיִּנִּי for וַיִּנִּי apparently require a different explanation; see § 32 c.—The theory of Olshausen and others that the phenomena of the *pause* are due *entirely* to liturgical considerations, i. e. that it is 'a convenient way of developing the musical value of the final accents by means of fuller forms' in liturgical reading (Sievers, *Metr. Studien*, i. 236, also explains pausal forms like קָטַלְתָּ, וַיִּקְטְלוּ, as 'late formations of the grammarians'), is contradicted by the fact that similar phenomena are still to be observed in modern vulgar Arabic, where they can only be attributed to rhythmical reasons of a general character.

also in 2 K 4³¹ read קָשֶׁב with ed. Mant., &c. (Baer קָשֶׁב!).—בָּרַךְ becomes in *pause* בָּרַךְ.

Sometimes, however, the distinct and sharper *ä* is intentionally retained *l* in *pause*, especially if the following consonant is strengthened, e.g. יָבֹהִי Jb 4²⁰, or ought to be strengthened, e.g. בָּרַךְ 2 S 12³, בֵּן Is 8¹, &c.; but also in other cases as וְקָנְתָּ Gn 27², because from קָן, cf. below, *q*; עָר Gn 49²⁷; וְהָקַדְשָׁנוּ 2 Ch 29¹⁹ (so Baer, but Ginsb. 'הָקַדְשָׁנוּ, ed. Mant. 'הָקַדְשָׁנוּ); and regularly in the numeral אַרְבַּע *four*, Lv 11²⁰, &c. In the accentuation of the three poetical books (§ 15 d) the use of *Pathah* with 'Athnah is due to the inferior pausal force of 'Athnah, especially after 'Ôlê *wəyôred* (§ 15 o); cf. *ψ* 100³, Pr 30³, and Qimhi, *Mikhlol*, ed. Rittenberg, p. 5^b, line 4 from below. Compare the list of instances of pausal *ä* and *ê* in the appendices to Baer's editions.

(b) When a full vowel in a tone-bearing final syllable has lost the *m* tone before an affirmative, and has become vocal *Sewā*, it is restored in *pause* as tone-vowel, and, if short, is lengthened, e.g. קָטַל *fem.* קָטַלָּה (*qāṭēlā*), in *pause* קָטַלָּה; שָׁמַע (*šimēā*), in *pause* שָׁמַעַ (from sing. שָׁמַע); קָלָהָ, מָלָהָ, מָלָהָ; יָקַטְלוּ (*šimēā*). The fuller endings of the Imperfect *l* and *o* (§ 47 *m* and *o*) alone retain the tone even when the original vowel is restored. In segholate forms, like לָחִי, פָּרִי (ground-form *lahy*, *pariy*), the original *ä* returns, though under the form of a tone-bearing *Sghōl*, thus לָחִי, פָּרִי; original *ī* becomes *ē*, e.g. הָצִי, in *pause* הָצִי; original *ū* (*ū*) becomes *ō*, הָלִי (ground-form *huly*), in *pause* הָלִי (§ 93 *x*, *y*, *z*).

On the analogy of such forms as לָחִי, &c., the shortened Imperfects *n* יָהִי and יִהְיֶה become in *pause* יָהִי, יִהְיֶה, because in the full forms יָהִי *he will be*, and יִהְיֶה *he will live*, the *ī* is attenuated from an original *ä*. Similarly שָׁכַם *shoulder*, in *pause* שָׁכַם (ground-form *šakhm*), and the pron. אֲנִי *I*, in *pause* אֲנִי; cf. also the restoration of the original *ä* as *ê* before the suffix תְּ- *thy, thee*, e.g. דְּבַרְךָ *thy word*, in *pause* דְּבַרְךָ; יִשְׁמְרֶךָ *he guards thee*, in *pause* יִשְׁמְרֶךָ; but after the prepositions בְּ, לְ, אֶת (אֶת) the suffix תְּ- in *pause* becomes תְּ-, e.g. בְּךָ, לְךָ, אֶתְךָ.

(c) This tendency to draw back the tone in *pause* to the *penultima* *o* appears also in such cases as אֲנִי *I*, in *pause* אֲנִי; אַתָּה *thou*, in *pause* אַתָּה (but in the three poetically accented books also אַתָּה, since in those books 'Athnah, especially after 'Ôlê *wəyôred*, has only the force of a *Zaqeph*; hence also יִמְלֹאֵי Pr 24⁴ instead of יִמְלֹאֵי²; עַתָּה *now*, אַתָּה; and in other sporadic instances, like פָּלִי *ψ* 37²⁰ for פָּלִי; but in 1 S 12²⁵

¹ Such a pausal syllable is sometimes further emphasized by strengthening the following consonant, see § 20 *i*.

² יִמְלֹאֵי *ψ* 45⁵, cf. also יִמְלֹאֵי *ψ* 40¹⁵, is to be explained in the same way, but not הַפְלִיטִי Ze 2¹¹, where, on the analogy of הַשְׁמִירִי Je 9³, we should expect הַפְלִיטִי.

תָּפַח with Baer and Ginsb., is to be preferred to the reading of ed. Mant., &c.

- p (d) Conversely all forms of imperfects consecutive, whose final syllable, when not in *pause*, loses the tone and is pronounced with a short vowel, take, when in *pause*, the tone on the ultima with a tone-long vowel, e. g. וַיָּמָת and he died, in *pause* וַיִּמָּת.

q Of other effects of the *pause* we have still to mention, (1) the transition of an *e* (lengthened from *i*) to the more distinct *ä* (see above, l), e. g. הָיוּ for הָיוּ Is 18⁵ (cf. § 67 v; § 72 dd); קָמַל Is 33⁹; אָצַל 1 Ch 8³⁸ (beside אָצַל [see v. 37. Cf. : מָבֵּאֵל Is 7⁶ (מָבֵּאֵל Ezr 4⁷); : שָׁשֶׁר Jer 22¹⁴; קָפַר Ob 20; : וַיִּנְשֵׁשׁ Ex 31¹⁷; : וַיִּנְשֵׁשׁ 2 S 12¹⁵ (below, § 51 m)—S. R. D.]); הָפַר Gn 17¹⁴; הָפַצַּר 1 S 15²⁸; הָשַׁב ψ 40¹⁸; הָרַחֵק Jb 13²¹, mostly before liquids or sibilants (but also הָשַׁב Is 42²², and without the *pause* תָּרַר La 3⁴⁸). So also וַיִּלָּךְ (shortened from וַיִּלָּךְ) becomes in *pause* וַיִּלָּךְ; cf. וַיִּלָּךְ La 3²; וַיִּלָּךְ for וַיִּלָּךְ Ju 19²⁰. On *Séghôl* in *pause* instead of *Sere*, cf. § 52 n, 60 d, and especially § 75 n, on וַיִּהְיֶה Pr 4⁴ and 7².

r (2) The transition from *ä* to *i* in the ultima; so always in the formula וְעַד לְעוֹלָם וָעֶד (for עַד) for ever and ever.

s (3) The *pausal Qameṣ* (according to § 54 k, lengthened from original *ä*) in *Hithpa'el* (but not in *Pi'el*) for *Sere*, e. g. יִתְהַלֵּךְ Jb 18⁸ for יִתְהַלֵּךְ. But *pausal* forms like שָׁבַט, קָטַר (in the *absol. st.* שָׁבַט, קָטַר) go back to a secondary form of the *abs. st.* שָׁבַט, קָטַר.

t (4) The restoration of a final *Yodh* which has been dropped from the stem, together with the preceding vowel, e. g. בָּעֵי, אָתִי Is 21¹², for בָּעֵי, אָתִי, the latter also without the *pause* Is 56^{9,12}; cf. Jb 12⁶, and the same occurrence even in the word *before* the *pause* Dt 32²⁷, Is 21¹².

u (5) The transition from *ö* or *ō* to *ä* in *pause*: as שָׁאֵלָה Is 7¹¹, if it be a locative of שָׁאֵל, and not rather imperat. Qal of שָׁאֵל; שָׁבַלְתִּי Gn 43¹⁴ for שָׁבַלְתִּי; עֹ; Gn 49³; יָטַרָה Gn 49²⁷; perhaps also שָׁרָה 1 K 22³⁴, Is 59¹⁷, and מִשְׁבַּלְתִּי Is 28¹⁷, cf. 2 K 21¹⁸. On the other hand the regular *pausal* form יִהְיֶה (ordinary imperfect יִהְיֶה) corresponds to a perfect יִהְיֶה (see § 47 h).

v (6) When a *Pathah* both precedes and follows a virtually strengthened guttural, the second becomes *ä* in *pause*, and the first *Séghôl*, according to § 22 c and § 27 q, e. g. אָחֵי my brothers, in *pause* אָחֵי. Similarly in cases where an original *Pathah* after a guttural has been attenuated to *i* out of *pause*, and then lengthened to *e* with the tone (cf. § 54 k), e. g. יִתְנַחֵם, but in *pause* יִתְנַחֵם Dt 32²⁶; cf. Nu 8⁷, 23¹⁹, Ez 5¹³, ψ 135¹⁴.—On *pausal Sére*, for *Séghôl*, in *infin.*, imperat., and imperf. of verbs נָחַם, see § 75 hh.

w [Other instances of the full vowel in lesser *pause*, where the voice would naturally rest on the word, are Gn 15¹⁴ יַעֲבֹדוּ, Is 8¹⁵, 40²⁴, Ho 4¹², 8⁷, Dn 9¹⁸, and very often in such cases.]

SECOND PART

ETYMOLOGY, OR THE PARTS OF SPEECH

§ 30. *Stems and Roots*¹: *Bilateral, Trilateral, and Quadrilateral.*

1. Stems in Hebrew, as in the other Semitic languages, have this peculiarity, that by far the majority of them consist of three consonants. On these the meaning essentially depends, while the various modifications of the idea are expressed rather by changes in the vowels, e. g. עמק (עמק or עמק; the 3rd pers. sing. perf. does not occur) *it was deep*, עמק *deep*, עמק *depth*, עמק, *a valley, plain*. Such a stem may be either a verb or a noun, and the language commonly exhibits both together, e. g. זרע *he has sown*, זרע *seed*; חכם *he was wise*, חכם *a wise man*. For practical purposes, however, it has long been the custom to regard as the stem the 3rd pers. sing. Perf. Qal (see § 43), since it is one of the simplest forms of the verb, without any formative additions. Not only are the other forms of the verb referred to this stem, but also the noun-forms, and the large number of particles derived from nouns; e. g. קדש *he was holy*, קדש *holiness*, קדש *holy*.

Sometimes the language, as we have it, exhibits only the verbal *b* stem without any corresponding noun-form, e. g. קל *to stone*, נהק *to brag*; and on the other hand, the noun sometimes exists without the corresponding verb, e. g. סלף *stone*, נגב *south*. Since, however, the nominal or verbal stems, which are not now found in Hebrew, generally occur in one or more of the other Semitic dialects, it may be assumed, as a rule, that Hebrew, when a living language, also possessed them. Thus, in Arabic, the verbal stem 'abīnā (*to become compact, hard*) corresponds to סלף, and the Aramaic verb *neḡab* (*to be dry*) to נגב.

Rem. 1. The Jewish grammarians call the stem (i. e. the 3rd pers. sing. Perf. Qal) שורש *root*. Hence it became customary among Christian grammarians to call the stem *radix*, and its three consonants *litterae radicales*, in contradistinction to the *litterae serviles* or *formative letters*. On the correct use of the term *root*, see *g*.

¹ On the questions discussed here compare the bibliography at the head of § 79.

- d 2. Others regard the three stem-consonants as a *root*, in the sense that, considered as *vowelless* and unpronounceable, it represents the common foundation of the verbal and nominal stems developed from it, just as in the vegetable world, from which the figure is borrowed, stems grow from the hidden root, e.g.

Root : מלך, the indeterminate idea of *ruling*.

Verb-stem, מלך he has reigned.

Noun-stem, מלך king.

For the historical investigation of the language, however, this hypothesis of unpronounceable roots, with indeterminate meaning, is fruitless. Moreover, the term *root*, as it is generally understood by philologists, cannot be applied to the Semitic trilateral stem (see f).¹

- e 3. The 3rd sing. Perf. Qal, which, according to the above, is usually regarded, both lexicographically and grammatically, as the ground-form, is generally in Hebrew a dissyllable, e.g. קטל. The monosyllabic forms have only arisen by contraction (according to the traditional explanation) from stems which had a weak letter (ו or י) for their middle consonant, e.g. קם from *qāwām*; or from stems whose second and third consonants are identical, e.g. צר and צרר (but see below, §§ 67, 72). The dissyllabic forms have themselves no doubt arisen, through a loss of the final vowel, from trisyllables, e.g. קטל from *qātālā*, as it is in literary Arabic.

- f 2. The law of the trilateral stem is so strictly observed in the formation of verbs and nouns in Hebrew (and in the Semitic languages generally), that the language has sometimes adopted artificial methods to preserve at least an appearance of trilateralism in monosyllabic stems, e.g. שבת for the inf. constr. of verbs שׁב; cf. § 69 b. Conversely such nouns, as אב father, אם mother, אח brother, which were formerly all regarded as original monosyllabic forms (*nomina primitiva*), may, in some cases at least, have arisen from mutilation of a trilateral stem.

- g On the other hand, a large number of trilateral stems really point to a biliteral base, which may be properly called a *root* (*radix primaria, biliteralis*), since it forms the starting-point for several trilateral modifications of the same fundamental idea. Though in themselves unpronounceable, these roots are usually pronounced with *ā* between the two consonants, and are represented in writing by the sign √, e.g. √כר as the root of כרר, כרה, כור, אכר. The reduction of a stem to the underlying root may generally be accomplished with certainty when the stem exhibits one weak consonant with two strong ones, or when the second and third consonants are identical. Thus e.g. the stems דכה, דכא, דין, דכה may all be traced to the idea of *striking, breaking*, and the root common to them all is evidently the two strong consonants דך (*dakh*). Very frequently, however, the development of the root into a stem is effected by the addition of

¹ Cf. Philippi, 'Der Grundstamm des starken Verbuns,' in *Morgenländische Forschungen*, Leipz. 1875, pp. 69-106.

a strong consonant, especially, it seems, a sibilant, liquid or guttural.¹ Finally, further modifications of the same root are produced when either a consonant of the root, or the letter which has been added, changes by phonetic laws into a kindred letter (see the examples below). Usually such a change of sound is accompanied by a modification of meaning.

Examples: from the root קץ (no doubt *onomatopoetic*, i.e. imitating the *h* sound), which represents the fundamental idea of *carving off*, *cutting in pieces*, are derived directly: קצץ and קצה to *cut*, to *cut off*; the latter also metaph. to *decide*, to *judge* (whence קצין, Arab. *qāḏī*, a judge); also קצב to *cut off*, to *shear*, קצף to *tear*, to *break*, קצע to *cut into*, קצר to *cut off*, to *reap*. With a dental instead of the sibilant, קט, קד, whence קטב to *cut in pieces*, to *destroy*, קטל to *cut down*, to *kill*, קטף to *tear off*, to *pluck off*. With the initial letter softened, the root becomes כם, whence כסח to *cut off*, and כסם to *shave*; cf. also נכס Syr. to *slay* (*sacrifice*), to *kill*. With the greatest softening to גו and גר; גו to *cut off*, to *shear*; גוה to *hew stone*; גו, גוע, גול, גור, גור to *cut off*, to *tear off*, *eat up*; similarly גדר to *cut into*, גרע to *cut off*; cf. also גרה, גרה, גר. Allied to this root also is the series of stems which instead of a palatal begin with a guttural (ח), e.g. חרר to *split*, *cut*; cf. also חרל, חרק, חרר, חרש, and further חום, חוץ, חוה, חוז, חטב, חטט, חטף, חסל, חסם, חסף, חצב, חצה, חצץ, חצר, חצר in the Lexicon.

The root חם expresses the sound of *humming*, which is made with the mouth closed (*muwa*); hence חמם, חום, חמה, חמה (חאם), Arab. *hāmhamā*, to *buzz*, to *hum*, to *snarl*, &c.

As developments from the root רע cf. the stems רער, רעל, רעם, רעע, רעץ, רעץ. Not less numerous are the developments of the root בר (פר) and many others.²

Closer investigation of the subject suggests the following observations:

(a) These roots are mere *abstractions* from stems in actual use, and are themselves not used. They represent rather the hidden germs (*semina*) of the stems which appear in the language. Yet these stems are sometimes so short as to consist simply of the elements of the root itself, e.g. תם to *be finished*, קל *light*. The ascertaining of the root and its meaning, although in many ways very difficult and hazardous, is of great lexicographical importance. It is a wholly different and much contested question whether there ever was a period in the development of the Semitic languages when purely *biliteral* roots, either isolated and invariable or combined with inflexions, served for the communication of thought. In such a case it would have to be admitted, that the language at first expressed extremely few elementary ideas, which were only gradually extended by additions to denote more delicate shades of meaning. At all events this process of transformation would belong to a period of the language which is entirely outside our range. At the most only the gradual multiplication of *stems* by means of phonetic change (see below) can be historically proved.

(b) Many of these monosyllabic words are clearly imitations of sounds, and *h*

¹ That all trilateral stems are derived from bilaterals (as König, *Lehrg.* ii. 1, 370; M. Lambert in *Studies in honour of A. Kohut*, Berl. 1897, p. 354 ff.) cannot be definitely proved.

² Cf. the interesting examination of the Semitic roots QR, KR, XR, by P. Haupt in the *Amer. Journ. of Sem. Lang.*, xxiii (1907), p. 241 ff.

to be *hot*. Cf. Aram. עָרַל *to roll*, expanded from עָלַל (conjugation Pa'el, corresponding to the Hebrew Piel). In Latin there is a similar expansion of *fid*, *scid*, *tud*, *jug* into *findo*, *scindo*, *tundo*, *jungo*. At the end of words the commonest expansion is by means of ל and ן, e.g. אֵרֶן *axe*, בִּרְמֶל *garden-land* (from בֶּרֶם), נֶבֶל *corolla* (נֶבֶץ *cup*); cf. § 85, xi.

Rem. on (b). Forms such as צַפְרָדַע *frog*, חֲבַצְלֵת *meadow-saffron*, צֶלֶמֶת *shadow* *of death*,¹ were long regarded as compounds, though the explanation of them all was uncertain. Many words of this class, which earlier scholars attempted to explain from Hebrew sources, have since proved to be *loan-words* (§ 11), and consequently need no longer be taken into account.

4. A special class of formations, distinct from the fully developed stems of three or four consonants, are (a) the *Interjections* (§ 105), which, as being direct imitations of natural sounds, are independent of the ordinary formative laws; (b) the *Pronouns*. Whether these are to be regarded as the mutilated remains of early developed stems, or as relics of a period of language when the formation of stems followed different laws, must remain undecided. At all events, the many peculiarities of their formation² require special treatment (§ 32 ff.). On the other hand, most of the particles (adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions) seem to have arisen in Hebrew from fully developed stems, although in many instances, in consequence of extreme shortening, the underlying stem is no longer recognizable (see § 99 ff.).

§ 31. Grammatical Structure.

P. Dörwald, 'Die Formenbildungsgesetze des Hebr.' (*Hilfsbuch für Lehrer des Hebr.*), Berlin, 1897, is recommended for occasional reference.

1. The formation of the parts of speech from the stems (derivation), *a* and their inflexion, are effected in two ways: (a) internally by changes in the stem itself, particularly in its vowels; (b) externally by the addition of formative syllables before or after it. The expression of grammatical relations (e.g. the comparative degree and some case-relations in Hebrew) periphrastically by means of separate words belongs, not to etymology, but to syntax.

The external method (b) of formation, by affixing formative syllables, *b* which occurs e.g. in Egyptian, appears on the whole to be the more ancient. Yet other families of language, and particularly the Semitic, at a very early period had recourse also to the internal method, and during their youthful vigour widely developed their power of forming derivatives. But the continuous decay of this power in the later periods of language made syntactical circumlocution more and more necessary. The same process may be seen also e.g. in Greek (including modern Greek), and in Latin with its Romance offshoots.

¹ So expressly Nöldeke in *ZAW.* 1897, p. 183 ff.; but most probably it is to be read צֶלְמִית *darkness* from the stem צָלַם [Arab. *zalima*, to be dark].

² Cf. Hupfeld, 'System der semitischen Demonstrativbildung,' in the *Ztschr. f. d. Kunde des Morgenl.*, vol. ii. pp. 124 ff., 427 ff.

c 2. Both methods of formation exist together in Hebrew. The internal mode of formation by means of vowel changes is tolerably extensive (קָטַל, קָטַל, קָטַל; קָטַל, קָטַל, &c.). This is accompanied in numerous cases by external formation also (הִתְקַטַּל, הִתְקַטַּל, &c.), and even these formative additions again are subject to internal change, e.g. הִתְקַטַּל, הִתְקַטַּל. The addition of formative syllables occurs, as in almost all languages, chiefly in the formation of the persons of the verb, where the meaning of the affixed syllables is for the most part still perfectly clear (see §§ 44, 47). It is also employed to distinguish gender and number in the verb and noun. Of case-endings, on the contrary, only scanty traces remain in Hebrew (see § 90).

CHAPTER I

THE PRONOUN

Brockelmann, *Semit. Sprachwiss.*, p. 98 ff.; *Grundriss*, i. 296 ff. L. Reinisch, 'Das persönl. Fürwort u. die Verbalflexion in den chamito-semit. Sprachen' (*Wiener Akad. der Wiss.*, 1909).

§ 32. *The Personal Pronoun. The Separate Pronoun.*

1. The personal pronoun (as well as the pronoun generally) belongs *a* to the oldest and simplest elements of the language (§ 30 s). It must be discussed *before* the verb, since it plays an important part in verbal inflexion (§§ 44, 47).

2. The independent principal forms of the personal pronoun serve *b* (like the Gk. ἐγώ, σὺ, Lat. *ego, tu*, and their plurals) almost exclusively to emphasize the nominative-subject (see, however, § 135 d). They are as follows:

Singular.	Plural.
1. Com. אֲנִי, in pause אֲנִי } I. אֲנִי, in pause אֲנִי }	1. Com. אֲנֵנוּ, in pause אֲנֵנוּ } we. (נֵנוּ, in pause אֲנֵנוּ), (אֲנוּ) }
2. { m. אַתָּה (את), in pause אֲתָה or אַתָּה f. אַתָּה (את) properly אַתָּה, } thou. in pause אַתָּה }	2. { m. אַתָּם f. אַתְּנָה (אתְּנָה); אַתָּן (אתָן) } ye.
3. { m. הוּא (it). f. הִיא (it). }	3. { m. הֵם (הֵם), הֵנּוּ f. הֵנּוּ after prefixes הֵן, הֵן } they.

The forms enclosed in parentheses are the less common. A table of these pronouns with their shortened forms (*pronominal suffixes*) is given in Paradigm A at the end of this Grammar.

REMARKS.

I. *First Person.*

1. The form אֲנִי is less frequent than אֲנִי.¹ The former occurs in C

¹ On the prevalence of אֲנִי in the earlier Books compare the statistics collected by Giesebrecht in *ZAW.* 1881, p. 251 ff., partly contested by Driver in the *Journal of Philology*, 1882, vol. xi. p. 222 ff. (but cf. his *Introduction*, ed. 6, p. 135, line 1 f.), but thoroughly established by König in *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.*, 1893, pp. 464 ff. and 478, and in his *Einführung in das A. T.*, p. 168, &c. In some of the latest books אֲנִי is not found at all, and hardly at all in the Talmud. [For details see the Lexicon, s. v. אֲנִי and אֲנִי.]

Phoenician, Moabite, and Assyrian, but in no other of the kindred dialects;¹ from the latter the suffixes are derived (§ 33). The *ô* most probably results from an obscuring of an original *â* (cf. Aram. אָנִי, Arab. 'ana). The pausal form אָנִי occurs not only with small disjunctive accents, but even with conjunctives; so always in אָנִי הִנֵּה as *I live!* also Is 49¹⁸ with Munal, ψ 119¹²⁵ with Merkha (which, however, has been altered from D^{hi}), and twice in Mal 1⁶.

In all these cases there is manifestly a disagreement between the vocalization already established and the special laws regulating the system of accentuation.

d 2. The formation of the plural, in this and the other persons, exhibits a certain analogy with that of the noun, while at the same time (like the pronouns of other languages) it is characterized by many differences and peculiarities. The short form אָנִי (אָנִי) from which the suffix is derived occurs only in Jer 42⁶ *Kethibh*. The form אָנִי (cf. § 19 h) only in Ex 16^{7,8}, Nu 32²², La 3⁴²; אָנִי in pause, Gn 42¹¹; in Arabic *nālnu* is the regular form. In the Mišna אָנִי (אָנִי) has altogether supplanted the longer forms.

e 3. The pronoun of the 1st person only is, as a rule in languages, of the common gender, because the person who is present and speaking needs no further indication of gender, as does the 2nd person, who is addressed (in Greek, Latin, English, &c., this distinction is also lacking), and still more the 3rd person who is absent.

II. Second Person.

f 4. The forms of the 2nd person אָנִי, אָנִי, אָנִי, אָנִי, &c., are contracted from 'antā, &c. The kindred languages have retained the *n* before the ת, e. g. Arab. 'antā, fem. 'anti, thou; pl. 'antum, fem. 'antinnā, ye. In Syriac אָנִי, fem. אָנִי are written, but both are pronounced 'at. In Western Aramaic אָנִי is usual for both genders.

g אָנִי (without ה) occurs five times, e. g. ψ 6⁴, always as *Kethibh*, with אָנִי as *Qere*. In three places אָנִי appears as a masculine, Nu 11¹⁵, Dt 5²⁴, Ez 28¹⁴.

h The feminine form was originally אָנִי as in Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopic. This form is found seven times as *Kethibh* (Ju 17², 1 K 14², 2 K 4^{16,23}, 81, Jer 4³⁰, Ez 36¹³) and appears also in the corresponding personal ending of verbs (see § 44 f), especially, and necessarily, before suffixes, as אָנִי אָנִי, § 59 a [c]; cf. also *i* as the ending of the 2nd fem. sing. of the imperative and imperfect. The final *i* was, however, gradually dropped in pronunciation, just as in Syriac (see above, f) it was eventually only written, not pronounced. The *i* therefore finally disappeared (cf. § 10 k), and hence the Masoretes, even in these seven passages, have pointed the word in the text as אָנִי to indicate the *Qere* אָנִי (see § 17). The same final *i* appears in the rare (Aramaic) forms of the suffix אָנִי, אָנִי (§§ 58, 91).

i 5. The plurals אָנִי (with the second vowel assimilated to the fem. form) and אָנִי (אָנִי), with the tone on the ultima, only partially correspond to the assumed ground-forms 'antumū, fem. 'antinnā, Arab. 'antīm (Aram. אָנִי, אָנִי) and 'antinnā (Aram. אָנִי, אָנִי). The form אָנִי is found only in Ez 34³¹ (so Qimhi expressly, others אָנִי); אָנִי (for which some MSS. have

¹ In Phoenician and Moabite (inscription of Meša', line 1) it is written אָנִי, without the final *i*. In Punic it was pronounced *anec* (Plaut. *Poen.* 5, 1, 8) or *anekh* (5, 2, 35). Cf. Schröder, *Phöniz. Sprache*, p. 143. In Assyrian the corresponding form is *anaku*, in old Egyptian *anek*, Coptic *anok*, *nok*.

אֲנִי only four times, viz. Gn 31⁶, Ez 13^{11,20}, 34¹⁷; in 13²⁰ אֲנִי (before a ו) is even used as feminine.

III. Third Person.

6. (a) In אֵי and אִי (*hū* and *hī*) the א (corresponding to the 'Elif of *pro-k* longation in Arabic, cf. § 23 i) might be regarded only as an orthographic addition closing the final long vowel, as in אֵל, אִי, &c. The א is, however, always written in the case of the separate pronouns,¹ and only as a toneless suffix (§ 33 a) does אֵי appear as אִי, while אִי becomes אֵי. In Arabic (as in Syriac) they are written אֵי and אִי but pronounced *hūcā* and *hīyā*, and in Vulgar Arabic even *hūvua* and *hīyya*. This Arabic pronunciation alone would not indeed be decisive, since the vowel complement might have arisen from the more consonantal pronunciation of the ו and י; but the Ethiopic *we'etū* (= *hu'a-tū*) for אֵי, *ye'etū* (= *hi'a-tū*) for אִי (cf. also the Assyrian *ya-u-a* for אֵי) show that the א was original and indicated an original vocalic termination of the two words. According to Philippi (*ZDMG.* xxviii. 172 and xxix. 371 ff.) אֵי arose from a primitive Semitic *ha-ra*, אִי from *ha-ya*.

(b) The form אֵי also stands in the consonantal text (*K^ethibh*) of the Pentateuch² (with the exception of eleven places) for the fem. אִי. In all such cases the Masora, by the punctuation אֵי, has indicated the *Q'rē* אֵי (*Q'rē perpetuum*, see § 17). The old explanation regarded this phenomenon as an archaism which was incorrectly removed by the Masoretes. This assumption is, however, clearly untenable, if we consider (1) that no other Semitic language is without the quite indispensable distinction of gender in the separate pronoun of the 3rd pers.; (2) that this distinction does occur eleven times in the Pentateuch, and that in Gn 20⁸, 38²⁵, Nu 5^{13,14} אֵי and אִי are found close to one another; (3) that outside the Pentateuch the distinction is found in the oldest documents, so that the אִי cannot be regarded as having been subsequently adopted from the Aramaic; (4) that those parts of the book of Joshua which certainly formed a constituent part of the original sources of the Pentateuch, know nothing of this epicene use of אֵי. Consequently there only remains the hypothesis, that the writing of אֵי for אִי rests on an orthographical peculiarity which in some recension of the Pentateuch-text was almost consistently followed, but was afterwards very properly rejected by the Masoretes. The orthography was, however, peculiar to the Pentateuch-text alone, since it is unnecessary to follow the Masora in writing אֵי for אִי in 1 K 17¹⁵, Is 30³³, Jb 31¹¹, or אֵי for אִי in ψ 73¹⁶, Ec 5⁸, 1 Ch 29¹⁰. The Samaritan recension of the Pentateuch has the correct form in the *K^ethibh* throughout. Levy's explanation of this strange practice of the Masoretes is evidently right, viz. that originally אֵי was written for both forms (see *k*, note), and was almost everywhere, irrespective of gender, expanded into אֵי. On the whole question see Driver, *Leviticus* (in *Haupt's Bible*), p. 25 f. In the text Driver always reads אֵי.

7. The plural forms אֵי and אִי (after *prefixes* אֵי, אִי) are of doubtful origin, but אֵי, אִי have probably been assimilated to אֵי which goes back to a form *hinnā*. In Western Aram. אֵי, אִי, Syr. *henān*

¹ In the inscription of King Meša' (see § 2 d), lines 6 and 27, we find אֵי for אִי, and in the inscription of 'Ešmun'azar, line 22, for אִי, but in the Zenjirli inscriptions (see § 1 m) both אֵי and אִי occur (Hadad i, l. 29).

² Also in twelve places in the Babylonian Codex (Prophets) of 916 A. D.; cf. Baer, *Ezechiel*, p. 108 f.; Buhl, *Canon and Text of the O. T.* (Edinb. 1892), p. 240.

(*enîn*), Arab. *himû* (archaic form of *hum*), and Ethiop. *hômû*, an *ô* or *û* is appended, which in Hebrew seems to reappear in the poetical suffixes $\text{מוֹ} \text{---}$, $\text{מוֹ} \text{---}$, $\text{מוֹ} \text{---}$ (§ 91 l, 3).

n In some passages הָיָה stands for the feminine (Zc 5¹⁰, Ct 6⁸, Ru 1²²; cf. the use of the suffix of the 3rd masc. for the 3rd fem., § 135 o and § 145 t). For the quite anomalous עָרִיכָם 2 K 9¹⁸ read עָרִיכָם (Jb 32¹²).

O 8. The pronouns of the 3rd person may refer to *things* as well as persons. On their meaning as *demonstratives* see § 136.

§ 33. Pronominal Suffixes.

Brockelmann, *Semit. Sprachwiss.*, p. 100 f.; *Grundriss*, i. 306 ff. J. Barth, 'Beiträge zur Suffixlehre des Nordsemit.', in the *Amer. Journ. of Sem. Lang.*, 1901, p. 193 ff.

a 1. The independent principal forms of the personal pronoun (the *separate pronoun*), given in the preceding section, express only the nominative.¹ The accusative and genitive are expressed by forms, usually shorter, joined to the end of verbs, nouns, and particles (*pronominal suffixes* or simply *suffixes*); e. g. הוּ (toneless) and י (from *āhû*) *cum* and *eius*, קָטַלְתִּי הוּ *I have killed him* (also קָטַלְתִּי י) or (with *āhû* contracted into *ô*) קָטַלְתִּי הוּ *thou hast killed him*; אֹרְרוּ (also אֹרְרוּ י) *lux eius*.

The same method is employed in all the other Semitic languages, as well as in the Egyptian, Persian, Finnish, Tartar, and others; in Greek, Latin, and German we find only slight traces of the kind, e. g. German, *er gab's* for *er gab es*; Greek, πατήρ μου for πατήρ ἐμοῦ ; Latin, *ecceum*, *eccos*, &c., in Plautus and Terence for *ecce eum*, *ecce eos*.

b 2. The case which these suffixes represent is—

(a) When joined to verbs, the accusative (cf., however, § 117 x), e. g. קָטַלְתִּי הוּ *I have killed him*.

c (b) When affixed to substantives, the genitive (like πατήρ μου , *pater eius*). They then serve as *possessive pronouns*, e. g. אָבִי ('*ābh-i*) *my father*, סוּסוֹ *his horse*, which may be either *equus eius* or *equus suus*.

d (c) When joined to particles, either the genitive or accusative, according as the particles originally expressed the idea of a noun or a verb, e. g. בֵּינִי , literally *interstitium mei*, *between me* (cf. *mea causa*); but הִנְנִי *behold me*, *ecce me*.

e (d) Where, according to the Indo-Germanic case-system, the dative or ablative of the pronoun is required, the suffixes in Hebrew are joined to prepositions expressing those cases (לְ sign of the dative, מִן *in*, מִן *from*, § 102), e. g. לֵי *to him* (*ei*) and *to himself* (*sibi*), בּוֹ *in him*, מֵי (usually מֵימֵי) *from me*.

¹ On apparent exceptions see § 135 d.

3. The suffixes of the 2nd person (ךָ, &c.) are all formed with *f* a *k*-sound, not, like the *separate* pronouns of the 2nd person, with a *t*-sound.

So in all the Semitic languages, in Ethiopic even in the verbal form (*qatalka, thou hast killed* = Hebr. קָטַלְתָּ).

4. The *suffix of the verb* (the accusative) and the *suffix of the noun* (the genitive) coincide in most forms, but some differ, e. g. מִי—*me*, מִי—*my*.

Paradigm A at the end of the Grammar gives a table of all the forms of the *separate pronoun* and the *suffixes*; a fuller treatment of the *verbal suffix* and the mode of attaching it to the verb will be found in § 58 ff., of the *noun-suffix* in § 91, of the prepositions with suffixes in § 103, of adverbs with suffixes § 100 o.

§ 34. The Demonstrative Pronoun.

1. *Sing.* { *m.* הַזֶּה¹ } *this.* *Plur. com.* הֵלֵךְ (rarely הֵלֵךְ) *these.* *a*

Rem. 1. The feminine form הַזֵּה has undoubtedly arisen from הַזֶּה, by *b* obscuring of an original *ā* to *ō* (for הַזֶּה = הַזֵּה cf. the Arab. *hā-dā, this, masc.*; for הַזֵּה as the feminine ending, § 80), and the forms הַזֵּה, הַזֵּה, both of which are rare,³ are shortened from הַזֵּה. In ψ 132¹² הַזֵּה is used as a *relative*, cf. הַזֵּה below. In Jer 26⁶, *Kē-māh, הַזֵּה* (with the article and the demonstrative termination הַזֵּה) is found for הַזֵּה. The forms הַזֵּה and הַזֵּה are the plurals of הַזֵּה and הַזֵּה by usage, though not etymologically. The form הַזֵּה occurs only in the Pentateuch (but not in the Samaritan text), Gn 19^{2,25}, 26^{3,4}, &c. (8 times), always with the article, הַזֵּה [as well as הַזֵּה, הַזֵּה frequently], and in 1 Ch 20⁸ without the article [cf. Driver on Dt 4⁴²].⁴ Both the singular and the plural may refer to things as well as persons.

2. In combination with prepositions to denote the oblique case we find הַזֵּה *C* to this (cf. for הַזֵּה, § 102 g), הַזֵּה, הַזֵּה to this (fem.), הַזֵּה, הַזֵּה to these; הַזֵּה, הַזֵּה hinc, הַזֵּה, הַזֵּה hos, also without הַזֵּה, even before the verb ψ 75⁸, &c. Note also הַזֵּה מַחֲיִיר *pretium huius* (1 K 21²), &c.

¹ In many languages the demonstratives begin with a *d*-sound (hence called the *demonstrative sound*) which, however, sometimes interchanges with a sibilant. Cf. Aram. הַזֵּה, הַזֵּה *masc.*, הַזֵּה, הַזֵּה *fem.* (this); Sansk. *sa, sā, tat*; Gothic *sa, sō, thata*; Germ. *da, der, die, das*; and Eng. *the, this, that, &c.* Cf. J. Barth, 'Zum semit. Demonstr. *d*,' in ZDMG. 59, 159 ff., and 633 ff.; Sprachwiss. Untersuchungen zum Semit., Lpz. 1907, p. 30 ff. [See the Lexicon, s. v. הַזֵּה, and Aram. הַזֵּה, הַזֵּה.]

² That הַזֵּה may stand for the feminine, cannot be proved either from Ju 16²⁸ or from the certainly corrupt passage in Jos 21⁷.

³ הַזֵּה 2 K 6¹⁸, and in seven other places; הַזֵּה only in Hos 7¹⁶, ψ 132¹².

⁴ According to Kuenen (cf. above, § 2 n) and Driver, on Lev 18²⁷ in Haupt's Bible, this הַזֵּה is due to an error of the punctuators. It goes back to a time when the vowel of the second syllable was not yet indicated by a vowel letter, and later copyists wrongly omitted the addition of the הַ. In Phoenician also it was written הַזֵּה, but pronounced *ity* according to Plautus, *Pam.* v, 1, 9.

- d 2. The secondary form **וְ** occurs only in poetic style, and mostly for the relative, like our *that* for *who* [see Lexicon, s.v.]. Like **אֲשֶׁר** (§ 36), it serves for all numbers and genders.
- e Rem. 1. This pronoun takes the article (**הַ**, **הָ**, **הֶ**, **הָ**) according to the same rule as adjectives, see § 126 u; e.g. **הָאִישׁ הַזֶּה** *this man*, but **זֶה הָאִישׁ** *this is the man*.
- f 2. Rarer secondary forms, with strengthened demonstrative force, are **הַלֵּזֶה** Gn 24⁶⁵, 37¹⁹; **הַלֵּזֶה** *fem.* Ez 36³⁵; and shortened **הַלֵּזֶה**, sometimes *masc.*, as in Ju 6²⁰, 1 S 17²⁶, 2 K 23¹⁷, Zc 2⁸, Dn 8¹⁶, sometimes *fem.*, 2 K 4²⁵: cf. 1 S 14¹ [and 20¹⁸ LX; see Commentaries and Kittel].
- g 3. The personal pronouns of the 3rd person also often have a demonstrative sense, see § 136.

§ 35. The Article.

J. Barth, 'Der heb. u. der aram. Artikel,' in *Sprachwiss. Untersuch. zum Semit.*, Lpz. 1907, p. 47 ff.

- a 1. The article, which is by nature a kind of demonstrative pronoun, never appears in Hebrew as an independent word, but always in closest connexion with the word which is defined by it. It usually takes the form **הַ**, with *ä* and a strengthening of the next consonant, e.g. **הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ** *the sun*, **הַיָּאֵר** *the river*, **הַלֵּוִיִּם** *the Levites* (according to § 20 m for **הַלֵּוִיִּם**, **הַיָּאֵר**).
- b Rem. With regard to the *Dageš* in **הַ** after the article, the rule is, that it is inserted when a **ה** or **ע** follows the **הַ**, e.g. **הַיְּהוּדִים** *the Jews*, **הַיְּעִיפִים** *the weary* (**בְּיָעִיפִים** La 4³ *Qeré* is an exception), but **הַיָּאֵר**, **הַלֵּוִיִּם**, &c. *Dageš forte* also stands after the article in the prefix **מְ** in certain nouns and in the participles *Pī'al* and *Pu'al* (see § 52 c) before **הַ**, **ע** and **ר**, except when the guttural (or **ר**) has under it a short vowel in a sharpened syllable; thus **הַמְּעָרָה** Ez 22⁵, **הַמְּעָרָה** *the cave*, **בְּמַרְעִים** ψ 37¹ (cf. Jb 38⁴⁰, 1 Ch 4⁴¹); but **הַמְּחִיבִּים** ψ 104³ (Ec 4¹⁵, 2 Ch 23¹²; before **ע** ψ 103⁴); **הַמְּעַשְׂקָה** Is 23¹²; **הַמְּרַגְלִים** Jos 6³². Before letters other than gutturals this **מְ** remains without *Dageš*, according to § 20 m.
- c 2. When the article stands before a guttural, which (according to § 22 b) cannot properly be strengthened, the following cases arise, according to the character of the guttural (cf. § 27 q).
- (1) In the case of the weakest guttural, **א**, and also with **ר** (§ 22 c and q), the strengthening is altogether omitted. Consequently, the *Pathah* of the article (since it stands in an open syllable) is always lengthened to *Qames*; e.g. **הָאָב** *the father*, **הָאֲחֵר** *the other*, **הָאִם** *the mother*, **הָאִישׁ** *the man*, **הָאֹר** *the light*, **הָאֵלֵהִים** *θεός*, **הָרֶגֶל** *the foot*, **הָרָשָׁע** *the wicked*.
- d So also **הַשְּׂפֹת** Neh 3¹⁸, because syncopated from **הַשְּׂפֹתֹת** (cf. verse 14 and Baer on the passage); **הָאֲנָקִים** (as in Nu 11⁴, Ju 9⁴¹, 2 S 23³³, with the **א**

orthographically retained, for הָאֵלָּהִי Jer 40⁴ (cf. הָאֵלָּהִי verse 1); for הָאֵלָּהִי; הָרַמְּיִם 2 Ch 22⁵ for הָאֵלָּהִי (cf. 2 K 8²³).

(2) In the case of the other gutturals either the virtual strengthen-*e* ing takes place (§ 22 c)—especially with the stronger sounds ה and ח, less often with ע—or the strengthening is wholly omitted. In the former case, the *Pathah* of the article remains, because the syllable is still regarded as closed; in the second case, the *Pathah* is either modified to *Seghol* or fully lengthened to *Qames*. That is to say:—

A. When the guttural has any other vowel than \bar{a} (---) or \bar{o} (---), *f* then

(1) before the stronger sounds ה and ח the article regularly remains ה; e.g. הַחַיִּים *that*, הַחֹדֶשׁ *the month*, הַחֵיל *the force*, הַחֲכָמָה *the wisdom*. Before ח, \bar{a} occurs only in חַיִּי Gn 6¹⁹ [not elsewhere], חַיִּיִּם Is 3²², חַיִּיִּם Is 17⁸ [not elsewhere]; before ה, always in חַיִּים, חַיִּים.

(2) before ע the *Pathah* is generally lengthened to *Qames*, e.g. הָעַיִן *g* *the eye*, הָעִיר *the city*, הָעֶבֶר *the servant*, plur. הָעֶבְרִים; 1 K 12³²; also in Gn 10¹⁷ הָעֶרְכִּי is the better reading. Exceptions are קְעוֹפָרֶת Ex 15¹⁰, הָעוֹרִים 2 S 5^{6,8}, Is 42¹⁸, בָּעֶבֶר Is 24², הָעֶרְכִּים Is 65¹¹, בָּעֶשֶׂק Ez 22⁷, הָעוֹרִים Pr 2¹³ and הָעוֹבֶת Pr 2¹⁷, לְעֵינַיִם 1 S 16⁷, Ec 11⁷; but לְעֵיִן Gn 3⁶, Pr 10²⁶. Cf. Baer on Is 42¹⁸.

B. When the guttural has \bar{a} (---) then

(1) immediately before a tone-bearing ה or ע the article is always ה, otherwise it is ה; e.g. הָעָם *the people*, הָהָר *the mountain*, הָעֵין (in pause) *the eye*, הָהָרָה *towards the mountain*; but (according to § 22 c) הָהָרִים *the mountains*, הָעֵוֹן *the iniquity*.

(2) before ה the article is invariably ה without regard to the tone; i e.g. הָחָכָם *the wise man*, הָחֵג *the festival*.

C. When the guttural has --- the article is ה before ה; e.g. הַחֲדָשִׁים *the months*; בְּחֲרָבוֹת *in the waste places* (without the article בְּחָרָב *bôh-râbhôth*) Ez 33²⁷, הַחֲרָבוֹת Ez 36^{35,38}, cf. 2 Ch 27⁴; but ה before ע, as הָעֶבְרִים *the sheaves* Ru 2¹⁵.

The gender and number of the noun have no influence on the form of the article.

Rem. 1. The original form of the Hebrew (and the Phoenician) article ה is generally considered to have been הָ, the ה of which (owing to the proclitic nature of the article) has been invariably assimilated to the following consonant, as in הָחֵג from *hîlqah*, § 19 d. This view was supported by the form of the Arabic article هـ (pronounced *hal* by some modern Beduin), the ه of which is also assimilated at least before all letters like *s* and *t* and before *l*, *n*, and *r*, e.g. 'al-Qur'ân but 'as-sânâ (Beduin *has-sana*) = Hebr. הַשָּׁנָה *the year*.

But Barth (*Amer. Journ. of Sem. Lang.*, 1896, p. 7 ff.), following Hupfeld and Stade, has shown that the Hebrew article is to be connected rather with the original Semitic demonstrative *hā*,¹ cf. Arab. *hāda*, Aram. *hādēn*, &c. The sharpening of the following consonant is to be explained exactly like the sharpening after *י* consecutive (§ 49 f; cf. also cases like *בְּפֹהֶה*, &c., § 102 k), from the close connexion of the *ha* with the following word, and the sharpening necessarily involved the shortening of the vowel.²

22 The Arabic article is supposed to occur in the Old Testament in *אֱלֹהִים* 1 K 10^{11,12} (also *אֱלֹהִים* 2 Ch 27-9-10.11), *sandal-wood* (?), and in *אֱלֹהֵי הַיָּם* *hail, ice* = *גִּבְיֹשׁ* (Arab. *gibs*) Ez 13^{11,13}, 38²², but this explanation can hardly be correct. On the other hand, in the proper name *אֱלֹהֵי הַיָּם* Gn 10²⁶ the first syllable is probably *אל* *God*, as suggested by D. H. Müller (see *Lexicon*, s. v.) and Nöldeke, *Sitzungsber. der Berl. Akad.*, 1882, p. 1186. *אֱלֹהִים* Pr 30³¹, commonly explained as = Arab. *al-qaum*, the militia, is also quite uncertain.

23 2. When the prefixes *בְּ*, *לְ*, *כְּ* (§ 102) come before the article, the *ה* is elided, and its vowel is thrown back to the prefix, in the place of the *š-wā* (§ 19 k, and § 23 k), e. g. *בְּשָׁמַיִם* *in the heaven* for *בְּהַשָּׁמַיִם* (so *ψ* 36⁶); *לְעָם* *for לְהָעָם* *to the people*, *בְּהָרִים* *on the mountains*, *בְּחֳדָשִׁים* *in the months*; also in Is 41², read *בְּעָפָר* instead of the impossible *בְּעָפָר*. Exceptions to this rule occur almost exclusively in the later Books: Ez 40²⁵, 47²², Ec 8¹, Dn 8¹⁶, Neh 9¹⁹, 12³¹, 2 Ch 10⁷, 25¹⁰, 29²⁷; cf., however, 1 S 13²¹, 2 S 21²⁰. Elsewhere, e. g. 2 K 7¹², the Masora requires the elision in the *Qere*. A distinction in meaning is observed between *בְּהִיּוֹם* *about this time* (Gn 39¹¹, 1 S 9¹³, &c.) and *בְּיוֹם* *first of all* (Gn 25³¹, &c.). After the copula *וְ* (and) elision of the *ה* does not take place, e. g. *וְהָעָם*.

3. The words *אֲרֶץ* *earth*, *הָר* *mountain*, *חַג* *feast*, *עָם* *people*, *בָּר* *bull*, always appear after the article with a long vowel (as in *pause*); *הָאֲרֶץ*, *הָהָר*, *הַחַג*, *הָעָם*, *הַבָּר*; cf. also *אֲרוֹן* *ark* (so in the absol. st. in 2 K 12¹⁰, 2 Ch 24⁸, but to be read *אֲרוֹן*), with the article always *הָאֲרוֹן*.

§ 36. The Relative Pronoun.

The relative pronoun (cf. § 138) is usually the indeclinable *אֲשֶׁר* (*who, which, &c.*), originally a demonstrative pronoun; see further §§ 138 and 155. In the later books, especially Eccles. and the late Psalms, also Lam. (4 times), Jon. (1⁷), Chron. (twice), Ezra (once),—and always in the Canticle (cf. also Ju 7¹², 8²⁶, 2 K 6¹¹), *אֲשֶׁר* is used instead; more rarely *שֶׁ* Ju 5⁷, Ct 1⁷ (Jb 19²⁹); once *שֶׁ* before *אֲשֶׁר* Ju 6¹⁷ (elsewhere *שֶׁ* before a guttural), before *ה* even *שֶׁ* Ec 3¹⁸, and according to some (e. g. Qimhi) also in Ec 2²².³ [See *Lexicon*, s. v.]

¹ An original form *han*, proposed by Ungnad, 'Der hebr. Art.', in *OLZ.* x (1907), col. 210 f., and *ZDMG.* 1908, p. 80 ff., is open to grave objections.

² In the Lihyanitic inscriptions collected by Euting (ed. by D. H. Müller in *Epigraphische Denkmäler aus Arabien*, Wien, 1889) the article is *ה*, and also in a North Arabian dialect, according to E. Littmann, *Safa-inschriften*, p. 2, Rem., and p. 34.

³ The full form *אֲשֶׁר* does not occur in Phœnician, but only *שֶׁ* (= *אֲשֶׁר*?), pronounced *asse, esse* (also *as, es, is, ys, us*), or—especially in the later Punic

§ 37. *The Interrogative and Indefinite Pronouns.*

1. The interrogative pronoun is **מִי** *who?* (of persons, even before *a* plurals, Gn 33⁵, Is 60⁸, 2 K 18³⁵, and sometimes also of things Gn 33⁸, Ju 13¹⁷, Mi 1⁸; cf. also **בִּתְּמִי** *whose daughter?* Gn 24²³; **לְמִי** *to whom?* **מִי־נָתַתְּ** *whom?*)—**מָה**, *what?* (of things).—**מִי־זֶה** *which? what?*

The form **מָה**, **מִי**, &c. (followed by *Dageš forte conjunct.*: even in **יִי**, Hb 2¹, &c., *b* against § 20 *m*) may be explained (like the art. **הַ** § 35 *l*, and **יִי** in the *imperf. consec.*) from the rapid utterance of the interrogative in connexion with the following word. Most probably, however, the *Dageš forte* is rather due to the assimilation of an originally audible **הַ** (**מָהַ**, as Olshausen), which goes back through the intermediate forms *math*, *mat* to an original *mant*: so W. Wright, *Comparative Grammar*, Cambridge, 1890, p. 124, partly following Böttcher, *Hebräische Grammatik*, § 261. A ground-form *mant* would most easily explain **מִן** (*what?*), used in Ex 16¹⁸ in explanation of **מָן** *manna*, while **מִן** is the regular Aramaic for *who*. Socin calls attention to the Arabic *mah* (in pause with an audible *h*: *Mufasssal*, 193, 8). Observe further that—

(a) In the closest connexion, by means of *Maqqeph*, **מָה** takes a following *C* *Dageš* (§ 20 *d*), e.g. **מָה־לָּךְ** *what is it to thee?* and even in one word, as **מִלְכֶּם** *what is it to you?* Is 3¹⁵; cf. Ex 4², Mal 1¹³, and even before a guttural, **מָה־הֵם** Ez 8⁶ *Kethibh*.

(b) Before gutturals in close connexion, by means of *Maqqeph* or (e.g. Ju 14¹⁸, *d* 1 S 20¹) a conjunctive accent, either **מָה** is used with a virtual strengthening of the guttural (§ 22 *c*), so especially before **הַ**, and, in Gn 31²⁶, Jb 21²¹, before **הַ**—or the doubling is wholly omitted. In the latter case either (cf. § 35 *e-k*) *ā* is fully lengthened to *Qames* (so always before the **הַ** of the article, except in Ec 2¹²; also before **הֵמָּה**, **הֵנָּה**, and Hb 2¹⁸ before **עַ**, Gn 31²², 2 K 8¹³ before **נָ** and **רַ**) or modified to *Sghöl*, especially before **עַ**, **הַ**, and generally before **הַ**. The omission of the strengthening also takes place as a rule with **הַ**, **הַ**, **עַ**, when they have not *Qames*, and then the form is either **מָה** or **מַה**, the latter especially before **הַ** or **עַ**, if *Maqqeph* follows.

The longer forms **מָה** and **מַה** are also used (**מָה** even before letters which are not gutturals) when not connected by *Maqqeph* but only by a *conjunctive accent*. As a rule **מָה** is then used, but sometimes **מַה** when at a greater distance from the principal tone of the sentence, Is 1⁵, **ψ** 4³. (On **מָה** in the combinations **בְּמָה**, **בְּמָה**, and even **לְמָה**, 1 S 1⁸, cf. § 102 *k* and *l*.)

(c) In the principal pause **מָה** is used without exception; also as a rule with the smaller *disjunctives*, and almost always before gutturals (**מָה** only in very few cases). On the other hand, **מַה** more often stands before letters which are not gutturals, when at a greater distance from the principal tone of the sentence, e.g. 1 S 4⁶, 15¹⁴, 2 K 1⁷, Hag 1⁹ (see Köhler on the passage), **ψ** 10¹³, Jb 7²¹; cf., however, Pr 31², and Delitzsch on the passage.

2. On **מִי** and **מָה** as indefinite pronouns in the sense of *quicumque*, *g quodcumque*, and as relatives, *is qui*, *id quod*, &c., see § 137 *c*.

and in the *Poenulus* of Plautus—**שׁ** (*sa, si, sy, su*). Also in New Hebrew **שׁ** has become the common form. Cf. Schröder, *Phön. Sprache*, p. 162 ff. and below, § 155; also Bergsträsser, 'Das hebr. Präfix **שׁ**,' in *ZAW.* 1909, p. 40 ff.

CHAPTER II

THE VERB

§ 38. General View.

a Verbal stems are either original or derived. They are usually divided into—

- (a) Verbal stems proper (*primitive verbs*), which exhibit the stem without any addition, e.g. מָלַךְ *he has reigned*.
- b* (b) *Verbal derivatives*, i.e. *secondary* verbal stems, derived from the pure stem (letter *a*), e.g. קָדַשׁ *to sanctify*, הִתְקַדַּשׁ *to sanctify oneself*, from קָדַשׁ *to be holy*. These are usually called *conjugations* (§ 39).
- c* (c) *Denominatives*,¹ i.e. verbs derived from nouns (like the Latin *causari*, *praedari*, and Eng. *to skin*, *to stone*), or even from particles (see *d*, end) either in a primitive or derivative form, e.g. אָהַל, *Qal* and *Pi'el*, *to pitch a tent*, from אֹהֶל *tent*; הִשְׁרִישׁ and שָׁרַשׁ *to take root*, and שָׁרַשׁ *to root out*, from שָׁרֵשׁ *root* (§ 52 *h*).

d This does not exclude the possibility that, for nouns, from which denominative verbs are derived, the corresponding (original) verbal stem may still be found either in Hebrew or in the dialects. The meaning, however, is sufficient to show that the denominatives have come from the noun, not from the verbal stem, e.g. לָבַן *a brick* (verbal stem לָבַן *to be white*), denomin. לָבַן *to make bricks*; דָּג *a fish* (verbal stem דָּגָה *to be prolific*), denomin. דָּג *to fish*; חָרַף *to winter* (from חֹרֵף *autumn, winter*, stem חָרַף *to pluck*); קָיַן *to pass the summer* (from קַיִץ *summer*, stem קָיַן *to be hot*).

On 'Semitic verbs derived from particles' see P. Haupt in the *Amer. Journ. of Sem. Lang.*, xxii (1906), 257 ff.

§ 39. Ground-form and Derived Stems.

Brockelmann, *Sem. Sprachwiss.*, p. 119 ff.; *Grundriss*, p. 504 ff.

- a* 1. The 3rd sing. masc. of the *Perfect* in the form of the pure stem (i.e. in *Qal*, see *c*) is generally regarded, lexicographically and grammatically, as the ground-form of the verb (§ 30 *a*), e.g. קָטַל *he has killed*, כָּבֵד *he was heavy*, קָטַן *he was little*.² From this form the other

¹ Cf. W. J. Gerber, *Die hebr. Verba denom.*, insbes. in *theol. Sprachgebr. des A. T.*, Lpz. 1896.

² For the sake of brevity, however, the meaning in Hebrew-English Lexicons is usually given in the Infinitive, e.g. לָמַד *to learn*, properly *he has learnt*.

persons of the *Perfect* are derived, and the *Participle* also is connected with it. קָטַל or קָטַל, like the Imperative and Infinitive construct in sound, may also be regarded as an alternative ground-form, with which the Imperfect (see § 47) is connected.

In verbs יָצַח (i.e. with י for their second radical) the stem-form, given both *b* in *Lexicon* and *Grammar*, is not the 3rd sing. masc. Perfect (consisting of two consonants), but the form with medial י, which appears in the Imperative and Infinitive; e. g. שָׁיב to return (3rd pers. perf. שָׁב): the same is the case in most stems with medial י, e. g. דָּן to judge.

2. From the pure stem, or *Qal*, the derivative stems are formed *c* according to an unvarying analogy, in which the idea of the stem assumes the most varied shades of meaning, according to the changes in its form (intensive, frequentative, privative, causative, reflexive, reciprocal; some of them with corresponding passive forms), e. g. לָמַד to learn, לָמַד to teach; שָׁכַב to lie, הִשְׁכִּיב to lay; שָׁפַט to judge, נִשְׁפָּט to contend. In other languages such formations are regarded as new or derivative verbs, e. g. Germ. *fallen* (to fall), *fällen* (to fell); *trinken* (to drink), *tränken* (to drench); Lat. *lactere* (to suck, Germ. *saugen*), *lactare* (to suckle, Germ. *säugen*); *iacere* (to throw), *iacere* (to lie down); γίνομαι, γεννάω. In Hebrew, however, these formations are incomparably more regular and systematic than (e. g.) in Greek, Latin, or English; and, since the time of Reuchlin, they have usually been called *conjugations* of the primitive form (among the Jewish grammarians מְבִנֵּי, i. e. *formations*, or more correctly *species*), and are always treated together in the grammar and lexicon.¹

3. The changes in the primitive form consist either in internal *d* modification by means of vowel-change and strengthening of the middle consonant (קָטַל, קָטַל; קִטַּל, קִטַּל; cf. to lie, to lay; to fall, to fell), or in the repetition of one or two of the stem-consonants (קָטַל, קָטַל), or finally in the introduction of formative additions (קָטַל), which may also be accompanied by internal change (הִקְטִיל, הִקְטִיל). Cf. § 31 b.

In Aramaic the formation of the conjugations is effected more by formative additions than by vowel-change. The vocalic distinctions have mostly become obsolete, so that, e. g. the reflexives with the prefix הָתִי, הָתִי, הָתִי have entirely usurped the place of the passives. On the other hand, Arabic has preserved great wealth in both methods of formation, while Hebrew in this, as in other respects, holds the middle place (§ 1 m).

4. Grammarians differ as to the *number* and *arrangement* of these *c* conjugations. The common practice, however, of calling them by the

¹ The term *Conjugation* thus has an entirely different meaning in Hebrew and Greek or Latin grammar.

old grammatical terms, prevents any misunderstanding. The simple form is called *Qal* (קָל *light*, because it has no formative additions); the others (קָבֵרִים *heavy*, being weighted, as it were, with the strengthening of consonants or with formative additions) take their names from the paradigm of פָּעַל *he has done*,¹ which was used in the earliest Jewish grammatical works. Several of these have passives which are distinguished from their actives by more obscure vowels. The common conjugations (including *Qal* and the passives) are the seven following, but very few verbs exhibit them all:

	Active.	Passive.
f 1. <i>Qal</i>	קָטַל <i>to kill</i> .	(Cf. § 52 e.)
2. <i>Niph'al</i>	נִקְטַל <i>to kill oneself</i> (rarely passive).	
3. <i>Pi'el</i>	קָטַל <i>to kill many, to massacre</i> .	4. <i>Pu'al</i> קָטַל.
5. <i>Hiph'il</i>	הִקְטִיל <i>to cause to kill</i> .	6. <i>Hoph'al</i> הִקְטַל.
7. <i>Hithpa'el</i>	הִתְקַטַּל <i>to kill oneself</i> . [Very rare, <i>Hothpa'al</i> הִתְקַטַּל.]	

g There are besides several less frequent conjugations, some of which, however, are more common in the kindred languages, and even in Hebrew (in the weak verb) regularly take the place of the usual conjugations (§ 55).

In Arabic there is a greater variety of conjugations, and their arrangement is more appropriate. According to the Arabic method, the Hebrew conjugations would stand thus: 1. *Qal*; 2. *Pi'el* and *Pu'al*; 3. *Pō'el* and *Pō'al* (see § 55 b); 4. *Hiph'il* and *Hoph'al*; 5. *Hithpa'el* and *Hothpa'al*; 6. *Hithpō'el* (see § 55 b); 7. *Niph'al*; 8. *Hithpa'el* (see § 54 b); 9. *Pi'el* (see § 55 d). A more satisfactory division would be into three classes: (1) The intensive *Pi'el* with the derived and analogous forms *Pu'al* and *Hithpa'el*. (2) The causative *Hiph'il* with its passive *Hoph'al*, and the analogous forms (*Šaph'el* and *Tiph'el*). (3) The reflexive or passive *Niph'al*.

¹ This paradigm was borrowed from the Arabic grammarians, and, according to Bacher, probably first adopted throughout by Abulwalid. It was, however, unsuitable on account of the guttural, and was, therefore, usually exchanged in later times for פָּקַד, after the example of Moses Qimhi. This verb has the advantage, that all its conjugations are actually found in the Old Testament. On the other hand, it has the disadvantage of indistinctness in the pronunciation of some of its forms, e. g. פָּקַדְהֶם, פָּקַדְתָּ. The paradigm of קָטַל, commonly used since the time of Danz, avoids this defect, and is especially adapted for the comparative treatment of the Semitic dialects, inasmuch as it is found with slight change (Arab. and Ethiop. קָטַל) in all of them. It is true that in Hebrew it occurs only three times in *Qal*, and even then only in poetic style (ψ 139¹⁹, Jb 13¹⁵, 24¹⁴); yet it is worth retaining as a model which has been sanctioned by usage. More serious is the defect, that a number of forms of the paradigm of קָטַל leave the beginner in doubt as to whether or not there should be a *Dages* in the *Bēgadhēphath* letters, and consequently as to the correct division of the syllables.

§ 40. Tenses. Moods. Flexion.

A. Ungnad, 'Die gegenseitigen Beziehungen der Verbalformen im Grundstamm des semit. Verbs,' in *ZDMG.* 59 (1905), 766 ff., and his 'Zum hebr. Verbalssystem', in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie* ed. by Fr. Delitzsch and P. Haupt, 1907, p. 55 ff.

1. While the Hebrew verb, owing to these derivative forms or *a* conjugations, possesses a certain richness and copiousness, it is, on the other hand, poor in the matter of *tenses* and *moods*. The verb has only two *tense*-forms (*Perfect* and *Imperfect*, see the note on § 47 a), besides an *Imperative* (but only in the active), two *Infinitives* and a *Participle*. All relations of time, absolute and relative, are expressed either by these forms (hence a certain diversity in their meaning, § 106 ff.) or by syntactical combinations. Of moods properly so called (besides the *Imperfect Indicative* and *Imperative*), only the *Jussive* and *Optative* are sometimes indicated by express modifications of the Imperfect-form (§ 48).

2. The *inflexion* of the *Perfect*, *Imperfect*, and *Imperative* as to *b* persons, differs from that of the Western languages in having, to a great extent, distinct forms for the two genders, which correspond to the different forms of the *personal pronoun*. It is from the union of the pronoun with the verbal stem that the *personal inflexions* of these *tenses* arise.

The following table will serve for the beginner as a provisional *c* scheme of the formative syllables (*affirmatives* and *preformatives*) of the two *tenses*. The three stem-consonants of the strong verb are denoted by dots. Cf. § 44 ff. and the Paradigms.

PERFECT.

Singular.				Plural.			
3. m.	.	.	.	3. c.	יָ	.	.
3. f.	פָּ	.	.				
2. m.	פָּ	.	.	2. m.	פָּ	.	.
2. f.	פָּ	.	.	2. f.	פָּ	.	.
1. c.	פָּ	.	.	1. c.	נָ	.	.

IMPERFECT.

Singular.				Plural.			
3. m.	.	.	יָ	3. m.	יָ	.	.
3. f.	.	.	פָּ	3. f.	פָּ	.	פָּ
2. m.	.	.	פָּ	2. m.	יָ	.	פָּ
2. f.	יָ	.	פָּ	2. f.	פָּ	.	פָּ
1. c.	.	.	נָ	1. c.	.	.	נָ

§ 41. *Variations from the Ordinary Form of the Strong Verb.*

- a* The same laws which are normally exhibited in stems with strong (unchangeable) consonants, hold good for all other verbs. Deviations from the model of the strong verb are only modifications due to the special character or weakness of certain consonants, viz. :—
- (*a*) When one of the stem-consonants (or *radicals*) is a guttural. In this case, however, the variations only occur in the vocalization (according to § 22), not in the consonants. The *guttural verbs* (§§ 62-65) are, therefore, only a variety of the *strong verb*.
- b* (*b*) When a stem-consonant (*radical*) disappears by assimilation (§ 19 b-f), or when the stem originally consisted of only two consonants (*verbs* י"ב, ע"ע, and י"ע, as שׁוּב, לֵב, קֵץ, §§ 66, 67, 72).
- c* (*c*) When one of the stem-consonants (*radicals*) is a weak letter. In this case, through aphaeresis, elision, &c., of the weak consonant, various important deviations from the regular form occur. Cf. § 68 ff. for these verbs, such as יָשַׁב, מָצַח, הָלַךְ.
- d* Taking the old paradigm לָעַב as a model, it is usual, following the example of the Jewish grammarians, to call the first radical of any stem ע, the second י, and the third ל. Hence the expressions, *verb* נ"ע for a verb whose first radical is נ (*primae radicalis* [sc. *litterae*] נ); י"ע for *mediae radicalis* י; ע"ע for a verb whose second radical is repeated to form a third.

I. The Strong Verb.

§ 42.

As the formation of the strong verb is the model also for the weak verb, a statement of the general formative laws should precede the treatment of special cases.

Paradigm B, together with the Table of the personal preformatives and affirmatives given in § 40 c, offers a complete survey of the normal forms. A full explanation of them is given in the following sections (§§ 43-55), where each point is elucidated on its first occurrence; thus e. g. the inflexion of the Perfect, the Imperfect and its modifications, will be found under Qal, &c.

A. THE PURE STEM, OR QAL.

§ 43. *Its Form and Meaning.*

- a* The common form of the 3rd sing. masc. of the *Perfect Qal* is שָׁלַח, with *ā* (*Pathah*) in the second syllable, especially in *transitive verbs* (but see § 44 c). There is also a form with *ē* (*Šere*, originally *ī*), and another with *ō* (*Holem*, originally *ū*) in the second syllable, both of which, however, have almost always an *intransitive*¹ meaning,

¹ But cf. such instances as Jer 48⁵. In Arabic also, transitive verbs are found with middle *ī*, corresponding to Hebrew verbs with *ē* in the second

and serve to express states and qualities, e.g. קָבֵר *to be heavy*, קָטַן *to be small*.

In Paradigm B a verb *middle a*, a verb *middle ē*, and a verb *middle ō* are accordingly given side by side. The second example קָבֵר is chosen as showing, at the same time, when the *Dageš leno* is to be inserted or omitted.

Rem. 1. The vowel of the second syllable is the principal vowel, and hence *b* on it depends the distinction between the transitive and intransitive meaning. The *Qameš* of the first syllable is lengthened from an original *ā* (cf. Arabic *qātālū*), but it can be retained in Hebrew only immediately before the tone, or at the most (with an open ultima) in the counter-tone with *Metheg*; otherwise, like all the pretonic vowels (*ā, ē*), it becomes *Šewā*, e. g. קָטַלְתָּם 2nd plur. masc. In the Aramaic dialects the vowel of the first syllable is always reduced to *Šewā*, as קָטַל = Hebr. קָטַל. The intransitive forms in Arabic are *qātillā, qātillū*; in Hebrew (after the rejection of the final vowel) *ī* being in the tone-syllable has been regularly lengthened to *ē*, and *ū* to *ō*.

2. Examples of *denominatives* in Qal are: חָסַר *to cover with pitch*, from חָסֶר *C pitch*; מָלַח *to salt*, from מֶלַח *salt*; שָׁכַר (usually *Hiph.*) *to buy or sell corn*, from שָׁכָר *corn*; see above, § 38 c.

§ 44. Flexion of the Perfect of Qal.¹

1. The formation of the persons of the Perfect is effected by the *a* addition of certain forms of the personal pronoun, and marks of the 3rd fem. sing. and 3rd pl. (as *affirmatives*) to the *end* of the verbal-stem, which contains the idea of a predicate, and may be regarded, in meaning if not in form, as a *Participle* or *verbal adjective*. For the 3rd pers. sing. masc. *Perfect*, the pronominal or subject idea inherent in the finite verb is sufficient: thus, קָטַל *he has killed*, קָטַלְתָּ *thou hast killed* (as it were, *killing thou*, or *a killer thou*), *a killer wast thou* = קָטַל אָתָּה; יָרָא *he was fearing*, יָרְאוּ *ye were fearing* = יָרָא אֲתָם. The ending of the 1st pers. plur. (נִי—) is also certainly connected with the termination of אֲנִי, אֲנִי *we* (§ 32 b, d). The affirmative of the 1st pers. sing. (נִי) is to be referred, by an interchange of כ and ת (cf. § 33 f), to that form of the pronoun which also underlies אֲנִי, I.² In the *third* person הִיא (originally הִיא—, cf. below, f) is the mark of the feminine, as in a great number of nouns (§ 80 c), and י is the termination of the plural; cf., for the latter, the termination of the 3rd and 2nd pers. plur. Imperf. *ūna* in Arabic and *ū* (often also *ī*)

syllable. Hence P. Haupt (*Proc. Amer. Or. Soc.*, 1894, p. ci f.) prefers to distinguish them as *verba voluntaria* (actions which depend on the will of the subject) and *involuntaria* (actions or states independent of the will of the subject).

¹ Cf. Nöldeke, 'Die Endungen des Perfects' (*Untersuchungen zur semit. Gramm.* ii.), in *ZDMG.* vol. 38, p. 407 ff., and more fully in *Beiträge zur sem. Sprachwiss.*, Strassb. 1904, p. 15 ff.

² According to Nöldeke, i.e., p. 419, the original Semitic termination of the 1st sing. Perf. was most probably *kū*; cf. the Ethiopic *qatalku*, Arabic *qatalu*.

in Hebrew, also *āna* (in the construct state *ā*) as the plural termination of masc. nouns in literary Arabic.

- b* 2. The characteristic *Pathah* of the second syllable becomes *Ṣewa* before an affirmative beginning with a vowel, where it would otherwise stand in an open syllable (as קָטְלוּ, קָטְלוּ; but in *pause* קָטְלוּ, קָטְלוּ). Before an affirmative beginning with a consonant the *Pathah* remains, whether in the tone-syllable (קָטְלוּ, קָטְלוּ; in *pause* קָטְלוּ &c.) or before it. In the latter case, however, the *Qames* of the first syllable, being no longer a pretonic vowel, becomes vocal *Ṣewa*; as קָטְלוּ, קָטְלוּ; cf. § 27 *i* and § 43 *b*. On the retention of *ā* with *Meheg* of the counter-tone in the *Perf. consecutive*, cf. § 49 *i*.

- c* Rem. 1. Verbs *middle ā* in Hebrew (as in Ethiopic, but not in Arabic or Aramaic) generally change the *E*-sound in their inflexion into *Pathah* (frequently so even in the 3rd sing. masc. *Perf.*). This tendency to assimilate to the more common verbs *middle a* may also be explained from the laws of vocalization of the tone-bearing closed penultima, which does not readily admit of *Ṣere*, and never of *Ḥireq*, of which the *Ṣere* is a lengthening (cf. § 26 *p*). On the other hand, *Ṣere* is retained in an open syllable; regularly so in the weak stems נָחַל (§ 74 *g*), before suffixes (§ 59 *i*), and in the pausal forms of the strong stem in an open tone-syllable, e.g. יִצְחָקָהּ *it cleaveth*, Jb 29¹⁰ (not יִצְחָקָהּ), cf. 2 S 1²³, Jb 41¹⁵; even (contrary to § 29 *g*) in a closed pausal syllable, e.g. נָשָׁן, Dt 33¹² (out of *pause* נָשָׁן, Is 32¹⁶); but נָשָׁן Is 33⁹, &c., according to § 29 *q*.

- d* 2. In some weak stems *middle a*, the *Pathah* under the second radical sometimes, in a closed toneless syllable, becomes *—*, and, in one example, *—*. Thus from יִרְשָׁתָהּ *and thou shalt possess it*, Dt 17¹⁴; יִרְשָׁתָהּ Dt 19¹; יִרְשָׁתָהּ Dt 4¹, and frequently; from יִלְךְ *to bring forth, to beget*; יִלְךְ *ψ* 27 (cf. Nu 11¹², Jer 2²⁷, 15¹⁰); from פָּדָתָם Mal 3²⁰; from שָׁאַל *I have asked him*, 1 S 1²⁰ (Ju 13⁶), and three times שָׁאַלָם 1 S 12¹³, 25⁵, Jb 21²⁰. Qimhi already suggests the explanation, that the *ī* (*ē*) of these forms of שָׁאַל and יִרְשָׁ is the original vowel, since along with שָׁאַל and יִרְשָׁ are also found שָׁאַל and יִרְשָׁ (see the Lexicon). The possibility of this explanation cannot be denied (especially in the case of יִרְשָׁ, see § 69 *s*); the *ī* in these forms might, however, equally well have arisen from an attenuation of *ā* (§ 27 *s*), such as must in any case be assumed in the other instances. Moreover, it is worthy of notice that in all the above cases the *ī* is favoured by the character of the following consonant (a sibilant or dental), and in most of them also by the tendency towards assimilation of the vowels (cf. § 54 *k* and § 64 *f*).

- e* 3. In verbs *middle ō*, the *Holem* is retained in the tone-syllable, e.g. יִרְדָּהּ *thou didst tremble*; יִרְדָּהּ in *pause* for יִרְדָּהּ *they were able*; but in a toneless closed syllable the original short vowel appears in the form of a *Qames hatuph*; יִרְדָּהּ *I have prevailed against him*, *ψ* 13⁵; יִרְדָּהּ (see § 49 *k*) *then shalt thou be able*, Ex 18²³; in a toneless open syllable it becomes vocal *Ṣewa*, e.g. יִרְדָּהּ.

- f* 4. Rarer forms¹ are: *Sing. 3rd fem.* in חָלָה (as in Arabic, Ethiopic, and

¹ Many of these forms, which are uncommon in Hebrew, are usual in the

Aramaic), e.g. אִנְיָ it is gone, Dt 32³⁶; וְנִשְׁבַּחְתָּ Is 23¹⁵ (in the Aramaic form, for וְנִשְׁבַּחְתָּ); from a verb עָשָׂה, cf. § 72 o. This original feminine ending -*ath* is regularly retained before suffixes, see § 59 a; and similarly in stems הָלַךְ, either in the form *ath* (which is frequent also in stems אָלַץ § 74 g), or with the *Pathah* weakened to vocal *Šewā* before the pleonastic ending הָ, e.g. הָלַכְתָּ § 75 i. In Ez 31⁵ the Aramaic form הָלַכְתָּ occurs instead of הָלַכְתָּ.

2nd masc. הָ for תָ (differing only orthographically), e.g. הָלַכְתָּ thou hast dealt treacherously, Mal 2¹⁴; cf. 1 S 15⁸, Gn 3¹² (הָלַכְתָּ which is twice as common as הָלַכְתָּ, cf. § 66 h); Gn 21²³, 2 S 2²⁶, 2 K 9⁸, Is 2⁶, § 56⁹ (so also in *Hiph'il*; 2 K 9⁷, Is 37²³, § 60⁴).

2nd fem. has sometimes a Yodh at the end, as in הָלַכְתְּי thou wentest, Jer 31²¹; *h* cf. 2³³, 3^{4,5}, 4¹⁰ (but read the ptep. שָׁמַעְתְּ, with the LXX, instead of the 2nd fem.), 46¹¹, and so commonly in Jeremiah, and Ez (16¹⁸, &c.); see also Mi 4¹², Ru 3^{3,4}. הָלַכְתְּי, &c., is really intended, for the vowel signs in the text belong to the marginal reading הָלַכְתְּ (without י) ¹ as in the corresponding pronoun אֲנִי (אֲנִי) § 32 h. The ordinary form has rejected the final *i*, but it regularly reappears when pronominal suffixes are added (§ 59 a, c).

1st pers. comm. sometimes without Yodh, as יָרַעַת § 140¹³, Jb 42², 1 K 8⁴⁸, *i* Ez 16⁵⁰ (all in *K^ethibh*), § 16³, without a *Q^erē*; in 2 K 18²⁰ also אֶרְרָת is really intended, as appears from Is 36⁹. The *Q^erē* requires the ordinary form, to which the vowels of the text properly belong, whilst the *K^ethibh* is probably to be regarded as the remains of an earlier orthography, which omitted vowel-letters even at the end of the word.

הָ as the termination of the 2nd plur. m. for הָ Ez 33²⁶, might just possibly *h* be due to the following הָ (cf., for an analogous case, Mi 3¹², § 87 e), but is probably a copyist's error. Plur. 2nd fem. in הָ- (according to others הָ-) Am 4³, but the reading is very doubtful; since הָ follows, it is perhaps merely due to dittography; cf., however, אֶרְרָת § 32 i.

3rd plur. comm. has three times the very strange termination הָ Dt 33¹⁶ (both before *N*, and hence, no doubt, if the text is correct, to avoid a hiatus), and in the still more doubtful form עָקַב Is 26¹⁸; on הָ in the Imperf. see § 47 m; on the affixed *N* in Jos 10²⁴, Is 28¹², see § 23 i.

It is very doubtful whether, as in most Semitic languages (see § 47 c, note), *m* the 3rd fem. plur. in Hebrew was originally distinguished from the 3rd masc.

other Semitic dialects, and may, therefore, be called Aramaisms (Syriasms) or Arabisms. They must not, however, be regarded as cases of borrowing, but as a return to original forms.

¹ Where the Masora apparently regards the הָ as the termination of the 2nd sing. fem., e.g. in Jer 2²⁰ (twice), Mi 4¹³, it has rather taken the form as 1st pers. sing. (cf. Stade, *Gramm.*, p. 253); so in Ju 5⁷, where הָ, on account of verse 12, must either have originally been intended as 2nd sing. fem., or is due to an erroneous pronunciation of the form הָ as קָמָת instead of 3rd sing. fem. קָמָת (as LXX).

² That these examples can hardly be referred to a primitive Semitic ending *ūn* in the 3rd plur. Perf., has been shown by Noldeke in *ZDMG*. vol. 38, p. 409 ff.; cf. also *ZDMG*. vol. 32, p. 757 f., where G. Hoffmann proves that the terminations in *Nūn* of the 3rd plur. in Aramaic, formerly adduced by us, are secondary forms. [See also Driver, *Heb. Tenses*³, p. 6 note.]

plur. by the termination הָ , as in Biblical Aramaic. Nöldeke (ZDMG. 38 [1884], p. 411) referred doubtfully to the textual readings in Dt 21⁷, Jos 15⁴, 18^{12,14,19}, Jer 2¹⁵, 22⁶, where the Masora uniformly inserts the termination הָ , and to Gn 48¹⁰ in the Samaritan Pentateuch, Gn 49²², 1 S 4¹⁵, ψ 18³⁵, Neh 13¹⁰. In his *Beiträge zur sem. Sprachwiss.*, p. 19, however, he observes that the construction of a fem. plural with the 3rd sing. fem. is not unexampled, and also that הָ is often found as a mistake for הִי . On the other hand Mayer Lambert (*Une série de Qerê ketib*, Paris, 1891, p. 6 ff.) explains all these K^ethibh, as well as ψ 73², Jer 50⁶ (?), and (against Nöldeke) 1 K 22⁴⁹ (where הָ is undoubtedly the article belonging to the next word), Jb 16¹⁶ (where the masc. פָּנָי requires the marginal reading), also Jer 48⁴¹, 51⁵⁶, Ez 26², ψ 68¹⁴, as remains of the 3rd fem. plur. in הָ . The form was abandoned as being indistinguishable from the (later) form of the 3rd fem. sing., but tended to be retained in the perfect of verbs הָ , as הָ K^ethibh six times in the above examples.

- n 5. The affirmatives הָ , (הִי), הִי , הִי , הִי are generally toneless, and the forms with these inflexions are consequently *Miṣal* (מִצָּל , &c.); with all the other affirmatives they are *Miṣra'* (§ 15 c). The place of the tone may, however, be shifted: (a) by the *pause* (§ 29 i-v), whenever a vowel which has become vocal Šwā under the second stem-consonant is restored by the *pause*; as קָטְלָה for קָטְלָה (קָטְלָה for קָטְלָה), and קָטְלָה for קָטְלָה (קָטְלָה for קָטְלָה); (b) in certain cases after *wāw* consecutive of the Perfect (see § 49 h).

- o 6. Contraction of a final ת with the ת of the affirmative occurs e.g. in בָּרָחִי Hag 2⁵, &c.; cf. Is 14²⁰, &c., in the Perf. Po'el; Dt 4²⁵ in the Hiph'il of שָׁחַת ; Is 21², &c., in the Hiph'il of שָׁחַת . Contraction of a final נ with the affirmative נִי occurs in נָתַנִּי Gn 34¹⁶; in Niph. Ezr 9⁷, cf. 2 Ch 14¹⁰; in Hiph. 2 Ch 29¹⁹; with the affirmative נָה in the Imperfect Qal Ez 17²³; P'el ψ 71²³, where with Baer and Ginsburg הָרַגְנָה is to be read, according to others הָרַגְנָה (cf. in *Polel* הָרַגְנָה Ez 32¹⁶), but certainly not הָרַגְנָה with the Mantua ed., Opius and Hahn; with נָה in the Imperat. Hiph. Gn 4²³, Is 32⁹.

§ 45. The Infinitive.

F. Prätorius, 'Ueber den sog. Inf. absol. des Hebr.,' in ZDMG. 1902, p. 546 ff.

- a 1. The Infinitive is represented in Hebrew by two forms, a shorter and a longer; both are, however, strictly speaking, independent nouns (*verbal substantives*). The shorter form, the *Infinitive construct* (in Qal קָטַל , sometimes incorrectly קָטַל), is used in very various ways, sometimes in connexion with pronominal suffixes, or governing a substantive in the genitive, or with an accusative of the object (§ 115), sometimes in connexion with prepositions (לְקָטַל to kill, § 114 f), and sometimes in dependence upon substantives as genitive, or upon verbs as accusative of the object. On the other hand, the use of the longer form, the *Infinitive absolute* (in Qal קָטַל , sometimes also קָטַל , obscured from original *qātāl*), is restricted to those cases in which it emphasizes

¹ Cf. the analogous forms of the noun, § 93 t.

the abstract verbal idea, without regard to the subject or object of the action. It stands most frequently as an adverbial accusative with a finite verb of the same stem (§ 113 h-s).¹

The flexibility and versatility of the Infin. constr. and the rigidity *b* and inflexibility of the Infin. absol. are reflected in their vocalization. The latter has unchangeable vowels, while the *o* of the Infin. constr. may be lost. For קטל, according to § 84^a, *e*, goes back to the ground-form *qūtāl*.

Other forms of the Infin. constr. Qal of the strong verb are—

(a) קטל, e.g. שָׁכַב to lie, Gn 34⁷; שָׁפַל to sink, Ec 12⁴; especially with verbs which have *ā* in the second syllable of the Imperf.: hence sometimes also with those, whose second or third radical is a guttural (frequently besides the ordinary form). All the examples (except שָׁכַב, see above) occur in the closest connexion with the following word, or with suffixes (see § 61 c). In Ez 21³³ the Masora seems to treat לְטַבֵּה (verse 20, in pause לְטַבֵּה) as an Infinitive = לְטַבֵּה; probably לְטַבֵּה should be read.

(b) קטלה and, attenuated from it, קטלה; קטלה and קטלה (which are *d* feminine forms² of קטל and קטל, mostly from intransitive verbs, and sometimes found along with forms having no feminine ending in use), e.g. לְאַשְׁמָה to be guilty, Lv 5²⁶; לְאַהֲבָה to love, שְׂנֵאָה to hate; לְיִרְאָה, often in Dt., to fear; וְזָקְנָה to be old; קָרָאָה to meet (in לְקִרְאָה § 19 k); לְרַבֵּעַה to lie down, Lv 20¹⁶; לְמַשְׁחָה to anoint, Ex 29²⁹; לְרַחֲצָה to wash, Ex 30¹⁸, &c.; לְטַמְּאָה (also a subst. = uncleanness, like טַמְּאָה) to be unclean, Lv 15³²; לְקָרְבָה to approach, Ex 36², &c.; cf. Lv 12⁴⁻⁵, Dt 11²², Is 30¹², Ez 21¹⁶, Hag 1⁶; also לְרַחֲקָה to be far off, Ez 8⁶; חֲמַלָה to pity, Ez 16⁵; cf. Ho 7⁴. On the other hand in חֲמַלָה Gn 19¹⁸, the original *ā* has been modified to *ē*; cf. חֲזָקָה Is 8¹¹, &c.

(c) In the Aramaic manner (קטל but cf. also Arab. *magtal*) there occur as *c* Infin. Qal: מְשַׁלֵּחַ to send, Est 9¹⁹; מְקַרָּא to call and מְפַע to depart, Nu 10² (Dt 10¹¹); מְסַח to take, 2 Ch 19⁷, &c.; מְשָׂא to carry, Nu 4²⁴, &c. (cf. even מְשַׁאֲאוֹת Ez 17⁹); also with a feminine ending מְעִלָּה to go up, Ezr 7⁹, &c.; cf. for these forms (almost all very late) Ryssel, *De Elohistae Pentateuchici sermone*, p. 50, and Strack on Nu 4²⁴.

(d) קטלת in יִבְשֶׁת Gn 8⁷; יִבְלֶת Nu 14¹⁶; probably also חֲרָשֶׁת Ex 31⁵, 35³³.

2. A kind of *Gerund* is formed by the Infin. constr. with the prepo- *f*
sition ל; as לְקַטֵּל *ad interficiendum*, לְנַפֵּל *ad cadendum* (see § 28 a).

¹ The terms *absolute* and *construct* are of course not to be understood as implying that the Infin. constr. קטל forms the *construct state* (see § 89) of the Infin. absol. (קטול ground-form *qūtāl*). In the Paradigms the *Inf. constr.*, as the principal form, is placed before the other, under the name of Infinitive simply.

² According to the remark of Elias Levita on Qimhi's *Mikhlol*, ed. Rittenb., 14 a, these feminine forms occur almost exclusively in connexion with the preposition ל.

g The blending of the ל with the *Infin. constr.* into a single grammatical form seems to be indicated by the firmly closed syllable, cf. לִשְׁבֹּב Gn 34⁷; לִנְפֹל ψ 118¹³, with *Dageš lene* in the פ = *lin-pōl*; hence, also לִקְפֹּל, &c.; but לִנְפֹּל *bin'pōl*, Jb 4¹²; לִנְפֹּל 2 S 3³⁴. Exceptions לִצְבֹּא Nu 4²³, §24; לִנְתֹשׁ וְלִנְתֹשׁ Jer 1¹⁰, 18⁷, 31²⁸; לִשְׂדֹר Jer 47⁴; לִטְבוֹחַ Jer 11¹⁹, &c., ψ 37¹⁴; לִבְרוֹךְ 2 Ch 34¹⁰; according to some also לִקְבֹּב Nu 21⁴ and לִכְבֹּשׁ 2 Ch 28¹⁰ (Baer לִכְבֹּשׁ); on the other hand בִּשְׁבֹּב Gn 35²²; בִּנְבֹר Jer 17². For the meaningless לִדְרִיֹּשׁ Ezr 10¹⁶ read לִדְרֹשׁ.

§ 46. The Imperative.

a 1. The ground-forms of the Imperative, קְטַל (properly *qəṭāl*, which is for an original *qūṭāl*), and קְטַל (see below, c), the same in pronunciation as the forms of the *Infin. constr.* (§ 45), are also the basis for the formation of the Imperfect (§ 47).¹ They represent the *second* person, and have both fem. and plur. forms. The third person is supplied by the Imperfect in the Jussive (§ 109 b); and even the second person must always be expressed by the Jussive, if it be used with a negative, e.g. אַל-תִּקְטַל *ne occidas* (not אַל-קְטַל). The passives have no Imperative, but it occurs in the reflexives, as Niph'al and Hithpa'el.²

b 2. The Affirmatives of the 2nd sing. fem. and the 2nd plur. masc. and fem. are identical in every case with those of the Imperfect (§ 47 c). In the same way, the Imperative of the 2nd sing. masc., in common with the Imperfect, admits of the lengthening by the ה־ *paragogicum* (§ 48 i), as, on the other hand, there are certain shortened forms of this person analogous to the Jussive (§ 48. 5).

c Rem. 1. Instead of the form קְטַל (sometimes also *plene*, e.g. שְׁמֹר Ec 12¹³; before *Maqqeph* קְטַל־ with *Qameš haṭuṭh*), those verbs which have an *a* in the final syllable of the Imperf. (i.e. especially verbs middle *e*) make their Imperative of the form קְטַל, e.g. לְבַשׁ *dress!* (Perf. לָבַשׁ and לִבְשׁ *lie down!* in pause שִׁבֹּב 1 S 3^{5.6.9}).

d 2. The first syllable of the sing. fem. and plur. masc. are usually to be pronounced with *Sevā mobile* (qūṭāl, qūṭāl, and so שִׁפְכִי, &c., without *Dageš lene*, and even מִשְׁכִּי with *Metheg*, Ex 12²¹; but cf. אִסְדִּי Jer 10¹⁷, and with the same phonetic combination הִשְׁפִּי Is 47²; see analogous cases in § 93 m); less frequently we find an *ö* instead of the *i*, e.g. מְלִכִי *rule*, Ju 9¹⁰; מְשֻׁבִּי *draw*, Ez 32²⁰; מְרִבִּי Jer 21² (cf. מְרִבִּי Is 44²⁷); on קְסַמִּי 1 S 28⁸ *Q'ré*, מְצַקִּי Jer. 22²⁰ (cf. 1 K 13⁷), see § 10 g. This *ö* arises (see above, a) from a singular ground-form *qūṭāl*, not from a retraction of the original *ū* of the second syllable. We must abandon the view that the forms with *i* in the first syllable (cf. also

¹ The *Infin. absol.*, like the Greek *Infin.*, is also sometimes used for the Imperative (§ 113 bb). Cf. in general, Koch, *Der semitische Inf.* (Schaffhausen, 1874).

² In *Hoph'al* an Imperative is found only twice (Ez 32¹⁹, Jer. 49⁸), and closely approximating in meaning to the reflexive.

אִמְרִי, מְכַרִּי, חֲגִירִי, עֲבִירִי) arise from a weakening of the characteristic vowel *ö*. They, or at least some of them, must rather be regarded with Barth (*ZDMG.* 1889, p. 182) as analogous to the original *z*-imperfects. See further analogies in §§ 47 *i* and 48 *i*; 61 *b*, 63 *n*.

The *pausal* form of the 2nd plur. masc. is מְכַרְּתֶּם 1 K 3²⁶; from שָׁמַעַתְּ, *c* &c.; similarly the 2nd sing. fem. in *pause* is עֲבִירִי Is 23¹²; even without the *pause* מְכַרְּתִּי Ju 9^{10,12}, *Keth.*; קְטֹבִי 1 S 28⁸, *Keth.* (cf. with this also מְלוֹכָה, &c., § 48 *i*); from שָׁמַח, שְׂמָחָי Jo 2²¹.

3. In the 2nd plur. fem. שְׁמַעְנָה occurs once, in Gn 4²³ (for שְׁמַעְנָה) with loss *f* of the הָ and insertion of a helping vowel, unless it is simply to be pointed שְׁמַעְנָה. Also instead of the abnormal קְרָאָה Ex 2²⁰ (for קְרָאָה) we should perhaps read as in Ru 1²⁰ קְרָאָה (cf. מִצָּאָה 1⁹ and לָלֶךְ 1¹²).

On the examples of a 2nd plur. fem. in הָ, Is 32¹¹, see § 48 *i*.

§ 47. The Imperfect and its Inflection.

1. The persons of the Imperfect,¹ in contradistinction to those of *a* the Perfect, are formed by placing abbreviated forms of the personal pronoun (preformatives) *before* the stem, or rather before the abstract form of the stem (קָנִי). As, however, the tone is retained on the characteristic vowel of the Stem-form, or even (as in the 2nd sing. fem. and the 3rd and 2nd plur. masc.) passes over to the affirmatives, the preformatives of the Imperfect appear in a much more abbreviated form than the affirmatives of the Perfect, only *one* consonant (׳, ה, א, נ) remaining in each form. But as this preformative combined with the

¹ On the use of the Semitic Perfect and Imperfect cf. § 106 ff. and the literature cited in § 106. For our present purpose the following account will suffice:—The name *Imperfect* is here used in direct contrast to the Perfect, and is to be taken in a wider sense than in Latin and Greek grammar. The Hebrew (Semitic) *Perf.* denotes in general that which is *concluded, completed*, and *past*, that which has happened and has come into effect; but at the same time, also that which is *represented* as accomplished, even though it be continued into present time or even be actually still future. The *Imperf.* denotes, on the other hand, the *beginning*, the *unfinished*, and the *continuing*, that which is just happening, which is conceived as in process of coming to pass, and hence, also, that which is yet future; likewise also that which occurs repeatedly or in a continuous sequence in the past (Latin *Imperf.*). It follows from the above that the once common designation of the Imperf. as a *Future* emphasizes only *one* side of its meaning. In fact, the use of Indo-Germanic tense-names for the Semitic tenses, which was adopted by the Syrians under the influence of the Greek grammarians, and after their example by the Arabs, and finally by Jewish scholars, has involved many misconceptions. The Indo-Germanic scheme of three periods of time (past, present, and future) is entirely foreign to the Semitic tense-idea, which regards an occurrence only from the point of view of completed or incomplete action.—In the formation of the two tenses the chief distinction is that in the Perfect the verbal stem precedes and the indication of the person is added afterwards for precision, while in the Imperf. the subject, from which the action proceeds or about which a condition is predicated, is expressed by a prefixed pronoun.

stem-form was not always sufficient to express at the same time differences both of gender and number, the distinction had to be further indicated, in several cases, by special *affirmatives*. Cf. the table, § 40 c.

b 2. The derivation and meaning, both of the preformatives and the affirmatives, can still, in most cases, be recognized.

In the *first* pers. אָקטל, plur. נִקְטל, א is probably connected with אָנִי, and נ with נִהְיֶה; here no indication of gender or number by a special ending was necessary. As regards the vocalization, the Arabic points to the ground-forms *äqtül* and *näqtül*: the *i* of the 1st plur. is, therefore, as in the other preformatives, attenuated from *a*. The *Soghöl* of the 1st sing. is probably to be explained by the preference of the א for this sound (cf. § 22 o, but also § 51 p); according to Qimhi, it arises from an endeavour to avoid the similarity of sound between אָקטל (which is the Babylonian punctuation) and יִקְטל, which, according to this view, was likewise pronounced *iqtöl*.¹

c The preformative ה of the *second* persons (הִקְטל, ground-form *täqtül*, &c.) is, without doubt, connected with the ה of אָתָּה, אַתָּה, &c., and the affirmative ׀ of the 2nd fem. sing. הִקְטְלִי with the *i* of the original feminine form אָתִי (see § 32 h). The affirmative ו of the 2nd masc. plur. הִקְטְלוּ (in its more complete form, וי, see m) is the sign of the plural, as in the 3rd pers., and also in the Perfect (§ 44 a). In the Imperfect, however, it is restricted in both persons to the masculine,² while the affirmative וָה (also וי) of the 3rd and 2nd plur. fem. is probably connected with הִנֵּה *eae* and אֵתְנָה *vos* (fem.).

d The preformatives of the *third* persons (י in the masc. יִקְטל, ground-form *yäqtül*, plur. יִקְטְלוּ, ground-form *yäqtälü*; ה in the fem. הִקְטל, plur. הִקְטְלוּ) have not yet met with any satisfactory explanation. With ה might most obviously be compared the original feminine

¹ Cf. § 24 e. In favour of the above view of Qimhi may be urged the phonetic orthography אִשׁ (in Pr 18²⁴ אִישׁ), 2 S 14¹⁹ (unless, with Perles, אִשֶּׁב is to be read), Mi 6¹⁰, for יִשׁ, and אִישִׁי 1 Ch 2¹³ for יִשִׁי (as verse 12). Also הִאֲנִיָּה Mi 6¹¹ is probably for הִאֲנִי = הִנֵּה, אֲפָקָד Is 10¹² for יִפְקֹד Is 51¹⁹ for יִנְהַמֵּד; and conversely יִשְׁכַּר is for אִשְׁשׁ = אִישׁ שָׁכָר. Similarly, יִשְׁוִי 1 S 14⁴⁹ is probably for אִשְׁוִי or אִשְׁיָה; in 2 S 23⁸ יִשָּׁב בְּשֶׁבֶת is, according to the LXX, an error for יִשְׁבֶּת = יִשְׁבֶּשֶׁת. In Assyrian also the simple *i* corresponds to the Hebrew *i* as the preformative of the Impf. Qal.

² This is also the proper gender of the plural syllable *ü, um*. In Hebrew, indeed, it is used in the 3rd plur. Perfect for both genders, but in the kindred languages even there only for the masculine, e.g. in Syriac *qätälü*, *qätälüm*, with the feminine form *qätälēn*, in Western Aram. *qätälü*, fem. *qätälä*; in Arab. *qätälü*, fem. *qätälä*, Eth. *qätälü*, *qätälä*.

ending Π — of nouns, and of the 3rd fem. sing. perfect. For the affirmatives י (יִ) and הָ, see c.

3. The characteristic vowel of the second syllable becomes $\check{S}ewā$ before tone-bearing affirmatives which begin with a vowel, but is retained (as being in the tone-syllable) before the toneless affirmative הָ. Thus: הַקָּטָלִי, יִקָּטָלִי, הַקָּטָלִי (but in *pause* הַקָּטָלִי, &c.), הַקָּטָלִי.

Rem. 1. The \bar{o} of the second syllable (as in the inf. constr. and imperat.), *f* being lengthened from an original \bar{u} in the tone-syllable, is only tone-long (§ 97). Hence it follows that: (a) it is incorrectly, although somewhat frequently, written *piene*; (b) before *Maqqeph* the short vowel appears as *Qames haʿuph*, e.g. וַיִּכְתֹּב שָׁם and he wrote there, Jos 8⁸² (but cf. also Ex 21⁸⁷, Jos 18²⁰); (c) it becomes $\check{S}ewā$ before the tone-bearing affirmatives י— and ה (see above, c; but Jerome still heard e.g. *iezbuleni* for יִזְבֻּלֵנִי; cf. ZAW. iv. 83).

Quite anomalous are the three examples which, instead of a shortening to $\check{S}ewā$, exhibit a long \bar{u} : יִשְׁפֹּטוּ Ex 18²⁶, immediately before the principal *g* pause, but according to Qimḥi (ed. Rittenb. p. 18^b), ed. Mant., Ginsb., Kittel against the other editions, with the tone on the ultima; likewise לֹא-תַעֲבֹרִי מִנֶּהָ Ru 2⁸; תִּשְׁמְרוּם (in principal pause) Pr 14³. In the first two cases perhaps יִשְׁפֹּטוּ and תַּעֲבֹרִי (for תִּשְׁפֹּטוּ, &c.) are intended, in virtue of a retrogressive effect of the pause; in Pr 14³ תִּשְׁמְרוּם is to be read, with August Müller.

2. The \bar{o} of the second syllable is to be found almost exclusively with transi- *h* tive verbs middle *a*, like קָטַל. Intransitives middle *a* and \bar{e} almost always take \bar{a} (*Pathah*)¹ in the imperf., e.g. יָרַבֵּץ, יָרַבֵּץ to couch, שָׁבַב, יִשְׁבֹּב to lie down (לָמַד, יִלְמַד to learn is also originally intransitive = to accustom oneself); יָגֵדֵל, יָגֵדֵל to become great (but cf. שָׁכַן and שָׁכַן imperf. יִשְׁכֹּן to dwell and to inhabit, נָכַל imperf. יִבֹּל to wither); also from verbs middle \bar{o} , as קָטַן to be small, the imperf. has the form יִקָּטֵן.

Sometimes both forms occur together; those with \bar{o} having a transitive, *i* and those with \bar{a} an intransitive meaning, e.g. יִקְצֹר he cuts off, יִקְצֹר he is cut off, i.e. is short; יִקְלֹשׁ imperf. \bar{o} , to overcome, Ex 17¹³; imperf. \bar{a} , to be overcome, Jb 14¹⁰. More rarely both forms are used without any distinction, e.g. יִשְׁנֶה and יִשְׁנֶה he bites, יִהַפֵּץ and יִהַפֵּץ he is inclined (but only the latter with a transitive meaning = he bends, in Jb 40¹⁷). On the *a* of the imperf. of verbs middle and third guttural, cf. § 64 b; § 65 b. In some verbs first guttural (§ 63 n), ע"ע (§ 67 p), פ"י (§ 69 b), and פ"א (§ 68 c), and in יָתַן for *yinten* from יָתַן to give, instead of \bar{a} or \bar{o} a movable $\check{S}ere$ (originally \bar{e}) is found in the second syllable. A trace of these *i*-imperfects² in the ordinary strong verb is probably to be found in יִמְלִיכֵנִי 2 K 7⁸, since מִמֶּנּוּ otherwise only occurs in Qal. We call these three forms of the imperfect after their characteristic vowel imperf. *o*, imperf. *a*, imperf. *e*.

3. For the 3rd sing. fem. הַקָּטָל (= *tiq-tāl*), Baer requires in I S 25²⁰ תִּפְגֹּשׁ *h* (but read with ed. Mant., &c. תִּפְגֹּשׁ). For the 2nd sing. fem. (תִּקָּטְלִי) the form

¹ This \bar{a} is, however, by no means restricted to intransitive *strong* verbs; apart from verbs third guttural (§ 65 b), it is to be found in פ"ן and ע"ע, and in many verbs פ"א and פ"י (§§ 69-71).

² Cf. Barth, 'Das \bar{i} -Imperfekt im Nordsemitischen,' ZDMG. 1889, p. 177 ff.

הַקָּטָל is found in Is 57⁶, Jer 3⁵, Ez 22⁴, 23³², in every case after the regular form; but cf. also Ez 26¹⁴. In Is 17¹⁰, where the 2nd fem. precedes and follows, probably 'וְהָרָעוּ is to be read with Marti for הָרָעוּ. — For the 3rd plur. fem. הַקָּטָלָה we find in Jer 40¹¹, in pause תִּבְטְחוּ (for תִּבְטְחָה), and thrice (as if to distinguish it from the 2nd pers.) the form יִקְטָלָה with the preformative י (as always in Western Aram., Arab., Eth., and Assyr.), in Gn 30³⁸, 1 S 6¹², Dn 8²². On the other hand, הַקָּטָלָה appears in some cases to be incorrectly used even for the fem. of the 3rd pers. or for the masc. of the 2nd pers. sing. as תִּשְׁלַחָהּ Ju 5²⁶ (where, however, perhaps הַשְׁלַחָהּ is to be read), and Ob¹³, for 2nd sing. masc., according to Olshausen a corruption of הַשְׁלַח יָד; in Pr 1²⁰, 8³ for הָרָפָה read תָּרָה as in Jb 39²³; in Ex 1¹⁰ read הַקָּרָאֵנִי with the Samaritan. — In Is 27¹¹, 28³, as also in Jb 17¹⁶ (if we read מִזְכָּרִי with LXX for the 2nd pers. (תִּזְכָּרִי)), it is equally possible to explain the form as a plural. This small number of examples hardly justifies our finding in the above-mentioned passages the remains of an emphatic form of the Impf., analogous to the Arab. *Modus energicus I*, with the termination *ännä*.

For הָנָה we frequently find, especially in the Pentateuch and mostly after *wāw consecutive*, simply הָנָה, e.g. Gn 19^{33,36}, 37⁷, Ex 1^{18,19}, 15²⁰, Nu 2²⁵, Ez 3²⁰, 16⁵⁵; in Arab. always *nā*. According to Elias Levita הַנְּשָׁאֵן (2 S 13¹⁸) is the only example of this kind in the strong verb. The form הַתְּנַבְּהֵינָה (so also Qimhi and ed. Mant.; but Baer, Ginsb. הַתְּנַבְּהֵינָה) for הַתְּנַבְּהֵינָה they were high, Ez 16⁵⁰, is irregular, with הָ inserted after the manner of verbs עָלָה and עָלָה, § 67 d; § 72 i; according to Olshausen it is an error caused by the following form.

4. Instead of the plural forms in הָ there are, especially in the older books, over 300 forms¹ with the fuller ending הֵן (with *Nūn paragogicum*), always bearing the tone; cf. § 29 m and § 44 l; on its retention before suffixes, see § 60 e; also defectively הֵיבֵן Ex 21¹⁸, 22⁸, &c. This usually expresses marked emphasis, and consequently occurs most commonly at the end of sentences (in the principal pause), in which case also the (pausal) vowel of the second syllable is generally retained. Thus there arise full-sounding forms such as יִלְלְכוּ they collect, ψ 104²⁸; יִרְגְּזוּ they tremble, Ex 15¹⁴; יִשְׁמְעוּ ye shall hear, Dt 1¹⁷; cf. Ex 34¹³, with Zaqeph qāṭon, Athnah, and Silluq; Jos 24¹⁵, with Segolta; Is 13⁸ and 17¹³ with Zaqeph qāṭon, 17¹² with Athnah and Silluq, 41⁵ after *wāw consec.* Without the pause, e.g. הֵיבֵן יִשְׁמְעוּ, cf. Gn 18^{28,29,30} ff., 44¹, Nu 32²³, Jos 4⁶ (יִשְׁמְעוּ); Is 8¹², 1 S 9¹³, Ru 2⁹ (יִצְעָרוּ); Ju 11¹⁸ after *wāw consec.*

Some of these examples may be partly due to euphonic reasons, e.g. certainly Ex 17², Nu 16²⁹, 32²⁰, 1 S 9¹³, 1 K 9⁶, and often, to avoid a hiatus before הָ or וָ. It was, however, the pause especially which exerted an influence on the restoration of this older and fuller termination (cf. § 159 c, note), as is manifest from Is 26¹¹: הֵן יִרְאוּ וְיִשְׁמְעוּ they see not; may they see and become

¹ [See details in F. Böttcher, *Lehrb.*, § 930; and cf. Driver on 1 S 2¹⁵.]

ashamed. All this applies also to the corresponding forms in the Imperfect of the derived conjugations.¹ In Aramaic and Arabic this earlier נ (old Arabic *ūnā*) is the regular termination; but in some dialects of vulgar Arabic it has also become *ū*.

With an affixed נ we find (in the imperf. Niph'al) נִשְׁנָא Jer 10⁵, evidently *n* an error for נִשְׁנָא, caused by the preceding נִשְׁנָא.—In יִשְׁנָא Is 35¹, since כ follows, the כ is no doubt only due to dittography.

5. Corresponding to the use of נ for נ there occurs in the 2nd sing. fem., *o* although much less frequently, the fuller ending נִי (as in Aram. and Arab.; old Arab. *inā*), also always with the tone, for נִי, generally again in the principal pause, and almost in all cases with retention of the vowel of the penultima; thus הִתְרַבְּקִין Ru 2^{8,21}, cf. 3^{4,18}, 1 S 1¹⁴ (הִתְרַבְּקִין), Jer 31²², Is 45¹⁰.

6. On the reappearance in pause of the *ō* which had become *Sewā* in the forms הִתְרַבְּקִין, &c., see above, *e*; similarly, the imperfects with *ā* restore this vowel in pause and at the same time lengthen it (as a tone-vowel) to *ā*, hence, e.g. יִתְרַבְּקִין, יִתְרַבְּקִין. This influence of the pause extends even to the forms without affirmatives, e.g. יִתְרַבְּקִין, in pause יִתְרַבְּקִין. But the fuller forms in *ūn* and *in* have the tone always on the ultima, since the vowels *ū* and *i* in a closed final syllable never allow of the retraction of the tone.

7. On the numerous instances of passive forms in the imperfect, mostly *q* treated as Hoph'al, see § 53 *u*.

§ 48. Shortening and Lengthening of the Imperfect and Imperative. The Jussive and Cohortative.

1. Certain modifications which take place in the form of the *a* imperfect, and express invariably, or nearly so, a distinct shade of meaning, serve to some extent as a compensation for the want of special forms for the *Tempora relativa* and for certain *moods* of the verb.

2. Along with the usual form of the imperfect, there exists also *b* a lengthened form of it (the *cohortative*), and a shortened form (the *jussive*).² The former occurs (with few exceptions) only in the 1st person, while the latter is mostly found in the 2nd and 3rd persons, and less frequently in the 1st person. The laws of the tone, however, and of the formation of syllables in Hebrew, not infrequently precluded the indication of the jussive by an actual shortening of the form; consequently it often—and, in the imperfect forms with affirmatives, always—coincides with the ordinary imperfect (*indicative*) form.

In classical Arabic the difference is almost always evident. That language distinguishes, besides the indicative *yāqtūlū*, (*a*) a subjunctive, *yāqtūlū*; (*b*) a

¹ It is to be observed that the Chronicles often omit the *Nūn*, where it is found in the parallel passage in the Books of Kings; cf. 1 K 8^{88,43} with 2 Ch 6^{20,33}; 1 K 12²⁴, 2 K 11⁵ with 2 Ch 11⁴, 23⁴.

² The perfect has only *one* form, since it cannot be used, like the imperfect, to express mood-relations (see § 106 *p*).

jussive, *yāqtūl*; (c) a double 'energetic' mood of the impf., *yāqtūlānnā* and *yāqtūlūn*, in pause *yāqtūlā*, the last form thus corresponding to the Hebrew cohortative.

- c 3. The characteristic of the cohortative form is an *ā* (הָ) affixed to the 1st pers. sing. or plur., e.g. הִשְׁמַרְתָּ from הִשְׁמַר. It occurs in almost all conjugations and classes of the strong and weak verb (except of course in the passives), and this final הָ has the tone wherever the affirmatives י and ' would have it. As before these endings, so also before the הָ cohortative, the movable vowel of the last syllable of the verbal form becomes *Šwā*, e.g. in Qal אֶשְׁמְרָה *I will observe*, in Pi'el נִנְתְּקָה *let us break asunder*, ψ 2³; on אֶשְׁמְרָה Is 18⁴ *Qerē* (cf. also 27⁴, Ezr 8²⁵, &c.), see § 10 h; with the *Kethibh* of these passages, compare the analogous cases יִשְׁמְרוּ, &c., § 47 g.—On the other hand, an unchangeable vowel in the final syllable is retained as tone-vowel before the הָ, as (e.g.) in Hiph. אֶפְיָרָה *I will praise*. In pause (as before *ū* and *ī*), the vowel which became *Šwā* is restored as tone-vowel; thus for the cohortative אֶשְׁמְרָה the pausal form is אֶשְׁמְרָה ψ 59¹⁰; cf. Gn 18³¹, Is 41²⁶.

- d The change of הָ into the obtuse הָ seems to occur in 1 S 28¹², unless, with Nestle, we are to assume a conflate reading, וְאֶקְרָא and וְאֶקְרָא; and with the 3rd pers. ψ 20⁴, in a syllable sharpened by a following *Dageš forte conjunct*; cf. similar cases of the change of הָ into the obtuse הָ in *l* and in §§ 73 d, 80 i, 90 i. In ψ 20⁴, however, יְרַשְׁנָה—with suffix—is probably intended. An הָ cohort. is also found with the 3rd pers. in Is 5¹⁹ (twice); Ez 23²⁰, and again in verse 16 according to the *Qerē*, but in both these cases without any effect on the meaning. Probably another instance occurs in Jb 11¹⁷, although there הִנֵּפֶה might also, with Qimhi, be regarded as 2nd masc. For the doubly irregular form הִבְיָאֲתָה Dt 33¹⁶ (explained by Olshausen and König as a scribal error, due to a confusion with תְּבוֹאֲתָה in verse 14), read הִבְיָאֲתָה. For הִבְיָאֲתָה Jb 22²¹ the noun תְּבוֹאֲתָה *thine increase*, might be meant, but the Masora has evidently intended an imperfect with the ending *ath*, instead of הָ, before the suffix, on the analogy of the 3rd sing. fem. perfect, see § 59 a; on וְתִבְאֲרִי 1 S 25³⁴, see § 76 h.

- e The cohortative expresses the direction of the will to an action and thus denotes especially self-encouragement (in the 1st plur. an exhortation to others at the same time), a resolution or a wish, as an optative, &c., see § 108.

- f 4. The general characteristic of the jussive form of the imperfect is rapidity of pronunciation, combined with a tendency to retract

¹ Probably this *ā* goes back to the syllable *an*, which in Arabic (see above, Rem. to b) is used for the formation of the 'energetic' mood, and in Hebrew (see the footnote to § 58 i) often stands before suffixes.

the tone from the final syllable, in order by that means to express the urgency of the command in the very first syllable. This tendency has, in certain forms, even caused a material shortening of the termination of the word, so that the expression of the command appears to be concentrated on a single syllable. In other cases, however, the jussive is simply marked by a shortening of the vowel of the second syllable, without its losing the tone, and very frequently (see above, *b*) the nature of the form does not admit of any alteration. It is not impossible, however, that even in such cases the jussive in the living language was distinguished from the indicative by a change in the place of the tone.

In the strong verb the jussive differs in *form* from the indicative *g* only in *Hiph'ul* (juss. יִקְטִיל, ind. יִקְטִיל), and similarly in the weak verb, wherever the imperfect indicative has *i* in the second syllable, e. g. from יִשָּׁב impf. *Hiph.* יוֹשִׁיב, juss. יוֹשֵׁב; from יָמַת, *Qal* and יָמַת, juss. יָמַת; also in *Qal* of the verbs עָוִי and עָוִי, as יָמַת, ind. יָמַת, *Qal*, ind. יָמַת; in all conjugations of verbs ל"ה, so that the rejection (*apocope*) of the ending ה־ in *Qal* and *Hiph.* gives rise to monosyllabic forms, with or without a helping vowel under the second radical, e. g. *Qal* ind. יִנָּל, juss. יִנָּל; *Hiph.* ind. יִנָּל, juss. יִנָּל; and in the *Piel* יָצַי from the indic. יָצַי (called apocopated imperfects). But almost all the plural forms of the jussive coincide with those of the indicative, except that the jussive excludes the fuller ending ה־. Neither do the forms of the 2nd sing. fem., as תִּקְטִילי, תִּשָּׁב, &c., admit of any change in the jussive, nor any forms, whether singular or plural, to which suffixes are attached, e. g. תִּמְנִי as ind. Jer 38¹⁵, as jussive Jer 41⁸.

The meaning of the jussive is similar to that of the cohortative, *h* except that in the jussive the command or wish is limited almost exclusively to the 2nd or 3rd pers. On special uses of the jussive, e. g. in hypothetical sentences (even in the 1st pers.), see § 109 *h*.

5. The imperative, in accordance with its other points of connexion *i* with the imperfect in form and meaning, admits of a similar lengthening (by ה־, Arab. *imper. energicus*, with the ending -ānnā or -ān, in pause -ā) and shortening. Thus in *Qal* of the strong verb, the lengthened form of שָׁמַר *guard* is שָׁמְרָה (šm^{er}ā, cf. קָטַל q^{at}āl, § 46 *d*); עֹבֶה, *Jer* 49¹¹; שָׁכַב, *Jer* 49¹¹; שָׁמַע, *Jer* 49¹¹; שָׁמַע, *Jer* 49¹¹; שָׁמַע, *Jer* 49¹¹.

¹ Only in 1st plur. do we find a few shortened forms, as יִשָּׁב *1 S* 14³⁶, parallel with cohortatives; and יִנָּל *Is* 41²³ *Ke*th.

² On the reading שָׁמְרָה (i. e. šm^{er}ā, according to the Jewish grammarians), required by the Masora in *ψ* 86², 119¹⁶⁷ (cf. also *Is* 38¹⁴, and שָׁמְרָה *ψ* 16¹), see § 9 *v*; on מְלוּכָה, *Ju* 9⁸ *Ke*th, see § 46 *e*.

Dn 9¹⁹; in Niph'al הִשְׁבַּעַה Gn 21²³. Cf., however, also מָכַר *sell*, Gn 25³¹, notwithstanding the impf. יָמַכְרָה; יָמַכְרָה Jb 33⁵ (cf. עָרְבִי Jer 46³), but impf. יַעֲרֹךְ; אָסַף *collect*, Nu 11¹⁶ (for אָסַף cf. § 63 l and the plural אִסְפוּ), but 2nd masc. אִסְפָּה; נָצַרָה ψ 141³. Barth (see above, § 47 i note) finds in these forms a trace of old imperfects in *i*, cf. § 63 n. On the other hand, the form קָרַבָה ψ 69¹⁹ (also Imperat. קָרַב Lv 9⁷, &c.), but impf. יִקְרַב. Without ה, we have the form לָךְ *go*, Nu 23¹³, Ju 19¹³, 2 Ch 25¹⁷. The form קָטַל in pause becomes קָטַלָה, the form קָטַל becomes קָטַלָה, e. g. יָרַשָה Dt 33²³. But also without the pause we find קָטַלָה Ju 9⁸ *Keth.* and צָרַפָה ψ 26² *Keth.*, on which see § 46 e. On the other hand רָגַזָה, פָּשַׁטָה, עָרָה, חָגַרָה Is 32¹¹ are to be explained as aramaizing forms of the 2nd plur. fem.; also for הָרַדָה v. 11 read הָרַדְתָּ, and for סָפְדָה v. 12 read סָפְדָה.

Λ The shortened imperative is found only in verbs ל"ה, e. g. in *Pi'el* נָלַ from נָלָה. The shade of meaning conveyed by the imperatives with ה is not always so perceptible as in the cohortative forms of the imperfect, but the longer form is frequently emphatic, e. g. קוּם *rise up*, קוּמָה *up! הֵן הֵן, give up!*

Λ Rem. The form דָּעָה for דָּעָה, best attested in Pr 24¹⁴ (where it is taken by the Masora as imperat., not as infin., דָּעָה) is evidently due to the influence of the ה which follows it in close connexion (so Strack, on the analogy of Jb 31²); for other examples of this change of *a* to *S'ghol*, see above, under *a*, § 73 *a*, and § 80 *i*. On the other hand, it is doubtful whether רָבָה Ju 9²⁰ (from רָבָה) is intended for רָבָה, and not rather for the common form of the imperative *Pi'el* רָבָה. In favour of the former explanation it may be urged that the imperative יִצָּאָה (from יָצָא) follows immediately after; in favour of the latter, that the ending ה, with imperatives of verbs ל"ה, is not found elsewhere, and also that here no guttural follows (as in Pr 24¹⁴).

§ 49. The Perfect and Imperfect with Wāw Consecutive.

a 1. The use of the two tense-forms, as is shown more fully in the Syntax (§§ 106, 107, cf. above, § 47, note on *a*), is by no means restricted to the expression of the past or future. One of the most striking peculiarities in the Hebrew *consecution* of tenses¹ is the phenomenon that, in representing a series of past events, only the first

¹ The other Semitic languages do not exhibit this peculiarity, excepting the Phoenician, the most closely related to Hebrew, and of course the Moabitish dialect of the *Mesa* inscription, which is practically identical with Old Hebrew. It also appears in the inscription of זָכַר of Hamāth (cf. Noldeke, *Z.A.* 1908, p. 379) where we find וַאֲשַׁן יָדִי and *I lifted up my hand*, וַיַּעֲנֵנִי and *he answered me*, after a perfect of narration.

verb stands in the perfect, and the narration is continued in the imperfect. Conversely, the representation of a series of future events begins with the imperfect, and is continued in the perfect. Thus in 2 K 20¹, *In those days was Hezekiah sick unto death* (perf.), and *Isaiah . . . came* (imperf.) *to him, and said* (imperf.) *to him, &c.* On the other hand, Is 7¹⁷, *the Lord shall bring* (imperf.) *upon thee . . . days, &c.,* 7¹⁸, *and it shall come to pass* (perf. וְהָיָה) *in that day . . .*

This progress in the sequence of time, is regularly indicated by *b* a pregnant and (called *wāw consecutive*¹), which in itself is really only a variety of the ordinary *wāw copulative*, but which sometimes (in the imperf.) appears with a different vocalization. Further, the tenses connected by *wāw consecutive* sometimes undergo a change in the tone and consequently are liable also to other variations.

2. The *wāw consecutive* of the *imperfect* is (*a*) pronounced with *c* *Pathah* and a *Dageš forte* in the next letter, as וַיִּקְטֹל and *he killed*; before *נ* of the 1st pers. sing. (according to § 22 *c*) with *Qames*, as וַיִּקְטֹל and *I killed*. Exceptions are, וַיִּשְׁמַח Ez 16¹⁰ according to the *Dikduke ha-t'amim*, § 71; also וַיִּשְׁמַח 2 S 1¹⁰ according to *Qimhi*; but in Ju 6⁹ וַיִּשְׁמַח should be read according to *Baer*, and וַיִּשְׁמַח in both places in Ju 20⁶. *Dageš forte* is always omitted in the preformative *י*, in accordance with § 20 *m*.

(*b*) When a shortening of the imperfect form is possible (cf. § 48 *g*), *d* it takes effect, as a rule (but cf. § 51 *n*), after *wāw consec.*, e.g. in Hiphil וַיִּקְטֹל (§ 53 *n*). The tendency to retract the tone from the final syllable is even stronger after *wāw consec.* than in the jussive. The throwing back of the tone on to the penultima (conditional upon its being an open syllable with a long vowel, § 29 *a*), further involves the greatest possible shortening of the vowel of the ultima, since the vowel then comes to stand in a toneless closed syllable, e.g. יָקִים, juss.

¹ This name best expresses the prevailing syntactical relation, for by *wāw consecutive* an action is always represented as the direct, or at least temporal consequence of a preceding action. Moreover, it is clear from the above examples, that the *wāw consecutive* can only be thus used in immediate conjunction with the verb. As soon as *wāw*, owing to an insertion (e.g. a negative), is separated from the verb, the imperfect follows instead of the perfect consecutive, the perfect instead of the imperfect consecutive. The fact that whole Books (Lev., Num., Josh., Jud., Sam., 2 Kings, Ezek., Ruth, Esth., Neh., 2 Chron.) begin with the imperfect consecutive, and others (Exod., 1 Kings, Ezra) with *wāw copulative*, is taken as a sign of their close connexion with the historical Books now or originally preceding them. Cf., on the other hand, the independent beginning of Job and Daniel. It is a merely superficial description to call the *wāw consecutive* by the old-fashioned name *wāw converse*, on the ground that it always converts the meaning of the respective tenses into its opposite, i.e. according to the old view, the future into the preterite, and vice versa.

עָרָא, with *wāw* consec. עָרָאִי and he arose (§ 67 n and x, § 68 d, § 69 p, § 71, § 72 t and aa, § 73 e).¹

c In the first pers. sing. alone the retraction of the tone and even the reducing of the long vowel in the final syllable (*ā* to *ō*, *i* to *ē*, and then to *o* and *e*) are not usual,² at least according to the Masoretic punctuation, and the apocope in verbs עָרָא occurs more rarely; e.g. always עָרָאִי (or עָרָאִי, a merely orthographic difference) and I arose; Hiph. עָרָאִי (but generally written עָרָאִי, implying the pronunciation *wā'āgem*, as עָרָאִי implies *wā'āqōm*); עָרָאִי and I saw, more frequently than עָרָאִי, § 75 t. On the other hand, the form with final ה־ is often used in the 1st pers. both sing. and plur., especially in the later books, e.g. עָרָאִי and I sent, Gn 32⁶, 41¹¹, 43²¹, Nu 8¹⁹ (עָרָאִי, as in Ju 6⁹, 1 S 22²⁸, 2 S 12²⁸, and often, probably a sort of compensation for the lost ה); Ju 6¹⁰, 12³, 2 S 22²⁴, ψ 3⁶, 7⁵, 90¹⁰, 119⁵⁵, Jb 15^π, 19²⁰, Ez 7²³, 8²⁸, 9³, Neh 2¹³, 5^{7.8.13}, 6¹¹, 13^{7-11.21} t, &c.—Sometimes, as in ψ 3⁶, with a certain emphasis of expression, and probably often, as in Ju 10¹², עָרָאִי before נ, for euphonic reasons. In Is 8² עָרָאִי may have been originally intended; in ψ 73¹⁶ עָרָאִי and in Jb 30²⁶ עָרָאִי. In Ez 3³ read עָרָאִי or עָרָאִי.

f This ו־ is in meaning a strengthened *wāw* copulative, and resembles in pronunciation the form which is retained in Arabic as the ordinary copula (*wā*).³ The close connexion of this *wā* with the following consonant, caused the latter in Hebrew to take Dages, especially as *ā* could not have been retained in an open syllable. Cf. עָרָא, עָרָא, עָרָא (for עָרָא), where the prepositions עָ and לָ, and the particle עָ, are closely connected with עָ in the same way (§ 102 k).

g The retraction of the tone also occurs in such combinations, as in עָרָאִי (for עָרָאִי § 102 l).—The identity of many consecutive forms with jussives of the same conjugation must not mislead us into supposing an intimate relation between the moods. In the consecutive forms the shortening of the vowel (and the retraction of the tone) seems rather to be occasioned solely by the strengthening of the preformative syllable, while in the jussives the shortening (and retraction) belongs to the character of the form.

h 3. The counterpart of *wāw* consecutive of the imperfect is *wāw* consecutive of the perfect, by means of which perfects are placed as

¹ The plural forms in ה־ also occur less frequently after *wāw* consecutive; cf., however, עָרָאִי Ju 8¹, 11¹⁸, Am 6³, Ez 44⁸, Dt 4¹¹, 5²⁰. The 2nd fem. sing. in ה־ never occurs after *wāw* consecutive.

² In the 1st plur. עָרָאִי Neh 4³ is the only instance in which the vowel remains unreduced (cf. עָרָאִי, i. e. עָרָאִי, 4⁹ Keth.; עָרָאִי). On the treatment of the tone in the imperfect, imperative, and infinitive *Niph'al*, see § 51 n.

³ In usage the Hebrew *wāw* does duty for the Arabic *fā* (*wāw* apodosis, see § 143 d) as well as *wā*.

the sequels in the future to preceding actions or events regarded as incomplete at the time of speaking, and therefore in the imperfect, imperative, or even participle. This *wāw* is in form an ordinary *wāw copulative*, and therefore shares its various vocalization (י, ו, ו, as 2 K 7⁴, and ו); e. g. וְהָיָה, after an imperfect, &c., and so it happens = and it will happen. It has, however, the effect, in certain verbal forms, of shifting the tone from the penultima, generally on to the ultima, e. g. וָלֵכְתִּי *I went*, consecutive form וְלֵכְתִּי and *I will go*, Ju 1³, where it is co-ordinated with another *perfect consecutive*, which again is the consecutive to an *imperative*. See further on this usage in § 112.

As the first of the above examples shows, the *Qames* of the first syllable is *i* retained in the strong perf. consec. Qal, as formerly before the tone, so now in the secondary tone, and therefore necessarily takes *Metheg*. On the other hand, the *o* of the second syllable in verbs *middle o* upon losing the tone necessarily becomes *u*, e. g. וְיָבֹלֵךְ Ex 18²³.

The shifting forward of the tone after the *wāw consecutive* of the *perfect* is, however, not consistently carried out. It is omitted—(a) always in the 1st pers. pl., e. g. וַיֵּשְׁבּוּ Gn 34¹⁶; (b) regularly in Hiph'il before the affirmatives הִנֵּה and הִנֵּה, see § 53 r; and (c) in many cases in verbs ל"ל and ל"ל, almost always in the 1st sing. of ל"ל (Jer 29¹⁴), and in ל"ל if the vowel of the 2nd syllable is *i*, Ex 17⁶, 26^{4.6.7.10} ff., Ju 6²⁶, &c., except in Qal (only Lv 24⁵, before נ) and the 2nd sing. masc. of Hiph'il-forms before נ, Nu 20⁸, Dt 20¹³, 1 S 15³, 2 K 13¹⁷; similarly in Pi'el before נ, Ex 25⁴, Jer 27⁴. On the other hand the tone is generally moved forward if the second syllable has *i* (in ל"ל Gn 27¹⁰ &c., in ל"ל Ex 40⁴, Jer 33⁶, Ez 32⁷); but cf. also וַיִּרְאֵהוּ Lv 19^{14.32} and frequently, always before the counter-tone, Jo 4²¹, ψ 19¹⁴.¹ With *a* in the penultima the form is וַיִּשְׁאֲלֵהוּ Is 14⁴, and probably also וַיִּקְרָאָהּ Jer 2², 3¹², 1 S 10² with little T'liṣā, a postpositive accent.

But before a following נ the ultima mostly bears the tone on phonetic grounds, e. g. וַיִּבְרָאָהּ Gn 6¹³, Ex 3¹⁸, Ze 6¹⁰ (by the side of וַיִּבְרָאָהּ), &c. (cf., however, וַיִּקְרָאָהּ, before נ, Gn 17¹⁹, Jer 7²⁷, Ez 36²⁹); וַיְהִיָּהּ Ju 6¹⁶, cf. Ex 25¹¹, Lv 24⁵ (but also וַיִּצְיִתִּיָּהּ Lv 25²¹). Likewise, before ה, Am 8⁹, and ו, e. g. Gn 26¹⁰, 27¹², Lv 26²⁵ (cf., however, וַיִּקְרָאָהּ עָלָיו, Ez 38²¹); on verbs ו"ע, see § 67 k and es.

(d) The tone always keeps its place when such a perfect stands in *pause*, m e. g. וַיִּשְׁבַּעַתָּהּ Dt 6¹¹, 11¹⁵; וַיִּמְרָאָהּ Is 14⁴, Ju 4⁸; sometimes even in the lesser pause, as Dt 2²⁸, Ez 3²⁶, 1 S 29⁸ (where see Driver), with *Zaqeph qaton*; and frequently also immediately before a tone-syllable (according to § 29 e), as in וַיִּשְׁבַּתָּהּ Dt 17¹⁴, Ez 14¹³, 17²², Am 1^{4.7.10.12}—but also וַיִּשְׁקָהּ Dt 21¹¹, 23¹⁴, 24¹⁹, 1 K 8⁴⁶.

¹ The irregularity in the tone of these perfects manifestly results from following conflicting theories, not that of Ben Ašer alone.

§ 50. The Participle.

- a** 1. Qal has both an active participle, called *Pō'el* from its form (פֹּעֵל), and a passive, *Pā'ul* (פָּעוּל).¹

Pā'ul is generally regarded as a survival of a passive of Qal, which still exists throughout in Arabic, but has been lost in Hebrew (see, however, § 52 e), just as in Aramaic the passives of *Pī'el* and *Hiph'il* are lost, except in the participles. But instances of the form *quṭīl* are better regarded as remnants of the passive participle Qal (see § 52 s), so that פָּעוּל must be considered as an original verbal noun; cf. Barth, *Nominalbildung*, p. 173 ff.

- b** 2. In the intransitive verbs *mid. e* and *mid. o*, the form of the participle active of Qal coincides in form with the 3rd sing. of the perfect, e.g. שָׁן *sleeping*, from שָׁן; יָנַח (only orthographically different from the perf. יָנַח) *fearing*; cf. the formation of the participle in *Niph'al*, § 51 a. On the other hand, the participle of verbs *mid. a* takes the form קָטַל (so even from the transitive שָׂנֵא *to hate*, part. שֹׂנֵא). The *ō* of these forms has arisen through an obscuring of the *ā*, and is therefore unchangeable, cf. § 9 q. The form קָטַל (with a changeable *Qames* in both syllables), which would correspond to the forms שָׁן and יָנַח, is only in use as a noun, cf. § 84^a f. The formation of the participle in *Pī'el*, *Hiph'il*, and *Hithpa'el* follows a different method.

- c** 3. Participles form their feminine (קָטְלָה or קָטְלָת) and their plural like other nouns (§ 80 e, § 84^a r, s, § 94).

- d** Rem. 1. From the above it follows, that the *ā* of the form שָׁן is lengthened from *ā*, and consequently changeable (e.g. fem. שָׁנָה); and that the *ō* of קָטַל on the other hand is obscured from an unchangeable *ā*.¹ In Arabic the verbal adjective of the form *qāṭil* corresponds to the form *qāṭel*, and the part. *qāṭil* to *qōṭel*. In both cases, therefore, the *e* of the second syllable is lengthened from *i*, and is consequently changeable (e.g. קָטַל, plur. קָטָלִים; קָטַר, constr. pl. קָטָרִי).

- e** הוֹמִיךָ ψ 16^b, instead of the form *qōṭel*, is an anomaly; it is possible, however, that הוֹמִיךָ (incorrectly written fully) is intended (cf. סָבִיב 2 K 8²¹), or even the imperfect *Hiph'il* of יָמַךְ. The form הוֹמִיךָ in Is 29¹⁴, 38⁵ appears to stand for יָמַךְ, but most probably the Masora here (as certainly in יוֹמִיךָ Ec 1¹⁸) intends the 3rd sing. imperf. *Hiph.*, for which the better form would be יוֹמִיךָ; אֹבִיךָ 1 Ch 27³⁰, being a proper name and a foreign word, need not be considered.—אָבֵר (constr. state of אָבֵר), with *ā* in the second syllable, occurs in Dt 32²⁸ (cf. moreover, § 65 d). On הוֹלֵם Is 41⁷ (for הוֹלֵם, see § 29 f).

- f** 2. A form like the pass. ptep. *Pā'ul*, but not to be confused with it, is sometimes found from intransitive verbs, to denote an inherent quality, e.g. אֱמִין *faithful*, אֲנָשׁ *desperate*, Jer 15¹⁸, &c.; בְּטוּחַ *trustful*, Is 26³, ψ 112⁷; עֲצִים *strong*; שֹׁכֵר *drunken*, Is 51²¹; and even from transitive verbs, אֲחָז *handling*, Ct 3⁸; מְבָר *mindful*, ψ 103¹⁴; יָדַע *knowing*, Is 53³; cf. § 84^a m.

¹ The constr. st. נָאֵם in the formula יהוה נָאֵם *the word* (properly the *whispering*) of the Lord, &c., is always written defectively.

² Cf. Vollers, 'Das Qāṭil-partizipium,' in Z4. 1903, p. 312 ff.

P. VERBA DERIVATIVA, OR DERIVED CONJUGATIONS.

§ 51. *Niph'al*.¹

1. The essential characteristic of this conjugation consists in a *a* prefix² to the stem. This exists in two forms: (a) the (probably original) prepositive *nā*, as in the Hebrew perfect and participle, although in the strong verb the *ā* is always attenuated to *i*: *נָקַטַל* for original *nā-qāṭāl*, participle *נִקְטֵל*, infinitive absolute sometimes *נִקְטֹל*; (b) the (later) proclitic *in* (as in all the forms of the corresponding Arabic conjugation VII. *'inqāṭālā*), found in the imperfect *יִקְטֹל* for *yinqāṭēl*, in the imperative and infinitive construct, with a secondary *n* added, *הִקְטֵל* (for *hinqāṭēl*), and in the infinitive absolute *הִקְטֹל*. The inflexion of *Niph'al* is perfectly analogous to that of Qal.

The features of *Niph'al* are accordingly in the perfect and participle the *b* prefixed *Nān*, in the imperative, infinitive, and imperfect, the *Dageš* in the first radical. These characteristics hold good also for the weak verb. In the case of an initial guttural, which, according to § 22 *b*, cannot take *Dageš forte*, the omission of the strengthening invariably causes the lengthening of the preceding vowel (see § 63 *h*).

2. As regards its meaning, *Niph'al* bears some resemblance to the *c* Greek *middle voice*, in being—(a) primarily *reflexive* of Qal, e.g. *נִלְחַם* to *thrust oneself (against)*, *נִשְׁכַּר* to *take heed to oneself*, *φυλάσσεσθαι*, *נִסְתַּר* to *hide oneself*, *נִצָּל* to *redeem oneself*; cf. also *נִעֲנֶה* to *answer for oneself*. Equally characteristic of *Niph'al* is its frequent use to express emotions which react upon the mind; *נָחַם* to *trouble oneself*, *נִנְחַם* to *sigh (to bemoan oneself, cf. δδύρεσθαι, lamentari, contristari)*; as well as to express actions which the subject allows to happen to himself, or to have an effect upon himself (*Niph'al tolerativum*), e.g. *נִדְרַשׁ* to *search, to inquire*, Niph. to *allow oneself to be inquired of*, Is 65¹, Ez 14³, &c.; so the Niph. of *נִצָּן* to *find*, *יָסַר* to *warn, to correct*, Jer 6⁸, 31¹⁸, &c.

(b) It expresses *reciprocal* or mutual action. e.g. *נִדְבָר* to *speak*, Niph. *d* to *speak to one another*; *נִשְׁפָּט* to *judge*, Niph. to *go to law with one another*; *נִצָּן* to *counsel*, Niph. to *take counsel*, cf. the *middle* and *deponent* verbs *βουλευέσθαι* (נִצָּן), *μάχεσθαι* (נִלְחַם), *altercari, luctari* (נִצָּן) to *strive with one another* *proeliari*.

(c) It has also, like *Hithpa'el* (§ 54 *f*) and the Greek *middle*, the *e* meaning of the active, with the addition of *to oneself (sibi)*, for one-

¹ Cf. A. Rieder, *De linguae Hebr. verbis, quae vocantur derivata nifal et hitpa'el*, Gumbinnen (Progr. des Gymn.), 1884, a list of all the strong Niph'al forms (81) and Hithpa'el forms (36) in the Old Testament; and especially M. Lambert,

² L'emploi du Nifal en Hébreu, *REV.* 41, 196 ff.

³ See Philippi in *ZDMG.* 1886, p. 650, and Barth, *ibid.* 1894, p. 8 f.

self, e.g. **שָׁאַל** to ask (something) for oneself (1 S 20^{6,28}, Neh 13⁶), cf. αἰρούμαι σε τοῦτο, ἐνδύσασθαι χιτῶνα, to put on (oneself) a tunic.

f (d) In consequence of a looseness of thought at an early period of the language, *Niph'al* comes finally in many cases to represent the passive¹ of *Qal*, e.g. **יָלַד** to bear, Niph. to be born; **קָבַר** to bury, Niph. to be buried. In cases where *Qal* is intransitive in meaning, or is not used, *Niph'al* appears also as the passive of *Pi'el* and *Hiph'il*, e.g. **קָבַר** to be in honour, *Pi'el* to honour, Niph. to be honoured (as well as *Pu'al* **כָּבַד**); **פָּחַד** *Pi'el* to conceal, *Hiph.* to destroy, Niph. passive of either. In such cases *Niph'al* may again coincide in meaning with *Qal* (**חָלַה**) *Qal* and Niph. to be ill) and even take an accusative.

g Examples of denominatives are, **נִבְרַר** to be born a male, Ex 34¹⁹ (from **בָּרַר**; but probably **הִנְבְּרַר** should here be read); **נָלַבב** cordatum fieri, Jb 11¹² (from **לָבַב** cor); doubtless also **נִבְנָה** to obtain children, Gn 16², 30³.

h The older grammarians were decidedly wrong in representing *Niph'al* simply as the passive of *Qal*; for *Niph'al* has (as the frequent use of its imperat. shows), in no respect the character of the other passives, and in Arabic a special conjugation (*ingātālā*) corresponds to it with a passive of its own. Moreover, the forms mentioned in § 52 e point to a differently formed passive of *Qal*.—The form **נִבְנָלוּ** Is 59⁸, La 4¹⁴, is not to be regarded as a passive of *Niph'al*, but with König and Cheyne as a *forma mixta*, in the sense that the punctuators intended to combine two optional readings, **נִבְנָלוּ**, perf. Niph., and **נִבְנָלוּ**, perf. *Pu'al* [cf. also Wright, *Compar. Gramm.*, p. 224]. Although the passive use of *Niph'al* was introduced at an early period, and became tolerably common, it is nevertheless quite secondary to the reflexive use.

i Rem. 1. The *infin. absol.* **נִקְטָלוּ** is connected in form with the perfect, to which it bears the same relation as **קָטַל** to **קָטַל** in *Qal*, the *δ* in the second syllable being obscured from an original *ā*. Examples are, **נִקְטָה** Gn 31³⁰; **נִלְחַם** Ju 11²⁵; **נִשְׁאַל** 1 S 20^{6,28}, all in connexion with the perfect.

k Examples of the form **הִקְטָלוּ** (in connexion with imperfects) are, **הִקְטָנוּ** Jer 32⁴; **הִקְטָלוּ** Lv 7¹⁸; once **הִקְטָלוּ** Ez 14³, where, perhaps, the subsequent **הִקְטָלוּ** has led to the substitution of **הִ** for **הִ**.—Moreover, the form **הִקְטָלוּ** is not infrequently used also for the *infin. absol.*,² e.g. Ex 22³, Nu 15³¹, Dt 4²⁶, 1 K 20³⁰. On the other hand, **כָּהֲנָה** should simply be read for the wholly abnormal **כָּהֲנָה** ψ 68³ (commonly explained as being intended to correspond in sound with the subsequent **הִתְנַדָּה**, but probably a 'forma mixta', combining the readings **כָּהֲנָה** and **כָּהֲנָה**).

¹ Cf. Halfmann, *Beiträge zur Syntax der hebräischen Sprache*, 1. Stück, Wittenb., 1888, 2. St. 1892 (Gymn.-Programm), statistics of the *Niph'al* (*Pu'al*, *Hoph'al*, and *qātūl*) forms at different periods of the language, for the purpose of ascertaining the meaning of *Niph.* and its relation to the passive; the selection of periods is, however, very questionable from the standpoint of literary criticism.

² But, like **הִקְטָלוּ**, only in connexion with imperfects, except Jer 7⁹. Barth is therefore right in describing (*Nominalbildung*, p. 74) both forms as later analogous formations (in addition to the original Semitic **נִקְטָלוּ**), intended to assimilate the infinitive to the imperfect which it strengthens.

Elision of the ה after prepositions is required by the Masora in פָּשַׁלְוּ Pr l 24¹⁷ (for פָּהַלְוּ, פָּהַרְוּ Ez 26¹⁵ and פָּעַמְהָ La 2¹¹; also in verbs לָהּ Ex 10³ (לָהֶנּוּ); 34²⁴ and Is 1¹² (לָהֶנּוּ); in verbs עָלָה Jb 33³⁰ (לָהֶנּוּ). It is, however, extremely doubtful whether the *inf. Qal* of the *Kethibh* is not rather intended in all these examples; it certainly is so in La 2¹¹, cf. ψ 61³.

2. Instead of the *Sere* in the ultima of the imperfect, *Pathah* often occurs *m* in pause, e.g. וַיִּנָּמַל Gn 21⁸; cf. Ex 31¹⁷, 2 S 12¹⁵ (with final שׁ); 17²³ (with ק); Jon 1⁵ (with מ); see § 29 g. In the 2nd and 3rd plur. fem. *Pathah* predominates, e.g. תִּנְבְּרָנָה Is 65¹⁷; *Sere* occurs only in תִּנְבְּרָנָה Ru 1¹³, from עָנָה, and hence, with loss of the doubling, for תִּנְבְּרָנָה; cf. even תִּנְבְּרָנָה Is 60⁴.—With *Nūn paragogicum* (see § 47 m) in the 2nd and 3rd plur. masc. are found, יִכְבְּרוּ, תִּלְחֲמוּ, &c., in pause וַיִּכְבְּרוּ, וַיִּלְחֲמוּ, &c.; but Jb 19²⁴ (cf. 24²⁴) הִתְבַּרְּבוּ.

3. When the imperfect, the infinitive (in *ē*), or the imperative is followed *n* in close connexion by a monosyllable, or by a word with the tone on the first syllable, the tone is, as a rule (but cf. וַיִּשְׁבֹּק אִישׁ Gn 32²⁵), shifted back from the ultima to the penultima, while the ultima, which thus loses the tone, takes *S'ghöl* instead of *Sere*; e.g. וַיִּשְׁבֹּל בָּהּ Ez 33¹²; וַיַּעֲתֵר לוֹ Gn 25²¹; in the imperative, 13⁹.—So always הִשְׁמַר לָךְ (since לָךְ counts as *one* syllable) Gn 24⁶, &c., cf. 1 S 19²; and even with *Pathah* in the ultima, תִּעֲבֹב אֶרֶץ Jb 18⁴ (but cf. וַיַּעֲתֵר אֱלֹהִים 2 S 21¹⁴). Although in isolated cases (e.g. Gn 32²⁵, Ezr 8²³) the tone is not thrown back, in spite of a tone-syllable following, the retraction has become usual in certain forms, even when the next word begins with a toneless syllable; especially after 1 *consec.*, e.g. וַיִּשְׁפָּאֵר Gn 7²³; וַיִּנְחֵם Nu 21¹ and frequently, וַיִּצְמַח 25⁹; and always so in the imperative הִשְׁמַר Ex 23²¹, Jb 36²¹, and (before Metheg of the counter-tone) Dt 24⁸, 2 K 6⁹. On the avoidance of pausal-forms in the imperative (Am 2¹² with *Silluq*, Zc 2¹¹ with *Athnah*), and imperfect (Pr 24⁴, &c.), see § 29 e, and note; on the other hand, always הִפְלִיט, וַיְפַלֵּט, &c.

In the imperative, נִקְבְּצוּ, for הִקְבְּצוּ, with the rejection of the initial ה, O occurs in Is 43⁹, and in Joel 4¹¹ in pause נִקְבְּצוּ (cf. נִלְוֹ Jer 50⁵); but in these examples either the reading or the explanation is doubtful. The 2nd sing. imperat. of נִשְׁבַּע is always (with ה— *paragogicum*) לִי הִשְׁבַּעָה swear to me, Gn 21²³, &c. (also לִי הִשְׁבַּעָה Gn 47³¹, 1 S 30¹⁵).

4. For the 1st sing. of the imperfect, the form אֶשְׁבֹּל is as frequent as אֶשְׁבֹּל, p e.g. אֶשְׁבֹּל I shall be inquired of, Ez 14³; אֶשְׁבַּע I will swear, Gn 21²⁴; cf. 16², Nu 23¹⁵, Ez 20³⁶, and so always in the cohortative, e.g. אֶנְקָמָה I will avenge me, Is 1²⁴; cf. 1 S 12⁷, Ez 26², and in the impf. Niph. of פָּחַד (§ 69 t). The Babylonian punctuation admits only ז under the preformative of the 1st person.

§ 52. Pi'el and Pu'al.

1. The characteristic of this conjugation consists in the strengthening *a* of the middle radical. From the simple stem *qatal* (cf. § 43 b) the form קָטַל (cf. the Arabic conj. II. *qattālā*) would naturally follow as

the *perfect* of the active (*Pi'el*). The *Pathah* of the first syllable is, however, with one exception (see *m*), always attenuated to *i* in the *perfect*. In the second syllable, *ā* has been retained in the majority of cases, so that the conjugation should more correctly be called *Pi'al*; but very frequently¹ this *ā* also is attenuated to *i*, which is then regularly lengthened to *ē*, under the influence of the tone. Cf. in Aram. קָטַל; but in Biblical Aramaic almost always קָטַל. On the three cases in which *ā* before a final ר or ס has passed into *Seghōl*, see below, *l*.—Hence, for the 3rd sing. masc. perfect, there arise forms like קָטַר, קָטַר, קָטַר, &c.—Before affirmatives beginning with a consonant, however, *ā* is always retained, thus קָטַרְתָּ, קָטַרְתָּם, קָטַרְתִּי, &c. In the *infinitives* (absol. קָטַל, obscured from *qattāl*; constr. קָטַל), *imperfect* (יִקְטַל), *imperative* (קָטַל), and *participle* (קָטַל) the original *ā* of the first syllable reappears throughout. The vocal *Ṣewā* of the preformatives is weakened from a short vowel; cf. the Arabic imperfect *yūqattil*, participle *mūqattil*.

b The *passive* (*Pu'al*) is distinguished by the obscure vowel *ū*, or very rarely *ō*, in the first syllable, and *ā* (in pause *ā*) always in the second. In Arabic, also, the passives are formed throughout with *ū* in the first syllable. The inflexion of both these conjugations is analogous to that of *Qal*.

c Rem. 1. The preformative פ, which in the remaining conjugations also is the prefix of the participle, is probably connected with the interrogative or indefinite (cf. § 37) pronoun מִי *quis? quicunque* (fem. i. e. neuter, קָה); cf. § 85 *e*.

d 2. The Dageš forte, which according to the above is characteristic of the whole of *Pi'el* and *Pu'al*, is often omitted (independently of verbs *middle guttural*, § 64 *d*) when the middle radical has *Ṣewā* under it (cf. § 20 *m*), e. g. שָׁקַח for שִׁקַּח Ez 17¹⁷; בָּקַשׁ 2 Ch 15¹⁵ (but in the *imperative* always בִּקְשׁוּ 1 S 28⁷, &c.), and so always in הִלֵּל *praise*. The vocal character of the *Ṣewā* under the *litera dagessanda* is sometimes in such cases (according to § 10 *h*) expressly emphasized by its taking the form of a *Ḥateph*, as in לָקַח Gn 2²³, with $\frac{\text{קָ}}{\text{ח}}$ owing to the influence of the preceding *u*, cf. פָּעַל for פָּעֵל, &c.; Gn 9¹⁴, Ju 16¹⁶. In the *imperfect* and *participle* the *Ṣewā* under the preformatives (*Ḥateph-Pathah* under נ in the 1st sing. imperfect) serves at the same time as a characteristic of both conjugations (Gn 26¹⁴).

e 3. According to the convincing suggestion of Böttcher² (*Ausführliches Lehrbuch*, § 904 ff. and § 1022), many supposed perfects of *Pu'al* are in reality

¹ So in all verbs which end in *Nūn*, and in almost all which end in *Lamed* (Olsh. p. 538). Barth is probably right in supposing (*ZDMG*. 1894, p. 1 ff.) that the vowels of the strengthened perfects have been influenced by the *imperfect*.

² As Mayer Lambert observes, the same view was already expressed by Ibn 'Anān (see above, § 3 *d*) in the *Kitāb el-tumā'*, p. 161. Cf. especially Barth, 'Das passive Qal und seine Participien,' in the *Festschrift zum Jubiläum Hildesheimer* (Berlin, 1890), p. 145 ff.

לָקַח to gather the clouds together (from לָקַח, עָנָן to divide in three parts, or to do a thing for the third time (from שָׁלַשׁ); probably also דִּבֶּר to speak, from דִּבָּר a word. Or again, the denominative may express taking away, injuring, &c., the object denoted by the noun (*privative Pi'el*, cf. our to skin, to behead, to bone), e.g. שָׁרַשׁ, from שָׁרַשׁ to root out, to extirpate, וָנֶבֶךְ prop. to injure the tail (וָנֶבֶךְ), hence to rout the rear of an army, to attack it; לָבַב to ravish the heart; דָּשַׁן to remove the ashes (דָּשַׁן), הִטָּא to free from sin (הִטָּא), עָצַם to break any one's bones (עָצַם); cf., in the same sense, גָּרַם from גָּרַם); קָעַר to lop the boughs, Is 10³³ (from קָעַר a bough). Some words are clearly denominatives, although the noun from which they are derived is no longer found, e.g. סָבַל to stone, to pelt with stones (also used in this sense in *Qal*), and to remove stones (from a field), to clear away stones; cf. our to stone, used also in the sense of taking out the stones from fruit.

The meaning of the *passive (Pu'al)* follows naturally from the above, e.g. בִּקֵּשׁ *Pi'el* to seek, *Pu'al* to be sought.

i In *Pi'el* the literal, concrete meaning of the verb has sometimes been retained, when *Qal* has acquired a figurative sense, e.g. נָקָה, *Pi'el* to uncover, *Qal* to reveal, also to emigrate, i.e. to make the land bare.

k Also with an intransitive sense *Pi'el* occurs as an intensive form, but only in poetic language, e.g. הִתַּח in *Pi'el* to be broken in pieces, Jer 51⁵⁶; פָּחַד to tremble, Is 51¹³, Pr 28¹⁴; רָנָה to be drunken, Is 34^{5.7}; [מָעַט to be few, Ec 12⁸]; but in Is 48⁸, 60¹¹ instead of the *Pi'el* of פָּתַח the *Niph'al* is certainly to be read, with Cheyne.

l Rem. 1. The (more frequent) form of the perfect with *Pathah* in the second syllable appears especially before *Maqqeph* (Ec 9¹⁵, 12⁹) and in the middle of sentences in continuous discourse, but at the end of the sentence (in *pause*) the form with *Sere* is more common. Cf. נָדַל Is 49²¹ with נָדַל Jos 4¹⁴, Est 3¹; מָלַט Ez 33⁵ with מָלַט Ec 9¹⁵; קָצַץ 2 K 8¹⁶ with קָצַץ ψ 129⁴; but *Qames* never appears in this pausal form. The 3rd sing. fem. in *pause* is always of the form קָטְלָה, except קָטְצָה Mi 1⁷; the 3rd plur. always as קָטְלוּ; the 2nd and 1st sing. and 1st plur. of course as קָטַלְתָּ, קָטַלְתָּ, קָטַלְתִּי (but always דִּבַּרְתִּי and שִׁפַּרְתִּי), קָטַלְנוּ. In the 3rd sing. perf. דִּבֶּר to speak, בָּפַר to pardon, and כָּבַשׁ to wash clothes (also כָּבַשׁ Gn 49¹¹) take *S'ghol*, but become in *pause* דִּבֵּר, כָּבַשׁ (2 S 19²⁵); the pausal form of בָּפַר does not occur.

m *Pathah* in the first syllable (as in Aramaic and Arabic) occurs only once, Gn 41⁶¹, נָשְׁנִי he made me forget, to emphasize more clearly the play on the name מְנַשֶּׁה.

n 2. In the *imperfect* (and *jussive* Ju 16²⁵), *infinitive*, and *imperative Pi'el* (as also in *Hithpa'el*) the *Sere* in the final syllable, when followed by *Maqqeph*, is usually shortened into *S'ghol*, e.g. יִבְקֹשׁ-לּוֹ he seeks for himself, Is 40²⁰; קִדְּשִׁי, sanctify unto me, Ex 13². Pausal-forms with *S'ghol* instead of *Sere*, as יִרְחֶק Dt 32¹¹, אֶרְחֶק Ho 2⁶ (cf. Ex 32⁶ in the infinitive, and Gn 21⁹ in the participle), owe their origin to some particular school of Masoretes, and are wrongly accepted by Baer; cf. the analogous cases in § 75 n and hh. If the final syllable of the *imperfect Pi'el* has *Pathah* (before a guttural or ר), it remains

even in *pause*; cf. § 29 s and 65 e. In the 1st sing. imperfect the *e*-sound occurs in two words for *Ha'eph-Pathah*, under the preformative א; אָנָה Lv 26³³, Ez 5¹², 12¹⁴ and וְאִסְעָרָם Ze 7¹⁴ (in accordance with § 23 h).—Before the full plural ending ון (see § 47 m) the *Sere* is retained in *pause*, e.g. הַרְבֵּירוֹן ψ 58² (but Gn 32²⁰ הַרְבֵּירוֹן, cf. 2 K 6¹⁹, Dt 12³; so before *Silluq* ψ 58³, Jb 21¹¹ and even before *Zaqeph qafon* Dt 7⁶. Instead of הַרְבֵּירוֹן, forms like הַרְבֵּירוֹנָה are also found, e.g. Is 3¹⁶, 13¹⁸, in both cases before a sibilant and in *pause*. Also הַרְבֵּירוֹן ψ 55¹⁰ occurs as the 2nd sing. imperative (probably an intentional imitation of the sound of the preceding הַרְבֵּירוֹן) and קָרַב (for *qarrabi*) Ez 37¹⁷.

3. The *infinitive absolute* of Pi'el has sometimes the special form קָמַל given in O the paradigm, e.g. יַפְרָה *castigando*, ψ 118¹⁸; cf. Ex 21¹⁹, 1 K 19¹⁰ (from a verb אָרָה); ψ 40² (from a verb אָרָה); but much more frequently the form of the *infinitive construct* (קָמַל) is used instead. The latter has also, in exceptional cases, the form קָמַל (with *ā* attenuated to *ī* as in the *perfect*), e.g. in 1 Ch 8⁸ שָׁלְחוּ; perhaps also (if not a substantive) קָמַר Jer 44²¹; and for the sake of assonance even for *infinitive absolute* in 2 S 12¹⁴ (נָאֵץ וְנָאֵץ). On the other hand, שָׁלַח Dt 32²⁵ and דָּבַר Jer 5¹³ are better regarded as substantives, while דָּבַר Ex 6²⁸, Nu 3¹, Dt 4¹⁵ (in each case after הַיּוֹם), Ho 1² (after הַחֵלֶת), in all of which places it is considered by König (after Qimhi) to be *infinitive construct*, is really perfect of Pi'el.

The infinitive construct Pi'el, with the *fem.* ending (cf. § 45 d), occurs in p הפָּרַה Lv 26¹⁸; וּפָרָה ψ 147¹; with ה of the *fem.* before a suffix פָּרָהְךָ Ez 16⁶². On the verbal nouns after the form of the Aram. inf. Pu'al (פָּרָהְךָ), see § 84^b e.

Instead of the abnormal מְאִסְפִּי (so Baer, Is 62⁹) as ptp. Pi'el, read מְאִסֵּי with ed. Mant. and Ginsburg.

4. In Pu'al *ō* is sometimes found instead of *ā* in the initial syllable, e.g. q מְאִדָּם *died red*, Ex 25⁶, &c., Na 2⁴, cf. 3⁷ שָׁדְדָה; Ez 16⁴, ψ 72²⁰, So¹¹. According to Baer's reading also הִרְעָדָה ψ 62⁴, and so also Ben Ašer, but Ben Naphtali הִרְעָדָה. It is merely an orthographic licence when *ā* is written fully, e.g. הִרְעָדָה Ju 18²⁹.

5. As *infinitive absolute* of Pu'al we find מְבַב Gn 40¹⁵.—No instance of the *inf. r constr.* occurs in the strong verb in Pu'al; from אָרָה with suffix מְבַבְתָּ 132¹.

6. A few examples occur of the *participle* Pu'al without the preformative (מְ), s e.g. אָבַל Ex 3²; יוֹלֵד (for מְיֹלֵד) Ju 13⁸; לָקַח 2 K 2¹⁰; מְסַעַר Is 54¹¹. These *participles* are distinguished from the *perfect* (as in *Niphal*) by the *ā* of the final syllable. For other examples, see Is 30²⁴, Ec 9¹² (where וּמְשִׁים, according to § 20 n, stands for 'מְשִׁי' = 'מְשִׁי'); but, according to the Masora, not Ez 26¹⁷, since הִתְקַלַּח as *Mit'el* can only be the *perfect*. The rejection of the מְ may be favoured by an initial מ, as in Is 18^{2.7} (but also מְשִׁשָּׁה); Pr 25¹⁹ (where, however, read מְשִׁשָּׁה); so also in the participle Pi'el מְאִן Ex 7²⁷, 9² (always after אָם, but cf. also מְאִנִּים Jer 13¹⁰, where, however, הַמְאִנִּים = הַמְאִנִּים is to be read, with Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, p. 264 f.) and מְהִיר Zp 1¹⁴ (and Is 8^{1.3} ?). Notice, however, Barth's suggestion (*Nominalbildung*, p. 273) that, as the active of forms like אָבַל only occurs in *Qal*, they are perfect participles of former *passives* of *Qal* (see e), and in Jer 13¹⁰, 23³², perfect participles of Pi'el.—On מְרַבַּע Ez 45², see § 65 d.

§ 53. *Hiph'il and Hoph'al.*

a 1. The characteristic of the active (*Hiph'il*) is a prefixed ה (on its origin see § 55 i) in the perfect ה (with the *ā* attenuated to *ē*, as in *Pi'el*), which forms a closed syllable with the first consonant of the stem. The second syllable of the perfect had also originally an *ā*; cf. the Arabic conj. iv. 'aqṭūlā, and in Hebrew the return of the *Pathah* in the 2nd and 1st pers. הִקְטִילָהּ, &c. After the attenuation of this *ā* to *ē*, it ought by rule to have been lengthened to *ē* in the tone-syllable, as in Aramaic הִקְטִיל, beside הִקְטִיל in Biblical Aramaic. Instead of this, however, it is always replaced in the strong verb by *i*,¹ —, but sometimes written defectively —; cf. § 9 g. Similarly in the infinitive construct הִקְטִיל, and in the imperfect and participle יִקְטִיל and מִקְטִיל, which are syncopated from הִקְטִיל and מִהִקְטִיל; § 23 k. The corresponding Arabic forms (*juqtīl* and *muqtīl*) point to an original *i* in the second syllable of these forms. In Hebrew the regular lengthening of this *i* to *ē* appears in the strong verb at least in the *jussive* and in the *imperfect consecutive* (see *n*), as also in the *imperative* of the 2nd sing. masc. (see *m*); on הִקְטִילָהּ, הִקְטִילָהּ cf. § 26 p. On the return of the original *ā* in the second syllable of the *Imperat.*, *Jussive*, &c., under the influence of a guttural, cf. § 65 f.

b In the *passive* (*Hoph'al*) the preformative is pronounced with an obscure vowel, whilst the second syllable has *ā* (in pause *ā*), as its characteristic, thus:—*Perf.* הִקְטִיל or הִקְטִיל, *Imperf.* יִקְטִיל (syncopated from יִהִקְטִיל) or יִקְטִיל, *Part.* מִקְטִיל or מִקְטִיל (from מִהִקְטִיל); but the *infinitive absolute* has the form הִקְטִיל.

Thus the characteristics of both conjugations are the ה preformative in the *perfect*, *imperative*, and *infinitive*; in the *imperfect* and *participle* *Hiph'il*, *Pathah* under the preformatives, in the *Hoph'al* *ō* or *ū*.

c 2. The meaning of *Hiph'il* is primarily, and even more frequently than in *Pi'el* (§ 52 g), *causative* of *Qal*, e. g. הִצֵּי to go forth, *Hiph.* to bring forth, to lead forth, to draw forth; הִקְדֵּשׁ to be holy, *Hiph.* to sanctify. Under the *causative* is also included (as in *Pi'el*) the *declarative* sense, e. g. הִעֲדִיךָ to pronounce just; הִרְשִׁיעַ to make one an evil doer (to pronounce guilty); cf. עָקַשׁ, in *Hiph'il*, Jb 9²⁰, to represent as perverse. If *Qal* has already a transitive meaning, *Hiph'il* then takes two accusatives (see § 117 cc). In some verbs, *Pi'el* and *Hiph'il* occur side by side in the same sense, e. g. הִפְרִיט *perūt*, *Pi'el* and *Hiph'il*, *perdidit*; as a rule,

¹ This *i* may have been transferred originally from the imperfects of verbs *י"ע*, as a convenient means of distinction between the indicative and *jussive*, to the *imperfect* of the strong verb and afterwards to the whole of *Hiph'il*; so Stade, Philippi, Praetorius, ZAW. 1883, p. 52 f.

however, only one of these two conjugations is in use, or else they differ from one another in meaning, e.g. כָּבֵד *gravem esse*, Pi'el to honour, Hiph'il to bring to honour, also to make heavy. Verbs which are intransitive in Qal simply become transitive in Hiph'il, e.g. נָתַה to bow oneself, Hiph. to bow, to bend.

Among the ideas expressed by the *causative* and *transitive* are included, *d* moreover, according to the *Hebrew* point of view (and that of the Semitic languages in general, especially Arabic), a series of actions and ideas, which we have to express by periphrasis, in order to understand their being represented by the Hiph'il-form. To these *inwardly transitive* or *intensive* Hiph'il's belong: (a) Hiph'il stems which express the obtaining or receiving of a concrete or abstract quality. (In the following examples the Qal stems are given, for the sake of brevity, with the addition of the meaning which—often together with other meanings—belongs to the Hiph'il.) Thus אָהַל, יָפַע, זָהַר, אָהַל, יָפַע, to be bright, to shine (to give forth brightness); opposed to חָשַׁךְ to become dark; אָמַן, גָּבַר, חָזַק to be strong (to develop strength), עָוָה to be weak; אָרַךְ to be long (to acquire length); גָּבַהּ to be high; הָוּם to be in tumult, זָעַק to cry out, רָוַע to make a noise, to exult; הִלָּף to sprout (to put forth shoots), cf. פָּרַח to bloom, עָרַף to overflow; חָרַשׁ, חָשָׂה, סָכַת, צָמַת to be silent (silentium facere, Pliny); מָתַק to be sweet; צָלַח to have success; נָשַׁף to be low; אָרַם to become red, לָבַן to become white.

(b) Stems which express in Hiph'il the entering into a certain condition and, *e* further, the being in the same: אָמַן to become firm, to trust in; בָּאֵשׁ to become stinking; בָּוַל to become boiling, to boil over; חָלָה to become ill; חָסַר to come to want; חָרָה to become hot; יָבֵשׁ to become dry, to become ashamed; יָתַר to attain superiority; שָׁבַן to become familiar; קָוַן to become awake; קָשָׁה to become hard; רָגַע, שָׁקַט to become quiet (to keep quiet); שָׁמַם to be astonished. The Hiph'il forms of some verbs of motion constitute a variety of this class: נָנַשׁ to draw near; קָרַב to come near; רָחַק to withdraw far off (all these three are besides used as causatives); קָדַם to come before.

(c) Stems which express action in some particular direction: חָטָא to err; *f* חָלַק to flatter (to act smoothly); יָטַב to act well, to do good; סָבַל to act foolishly, שָׁכַל to act wisely; עָרַם to act craftily; צָנַע to act submissively; רָעַע to act wickedly, godlessly; שָׁחַת to act corruptly, abominably; נָשַׁלַם to act peacefully, to be at peace, to be submissive.

Further, there are in Hiph'il a considerable number of denominatives which *g* express the bringing out, the producing of a thing, and so are properly regarded as causatives,¹ e.g. אָצַר to set over the treasury, Neh 13¹⁸ (unless נִצְיָה is to be read, as in Neh 7²); בָּכַר to bring forth a firstborn; גָּשַׁם to cause to rain; זָרַע to produce seed; יָמַן (Hiph'il הִימִין) to go to the right, cf. הִשְׁמָאֵל to go to the left; פָּרַם to get or to have hoofs; קָרַן to get or to have horns; שָׁבַל to produce abortion; שָׁלַג to become snow-white; שָׁמַן to grow fat; שָׁרַשׁ to put forth roots, &c.; so also according to the ordinary acception אֶחָדָהוּ Is 19⁶, they have become stinking, from אָנַח stinking or stench, with retention of the N prosthetic, § 19 m (but see below, p).

¹ The same ideas are also paraphrased by the verb עָשָׂה (to make), e.g. to make fat, for, to produce fat upon his body, Jb 15²⁷; to make fruit, to make branches, for, to put forth, to yield, Jb 14⁹, Ho 8⁷, cf. the Lat. corpus, robur, sobolem, divitias facere, and the Ital. far corpo, far force, far frutto.

Of a different kind are the *denominatives* from: נָחַן (scarcely to *prick up the ears*, but) to *act with the ears, to hear*; cf. לָשֵׁן to *move the tongue, to slander*, and the German *äugeln* (to make eyes), *füssel, nüssel, schwätzel*; שָׁבַר to *sell corn*; שָׁבַם to *set out early* (to load the back [of the camel, &c.]?) ; opposed to הָעָרִיב .

h 3. The meaning of *Hoph'al* is (a) primarily that of a *passive* of *Hiph'il*, e.g. הִשְׁלִיךְ *proiecit*, הִשְׁלַךְ or הִשְׁלָךְ *proiectus est*; (b) sometimes equivalent to a passive of *Qal*, as נָקַם to *avenge*, *Hoph. to be avenged* (but see below, u).

i Rem. 1. The *i* of the 3rd sing. masc. perf. *Hiph'il* remains, without exception, in the 3rd fem. (in the tone-syllable). That it was, however, only lengthened from a short vowel, and consequently is changeable, is proved by the forms of the *imperative* and *imperfect* where *i* (or, under the influence of gutturals, *ä*) takes its place. In an open syllable the *i* is retained almost throughout; only in very isolated instances has it been weakened to *S^ewa* (see n and o).

k 2. The *infinitive absolute* commonly has *Sere* without *Yodh*, e.g. הַקָּדֵשׁ Ju 17²; less frequently it takes *Yodh*, e.g. הַשְׁמִיר Am 9⁸; cf. Dt 15⁴, Is 59⁴, Jer 3¹⁵, 23³², 44²⁵, Jb 34³⁵, Ec 10¹⁰. With *N* instead of *ה* (probably a mere scribal error, not an Aramaism) we find הַשְׁמִיר Jer 25³. Rare exceptions, where the form with *Sere* stands for the *infinitive construct*, are, e.g. Dt 32⁸ (Sam. בְּהִנְחִיל ; read perhaps בְּהִנְחִיל , Jer 44^{19,25}, Pr 25³, Jb 13³ (?); on the other hand, for לַעֲשֹׂר Dt 26¹² (which looks like an infinitive *Hiph'il* with elision of the *ה*, for לְהַעֲשִׂיר) the right reading is simply לַעֲשֹׂר , since elsewhere the *Pi'el* alone occurs with the meaning *to tithe*; for בַּעֲשֹׂר Neh 10³⁹ perhaps the inf. *Qal* (בַּעֲשֹׂר) was intended, as in 1 S 8^{15,17} (= *to take the tithe*). At the same time it is doubtful whether the present punctuation does not arise from a conflation of two different readings, the *Qal* and the *Pi'el*.

l Instead of the ordinary form of the *infinitive construct* הַקְטִיל the form הַקְטִיל sometimes occurs, e.g. הַשְׁמִיר to *destroy*, Dt 7²⁴, 28⁴⁸; cf. Lv 14⁴⁶, Jos 11¹⁴, Jer 50³⁴, 51³⁹ and הַקְטִיל for הַקְטִיל Lv 14⁴³ from קָטַח ; scarcely, however, Lv 7²⁶ (see § 155 l), 2 S 22¹ (ψ 18¹), 1 K 11¹⁶ (after ψ), and in the passages so explained by König (i. 276) where הַשְׁמִיר appears after prepositions¹; [cf. Driver on Dt 3³, 4¹⁵, 7²⁴, 28⁵⁵].

With *ä* in the second syllable there occurs הַקְטִיל Ez 21²⁹ (cf. the substantival infin. הַקְטִיל 1 S 15²³).—In the Aram. manner לְהַשְׁמִיר is found in Ez 24²⁶ (as a construct form) for the *infinitive Hiph'il* (cf. the *infinitive Hithpa'el*, Dn 11²³). On the elision of the *ה* after prefixes, see q.

m 3. In the *imperative* the *i* is retained throughout in the open syllable, according to i, and consequently also before suffixes (see § 61 g) and ה —*paragogic*, e.g. הַשְׁמִיר attend to, ψ 118²⁵, as in ed. Mant., Jabl., Baer, not הַשְׁמִיר as Ginsb. and Kittel; with the tone at the end only הַשְׁמִיר ibid. v. 25^b. On the other hand, in the 2nd sing. masc. the original *i* (cf. Arabic *'aqtal*) is lengthened to *e*, e.g. הַשְׁמִיר make fat, and becomes *S^eghöl* before *Maqqeph*, e.g. הַשְׁמִיר Jb 22²¹.—The form הַקְטִיל for הַקְטִיל appears anomalously a few times: ψ 94¹, Is 43⁸, Jer 17¹⁸ (cf. § 69 v and § 72 y); elsewhere the Masora has preferred the punctuation הַקְטִיל , e.g. 2 K 8⁸; cf. ψ 142⁵.—In La 5¹ הַשְׁמִיר is required by the *Q^{re}* for הַשְׁמִיר .

¹ As to the doubtfulness, on general grounds, of this form of the Inf. *Hiph.*, see Robertson Smith in the *Journ. of Philol.*, xvi. p. 72 f.

4. In the *imperfect* Hiph'il the shorter form with *Sere* prevails for the jussive *u* in the 3rd masc. and fem. and 2nd masc. sing., e.g. אֶל-תַּגְדֵּל make not great, Ob 12; יַכְרֵת let Him cut off! ψ 124; even incorrectly תַּיִד Ex 19³ and יַיִד Ec 10²⁰; cf. also יַכְעֵר Ex 22⁴, where the jussive form is to be explained according to § 109 h, and יַאֲבֵר Jb 39²⁶ before the principal pause. Similarly, after *ו* consec., e.g. וַיִּבְדֵּל and He divided, Gn 14. On the other hand, *i* is almost always retained in the 1st sing., e.g. וְאֶשְׁכִּיד Am 2⁹ (but generally without *i*, as וְאֶסְתֵּר Ez 39^{23 f.}, &c.); cf. § 49 e and § 74 l, but also § 72 aa; in 1st plur. only in Neh 4³; in the 3rd sing. ψ 105²⁸. With *ā* in the principal pause וְיִתְּנֵה Ru 21⁴, and in the lesser pause, Gn 49⁴; before a sibilant (see § 29 g) וַיִּנְשֵׁ Ju 61⁹; in the lesser pause וַיִּנְה La 3⁶. Before *Maggeph* the *Sere* becomes *S'ghōl*, e.g. וַיִּחְקְרֵב Ju 19⁴. In the plural again, and before suffixes, *i* remains in the forms יִקְטִילוּ, יִקְטִילוּ, even in the jussive and after *ו* consecutive, e.g. וַיִּקְטִילוּ Ju 18²². The only exceptions, where the *i* is weakened to *S'ud*, are יִדְרֹכוּ Jer 9²; וַיִּדְבְּקוּ 1 S 14²², 31², 1 Ch 10²; יַעֲבֵרוּ Jer 11¹⁵; וַאֲזַרְהוּ Neh 13¹³, if it is Hiph'il of אָצַר, but probably וַאֲזַרְהוּ is to be read, as in 7²; perhaps also וַתִּהְרֹב Jb 19³ (according to others, *imperfect* Qal). The same weakening occurs also in the imperfect in 3rd and 2nd masc. sing. before suffixes, 1 S 17²⁰, 1 K 20³³, ψ 65¹⁰; and in Jb 9²⁰, unless the form be *Pi'el*=וַיַּעֲשֵׂי, since the Hiph'il is not found elsewhere. It is hardly likely that in these isolated examples we have a trace of the ground-form, *yafīl*, or an Aramaism. More probably they are due partly to a misunderstanding of the defective writing, which is found, by a purely orthographic licence, in numerous other cases (even in 3rd sing. יִשְׁלַח Is 44²⁸), and partly are intended, as *formae mixtae*, to combine the forms of Qal and Hiph'il. Instead of the firmly closed syllable, the Masora requires in Gn 11¹¹ תִּרְשָׁא, with euphonic Ga'ya (see § 16 h).

5. In the *participle*, מֹנִיעַ ψ 135⁷ appears to be traceable to the ground-form, *O magīl*; yet the *Sere* may also possibly be explained by the retraction of the tone. The Masora appears to require the weakening of the vowel to *S'ud* (see above, n) in מְהַלְכִים Zc 3⁷ (probably, however, מְהַלְכִים should be read), also in מְהַלְמִים Jer 29⁸, מְעוֹרִים 2 Ch 28²³ (but as *u* precedes, and accordingly dittography may well have taken place, the participle Qal is probably to be read in both places; the reading of the text is perhaps again intended to combine Qal and Hiph'il, see above, n), and in the מְהַצֵּרִים 1 Ch 15²⁴ &c. (where the *Kethibh* מְהַצֵּרִים is better).—The fem. is ordinarily pointed as מַפְּרֵת Nu 5¹⁵, מַפְּרֵת Lv 14²¹; in pause מַפְּרֵת Pr 19¹⁴.

6. In the *perfect* there occur occasionally such forms as הִכְלַמְנוּ 1 S 25⁷; *p* cf. Gn 41²⁸, 2 K 17¹¹, Jer 29¹, Mi 6³, Jb 16⁷; with the original *ā* in the first syllable וְהִרְאֵיתִי Na 3⁵.—In אֶנְצַלְתִּי 1 I have stained, Is 63³, *N* stands at the beginning instead of ה, cf. above, k, on אֶשְׁבִּים. On the other hand, וְהִזְאֵנוּהוּ

¹ Most probably, however, גִּלְתִּי (*perfect* Pi'el) is to be read, and the *N* is only an indication of the change of the *perfect* into the *imperfect*, as also previously, by a change of punctuation, וְהִזְאֵנוּ and וְהִזְאֵנוּ (instead of וְהִזְאֵנוּ and וְהִזְאֵנוּ) are made future instead of past. Jewish exegesis applied these Edom-oracles to the Roman (i.e. Christian) empire. So G. Moore in *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 1887, col. 292.

amongst all the forms of Hiph'il and Hoph'al, only the *imperfect* Hoph'al should have been preserved. A passive of Qal is also indicated in the Tell-el-Amarna letters, according to Knudtzon, by a number of imperfect forms, which are undoubtedly due to Canaanite influence, cf. *Beitr. zur Assyriologie*, iv. 410.

§ 54. *Hithpa'el*.

1. The *Hithpa'el*¹ is connected with *Pi'el*, being formed by prefixing *a* to the *Pi'el*-stem (*gatt'el*, *gatt'al*) the syllable הִתְ (Western Aramaic אִתְ, but in Biblical Aramaic הִתְ; Syr. 'et²). Like the preformative נִ (הִנְ) of *Niph'al*, הִתְ has also a reflexive force.

2. The ה of the prefix in this conjugation, as also in *Hothpa'al* *b* (see *h*), *Hithpa'el*, *Hithpa'tel* and *Hithpalpel* (§ 55), under certain circumstances, suffers the following changes:

(a) When the stem begins with one of the harder sibilants ס, צ, or ש, the ה and the sibilant change places (cf. on this *metathesis*, § 19 n¹), and at the same time the ה after a צ becomes the corresponding emphatic ט: thus הִשְׁתַּמֵּר to *take heed to oneself*, for הִתְשַׁמֵּר; הִתְסַבֵּל to *become burdensome*, for הִסְבֵּל; הִצְטַדַּק to *justify oneself*, from צִדַּק. The only exception is in Jer 49³, וְהִתְשַׁבֵּחַ, to avoid the cacophony of three successive *t*-sounds.

(b) When the stem begins with a *d*- or *t*-sound (ד, ט, ת), the ה of *c* the preformative is assimilated to it (§ 19 d), e.g. דִּבֵּר to *speaking, conversing*; הִדְבַּח to *be crushed*, הִדְפִּיחַ to *purify oneself*, הִדְפִּיחַ to *defile oneself*, הִתְנַחֵם to *act uprightly*. (An exception occurs in Ju 19²².) The assimilation of the ה occurs also with נ and כ, e.g. הִנָּבֵא to *prophecy*, as well as הִתְנַבֵּא (cf. Nu 24⁷, Ez 5¹³, Dn 11¹⁴); הִתְנַבֵּן Nu 21²⁷ (cf. Is 54¹⁴, ψ 59⁵); הִתְפַּסַּח Pr 26²⁶; with ש Ec 7¹⁶; with ר Is 33¹⁰.

Rem. Metathesis would likewise be expected, as in the cases under *b*, *d* when ה and י come together, as well as a change of ה to ד. Instead of this, in the only instance of the kind (הִיָּבִי Is 1¹⁶) the ה is assimilated to the י, —unless indeed הִיָּבִי, imperative *Niph'al* of יָבַח, is intended.

3. As in form, so also in meaning, *Hithpa'el* is primarily (a) *reflexive* of *Pi'el*, e.g. הִתְאַדָּר to *gird oneself*, הִתְקַדֵּשׁ to *sanctify oneself*. Although in these examples the intensive meaning is not distinctly marked, it is so in other cases, e.g. הִתְנַחֵם to *show oneself revengeful* (*Niph.* simply *to take revenge*), and in the numerous instances where the *Hithpa'el* expresses *to make oneself* that which is predicated by the stem, *to conduct oneself* as such, *to show oneself*, *to imagine oneself*, *to*

¹ A. Stein, *Der Stamm des Hithpa'el im Hebr.* pt. 1, Schwerin, 1893, gives alphabetical statistics of the 1151 forms.

² So also in Hebrew אִתְחַבֵּר 2 Ch 20²⁵; cf. ψ 76⁶ (אִשְׁתוֹלֵל).

affect to be of a certain character. E. g. *הִתְגַּדַּל* to make oneself great, to act proudly; *הִתְחַכֵּם* to show oneself wise, crafty; *הִתְחַלֵּף* to pretend to be ill; *הִתְעַשֵּׂר* to make, i. e. to feign oneself rich; *הִשְׁתַּדַּר* Nu 16¹³, to make oneself a prince; *הִתְנַבֵּא* I S 18¹⁰, to act in an excited manner like a prophet, to rave. The meaning of *Hithpa'el* sometimes coincides with that of *Qal*, both forms being in use together, e. g. *אָבַל* to mourn, in *Qal* only in poetic style, in *Hithpa'el* in prose. On the accusative after *Hithpa'el* (regarded as a transitive verb), see § 117 w.

f (b) It expresses reciprocal action, like *Niph'al*, § 51 d, e. g. *הִתְרְאָה* to look upon one another, Gn 42¹; cf. *פָּשׁ* 41⁸;—but

(c) It more often indicates an action less directly affecting the subject, and describes it as performed with regard to or for oneself, in one's own special interest (cf. *Niph'al*, § 51 e). *Hithpa'el* in such cases readily takes an accusative, e. g. *הִתְפַּרֵּס* Ex 32³ and *הִתְנַצַּל* Ex 33⁶ to tear off from oneself; *הִתְפַּשֵּׁט* *exuit sibi* (vestem), *הִתְפַּתַּח* *solvit sibi* (vincula); *הִצְטִיךְ* Jos 9¹², to take (something) as one's provision; without an accusative, *הִתְהַלֵּךְ* to walk about for oneself (*ambulare*); *הִתְפַּלֵּל* *sibi* *intercedere* (see Delitzsch on Is 1¹⁵); *הִתְחַקֵּךְ* to draw a line for oneself, Job 13²⁷; on Is 14², see § 57, note.

g (d) Only seldom is it passive, e. g. *הִיא תִּתְהַלֵּל* Pr 31³⁰ she shall be praised; *הִשְׁתַּכַּח* to be forgotten, Ec 8¹⁰, where the reflexive sense (to bring oneself into oblivion) has altogether disappeared. Cf. *Niph'al*, § 51 f.

h The passive form *Hothpa'al* is found only in the few following examples: *הִפְתָּא* to be defiled, Dt 24⁴; infinitive *הִפְתָּם* to be washed, Lv 13^{55,56}; *הִדְשָׁנָה* (for *הִתְדַּשְׁנָה*, the נָה being treated as if it were the affirmative of the fem. plur.) it is made fat, Is 34⁶. On *הִתְפַּקְדוּ*, see l.

i Denominatives with a reflexive meaning are *הִתְנַחֵךְ* to embrace Judaism, from *יְהוּדָה* (יהודה) Judah; *הִצְטִיךְ* to provision oneself for a journey, from *צִידָה* provision for a journey (see § 72 m).

k Rem. 1. As in *Pi'el*, so in *Hithpa'el*, the perfect very frequently (in stems ending in נ, ק, ט, פ) has retained the original *Pathah* in the final syllable (while in the ordinary form it is attenuated, as in *Pi'el*, to *i* and then lengthened to *e*), e. g. *הִתְנַחֵךְ* Dt 4²¹, &c.; cf. 2 Ch 13⁷, 15⁸; with *i* consecutive Is 8²¹; so also in the imperfect and imperative, e. g. *הִתְחַכֵּם* Ec 7¹⁶; cf. Dt 9^{8,18}, 1 S 3¹⁰, 2 S 10¹², 1 K 11⁹, Is 55², 58¹⁴, 64¹¹, *פָּשׁ* 55²; *הִתְחַנֵּן* 1 K 20²², *פָּשׁ* 37⁴, Est 5¹⁰; *וַיִּתְחַפֵּס* 1 S 13¹².—In Lv 11⁴⁴, 20⁷ and Ez 33²², *i* takes the place of *a* in the first syllable of the stem before שׁ (cf. § 44 d), and in the last passage before ל. In the perfect, imperfect (with the exception of Ec 7¹⁶), and imperative of *Hithpa'el* (as well as of *Hithpo'el*, *Hithpa'el*, *Hithpalpel*, § 55) the original *a* always returns in pause as *Qamez*, e. g. *הִתְחַנֵּן* *פָּשׁ* 93¹; *יִתְחַפֵּל* Ez 7²⁷; *יִתְחַלֵּךְ* Jb 18⁸; *יִתְחַפֵּד* 38³; *יִתְחַפֵּד* Jos 3⁵; cf. Jb 33⁵ and § 74 b.—The *a* also appears before the fuller ending *ni* in the plural of the imperfect (cf. § 47 m) in *פָּשׁ* 12⁹, Jb

9^s, 16¹⁰.—Like the *Pi'el* הִתְפַּלֵּה (§ 52 n), forms occur in *Hithpa'el* like הִתְהַלֵּךְ *Zc* 6⁷; cf. *Am* 8¹³, and so in *Hithpo'el*, *Jer* 49³, *Am* 9¹³; with *ē* only in *La* 4¹.—In the Aramaic manner an *infinitive Hithpa'el* הִתְהַבְּרִית occurs in *Dn* 11²³ (cf. the *Hiph'il* inf. הִשְׁמָעוּת in *Ez* 24²⁶).

2. As instances of the reflexive הִתְקַטֵּל (connected with *Pi'el*) a few reflexive *l* forms of the verb פָּקַד (to examine) are also probably to be reckoned. Instead of a *Pathah* in a sharpened syllable after the first radical, these take *Qames* in an open syllable, e.g. הִתְפַּקְדוּ *Ju* 20^{15,17}, imperfect יִתְפַּקְדוּ 20¹⁵, 21⁹. The corresponding passive form הִתְפַּקְדוּ also occurs four times, *Nu* 14⁷, 23³, 26⁸², 1 *K* 20²⁷. According to others, these forms are rather reflexives of *Qal*, in the sense of to present oneself for review, to be reviewed, like the Aramaic 'Ithpe'el (Western Aramaic אֲתִקְטִיל, Syr. אֲתִקְטִיל) and the Ethiopic *tagat'la*, Arab. *'igtatala*, the last with the *t* always placed after the first radical (cf. above, b); but they are more correctly explained, with König, as *Hithpa'el* forms, the doubling of the *p* being abnormally omitted.—Such a reflexive of *Qal*, with the *n* transposed, occurs in הלַחֵם (on the analogy of O. T. Hebrew to be pronounced הִלְחִיחַם) in the inscription of the Moabite king *Mēša'*, with the meaning of the O. T. *Niph'al* נִלְחַם to fight, to wage war: see the inscription, lines 11, 15, 19, and 32; in the first two places in the imperfect with *uāw* consecutive וַיִּלְחַחֵם; in line 19 in the infinitive with suffix, בְּהִלְחִיחָמָה בִּי in his fighting against me.

§ 55. Less Common Conjugations.

Of the less common conjugations (§ 39 g) some may be classed with *Pi'el*, others with *Hiph'il*. To the former belong those which arise from the lengthening of the vowel or the repetition of one or even two radicals, in fact, from an internal modification or development of the stem; to the latter belong those which are formed by prefixing a consonant, like the *n* of *Hiph'il*. Amongst the conjugations analogous to *Pi'el* are included the passive forms distinguished by their vowels, as well as the reflexives with the prefix הִתְ, on the analogy of *Hithpa'el*.

The following conjugations are related to *Pi'el*, as regards their *b* inflexion and partly in their meaning:

1. *Pi'el* קוּטַל, passive *Pō'al* קוּטַל, reflexive *Hithpō'al* הִתְקוּטַל, corresponding to the Arabic conj. III. *qātālā*, pass. *qūtālā*, and conj. VI. reflexive *tāqātālū*; imperfect יְקוּטַל, participle מְקוּטַל, imperfect passive יִקוּטַל &c. Hence it appears that in Hebrew the *ō* of the first syllable is in all the forms obscured from *ā*, while the passive form is distinguished simply by the *a*-sound in the second syllable. In the strong verb these conjugations are rather rare. Examples: participle מִשְׁפָּטִי mine adversary, who would contend with me, *Jb* 9¹⁵; מְלִישָׁנִי (denominative from לָשׁוֹן the tongue) slandering (as if intent on injuring with the tongue) *ψ* 101⁵ *Kth*. (The *Q^{ré}* requires מְלִישָׁנִי *m^lšānī* as *Na* 1³ וַיְגִדּוּ-לֵהֶם; they have poured out, *ψ* 77¹⁸ (if not rather *Pu'al*); יוֹדְעָתִי I have appointed, 1 *S* 21⁹ (unless הוֹדְעָתִי should be read); יֹסֵעַר *Ho* 13³; שֹׁרֵשׁ to take root, passive

שָׁרֵשׁ, denominative from שָׁרַשׁ root (but שָׁרַשׁ to root out); in Hithpō'el הִתְנַעְשׂוּ they shall be moved, Jer 25¹⁸; imperf. 46⁸; from a verb שָׁרַח Is 10¹³. The participle מְנַאֵץ Is 52⁵ is probably a *forma mixta* combining the readings מְנַאֵץ and מְנַאֵץ.

- c Po'el proper (as distinguished from the corresponding conjugations of verbs ע"ע § 67 l and ע"י § 72 m, which take the place of the ordinary causative Pī'el) expresses an aim or endeavour to perform the action, especially with hostile intent, and is hence called, by Ewald, the stem expressing aim (Ziel-stamm), endeavour (Suche-stamm) or attack (Angriffs-stamm); cf. the examples given above from Jb 9¹⁵, ψ 101⁵, and עוֹיֵן 1 S 13⁹ Q^{erē} (probably for מְעוֹיֵן, cf. § 22 s; § 55 f: seeking to cast an evil eye).

With קוּטֵל is connected the formation of quadrilaterals by the insertion of a consonant between the first and second radicals (§ 30 v, § 56).

- d 2. Pa'lel, generally with the ā attenuated to ĩ = Pī'lel¹ (Pī'lel), קָטַל and קָטַל; the ĩ in the final syllable also arises from ĩ, and this again from ā; passive Pu'lel קָטַל, reflexive Hithpa'lel הִתְקַטַּל, like the Arabic conjugations ix. 'iqillā and xi. 'iqillā, the former used of permanent, the latter of accidental or changing conditions, e.g. of colours; cf. שָׁאֵן to be at rest, רָעַן to be green, passive אָמַל to be withered, all of them found only in the perfect and with no corresponding Qal form. (For the barbarous form צִמְחָתִי ψ 88¹⁷ read צִמְחָתִי; for נָפַל Ez 28²³, which has manifestly arisen only from confusion with the following חָלַל, read נָפַל). These forms are more common in verbs ע"י, where they take the place of Pī'el and Hithpa'el (§ 72 m). Cf. also § 75 kk.

- e 3. P^eal'al: קָטַטַּל with repetition of the last two radicals, used of movements repeated in quick succession; e.g. קָטַטַּל to go about quickly, to palpitate (of the heart) ψ 38¹¹, from קָטַר to go about; passive הִקְטַטַּר to be in a ferment, to be heated, to be red, Jb 16¹⁶, La 1²⁰, 2¹¹. Probably this is also the explanation of הִצְוֹצַר (denom. from הִצְוֹצָרָה a trumpet, but only in the participle, 1 Ch 15²⁴ &c. K^{eth.}) for הִצְרַצַּר, by absorption of the first ר, lengthening of ā in the open syllable, and subsequent obscuring of ā to ō. On the other hand, for the meaningless אָהָבָה הָבָה Ho 4¹⁸ (which could only be referred to this conjugation if it stood for אָהָבָה הָבָה) read אָהָבָה, and for the equally meaningless יִפְיֹתָ ψ 45³ read יִפְיֹתָ. In both these cases a scribal error (*dittography*) has been perpetuated by the punctuation, which did not venture to alter the K^{eth.}. On the employment of P^eal'al in the formation of nouns, cf. § 84^b n. Closely related to this form is—

- f 4. Pi'pel (pass. Pōpal), with a strengthening of the two essential radicals in stems ע"ע, ע"י, and ע"י, e.g. גָּלַל to roll, from גָּלַל; רָגַל to roll oneself down; קָלַל from קָלַל, passive הִקְלַל; cf. also טָאָטָא (so Baer and Ginsb. after Qimhi; others טָאָטָא) Is 14²³, and with ā in both syllables owing to the influence of ר, קָרַר from קָרַר, and Is 22⁵, in the participle; שָׁרַח Is 17¹¹ to hedge in, acc. to others make to grow. Probably to this form also belongs יִלְעָעַר, the emended reading of Jb 39³⁰ instead of the impossible יִלְעָעַר; also

¹ Cf. Wolfensohn, 'The Pī'el in Hebrew,' *Amer. Journ. of Or. Studies*, xxvii (1907), p. 303 ff.

כִּאֲפָא Is 27⁸, if that form is to be referred to an *infinitive* כִּאֲפָא; perhaps also שִׁשָּׂא Ez 39² for שִׁשָּׂא. This form also commonly expresses rapidly repeated movement, which all languages incline to indicate by a repetition of the sound,¹ e.g. צִפְצָף to chirp; cf. in the Lexicon the nouns derived from צָרַר, עָנָה, and צָלַל.

As *Hithpalpel* we find יִשְׁתַּקְשֹׁקֵן Na 2⁵; וַתִּתְחַלֵּחַ Est 4⁴; וַיִּתְחַרְחַר Dn 8¹, g¹¹. Of the same form is אֶדְדָּה Is 38¹⁵, if contracted from אֶתְדַּדְּהָ or אֶתְדַּדְּהָ from the root דָּד or דִּד, and also הִתְמַהֵּמֵהוּ tarry ye, Is 29⁹ (but read probably הִתְמַהֵּמֵהוּ, (in pause) Gn 19¹⁶, &c., if it is to be derived from מָהַה, and not *Hithpa'el* from מָהַה).

Only examples more or less doubtful can be adduced of—

5. *Tiph'el* (properly *Taph'el*²): תִּקְטֹל, with ת prefixed, cf. תִּרְצֹלְתִי to teach to walk, to lead (denominative from רָגַל a foot?) Ho 11⁸; from a stem לָ"ה, the imperfect יִתְחַרְרֶה to contend with, Jer 12⁵; participle, 22¹⁵ (from חָרָה to be hot, eager). Similarly in Aramaic, תִּרְיָם to interpret, whence also in Hebrew the passive participle מְחַרְיָם Ezr 4⁷.

6. *Šaph'el*: שִׁקְטֹל, frequent in Syriac, e.g. שִׁלְהַב from להב to flame; whence in Hebrew שִׁלְהֶבֶת flame. Perhaps of the same form is שִׁבְלֹל a snail (unless it be from the stem שָׁבַל), and שִׁקְעֵרוֹרֶה hollow strakes, cf. § 85, No. 5c. This conjugation is perhaps the original of *Hiph'il*, in which case the ה, by a phonetic change which may be exemplified elsewhere, is weakened from a sibilant.

* * *

Forms of which only isolated examples occur are:—

7. קִטְלַם, passive קִטְלַם; as מִתְקַטֵּם peeled off, like scales, Ex 16¹⁴, from קָטַף, קָשָׁף to peel, to scale.

8. קִטְקֹל, in גִּוְרִיף a rain-storm, from קָרַף.

9. נִתְקַטֵּל (regularly in Mishnic Hebrew³) a form compounded of *Niph'al* and *Hithpa'el*; as וַיִּנְתְּנוּפְרוּ וַיִּנְתְּנוּפְרוּ that they may be taught, Ez 23⁴⁸; נִבְפָּר probably an error for הִתְבַּפֵּר to be forgiven, Dt 21⁸. On נִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה Pr 27¹⁵, see § 75 x.

§ 56. Quadriliterals.

On the origin of these altogether secondary formations cf. § 30 p. While quadrilateral nouns are tolerably numerous, only the following examples of the verb occur:

¹ Cf. Lat. *tinnio*, *tintinno*, our *tick-tack*, *ding-dong*, and the German *wirrwarr*, *klingklang*. The repetition of the radical in verbs עָע also produces this effect; as in לָקַק to lick, דָּקַק to pound, טָפַף to trip along. The same thing is expressed also by *diminutive* forms, as in Latin by the termination *-illo*, e.g. *cantillo*, in German by *-eln*, *-ern*, e.g. *stimmern*, *trillern*, *trüpfeln*, to trickle.

² The existence of a *Taph'el* is contested on good grounds by Barth, *Nominalbildung*, p. 279.

³ [See Segal, *Mishnaic Hebrew*, Oxf. 1909, p. 30 ff.]

(a) On the analogy of *Pi'el*: כָּרַם, *imperfect* יְכַרְסֶמְנָה *he doth ravage it*, ψ 80¹⁴ from כָּרַם, cf. נָזַם. *Passive* רָתַפֵּשׁ *to grow fresh again*, Jb 33²⁵. *Participle* מְכַרְפֵּל *girt, clothed* (cf. Aramaic כָּבַל *to bind*), 1 Ch 15²⁷. It is usual also to include among the quadriliterals פָּרָשׁוּ Jb 26⁹, as a *perfect* of Aramaic form with *Pathah* not attenuated. It is more correctly, however, regarded, with Delitzsch, as the *infinitive absolute* of a *Pi'el* formation, from פָּרַשׁ *to spread out*, with euphonic change of the first שׁ to שׁ, and the second to י. Moreover, the reading פָּרָשׁוּ also is very well attested, and is adopted by Baer in the text of Job; cf. the Rem. on p. 48 of his edition.

(b) On the analogy of *Hiph'il*: הִשְׁמָאִיל, by syncope הִשְׁמָאִיל and הִשְׁמָאִיל *to turn to the left* (denom. from שָׁמַל) Gn 13⁹, Is 30²¹, &c. On הִשְׁמָאִיל cf. § 53 p.

C. STRONG VERB WITH PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES.¹

§ 57.

The accusative of the personal pronoun, depending on an active verb,² may be expressed (1) by a separate word, אֹת the accusative sign (before a suffix אֵת, אֹת) with the pronominal suffix, e. g. קָטַל אֹתוֹ *he has killed him*; or (2) by a mere suffix, קָטַלְתָּ or קָטַלְתִּי *he has killed him*. The latter is the usual method (§ 33), and we are here concerned with it alone.³ Neither of these methods, however, is employed when the accusative of the pronoun is *reflexive*. In that case a reflexive verb is used, viz. Niph'al or Hithpa'el (§§ 51 and 54), e. g. הִתְקַדֵּשׁ *he sanctified himself*, not קִדְּשׁוֹ, which could only mean *he sanctified him*.⁴

Two points must be specially considered here: the form of the suffix itself (§ 58), and the form which the verb takes when suffixes are added to it (§§ 59-61).

¹ This subject of the verbal suffixes is treated here in connexion with the strong verb, in order that both the forms of the suffixes and the general laws which regulate their union with verbal forms may be clearly seen. The rules which relate to the union of the suffixes with weak verbs will be given under the several classes of those verbs.

² An accusative suffix occurs with Niph'al in ψ 109⁸ (since נָלַחַם is used in the sense of *to attack*), and according to some, in Is 44²¹; with Hithpa'el Is 14² (הִתְנַחֵל *to appropriate somebody to oneself as a possession*); cf. above, § 54*f*, and § 117 *w*.

³ On the cases where אֵת is necessary, see § 117 *e*.

⁴ The exceptions in Jer 7¹⁹, Ez 34^{2,8,10} are only apparent. In all these instances the sharp antithesis between אֵתָם (*themselves*) and another object could only be expressed by retaining the same verb; also in Ex 5¹⁹ אֵתָם after an active verb serves to emphasize the idea of *themselves*.

§ 58. *The Pronominal Suffixes of the Verb.*

Cf. the statistics collected by H. Petri, *Das Verbum mit Suffixen im Hebr.*, part ii, in the *נביאים ראשונים*, Leipzig, 1890. W. Diehl, *Das Pronomen pers. suff. . . . des Hebr.*, Giessen, 1895. J. Barth, 'Beiträge zur Suffixlehre des Nordsem.', *AJSL* xvii (1901), p. 205 f. Brockelmann, *Semit. Sprachwiss.*, i. 159 f.; *Grundriss*, p. 638 ff.

1. The *pronominal suffixes* appended to the verb express the *a* accusative of the *personal pronoun*. They are the following:—

A.	B.	C.
To a form ending in a Vowel.	To a form in the Perf. ending in a Consonant.	To a form in the Imperf. ending in a Consonant.
Sing. 1. com. נִי	נִי (in pause נִי־)	נִי me.
2. m. ךִי	ךִי (in pause ךִי־ , also ךִי־)	ךִי thee.
f. יִי	יִי יִי־ , rarely יִי־	יִי
3. m. הִי , יִי	הִי , יִי (הִי)	הִי him.
f. הִי־	הִי־	הִי־ her.
Plur. 1. com. נֵנוּ	נֵנוּ	נֵנוּ us.
2. m. כֵּנֶךָ	כֵּנֶךָ	כֵּנֶךָ you (vos).
f. ¹		
3. m. הֵנִי , הֵנִי־	הֵנִי (from הֵנִי־), הֵנִי־	הֵנִי (from הֵנִי־) eos.
poet. הֵנִי־	הֵנִי־	הֵנִי־
f. הֵנִי־	הֵנִי־ , הֵנִי־}	. . . . .¹ eas.

2. That these suffixes are connected with the corresponding forms *b* of the *personal pronoun* (§ 32) is for the most part self-evident, and only a few of them require elucidation.

The suffixes נִי , נִי , הִי , יִי (and ךִי , when a long vowel in an open *c* syllable precedes) never have the tone, which always rests on the preceding syllable; on the other hand, כֵּנֶךָ and הֵנִי־ always take the tone.

In the 3rd pers. masc. הִי־ , by contraction of *a* and *u* after the *d* rejection of the weak ה , frequently gives rise to הֵנִי (§ 23 *k*), ordinarily written יִי , much less frequently הֵנִי (see § 7 *c*). In the *feminine*, the suffix יִי should be pronounced with a preceding *a* (cf. below, *f*, note), as יִי־ or יִי־ , on the analogy of *ahā*; instead of יִי־ , however, it was simply pronounced יִי־ , with the rejection of the final vowel,

¹ According to Diehl (see above), p. 61, כֵּנֶךָ occurs only once with the perfect (see § 59 *e*), 7 times with the imperfect, but never in pre-exilic passages, whereas the accus. כֵּנֶךָ־ occurs 40 times in Jer. and 36 times in Ezek.— הֵנִי־ occurs only once as a *verbal* suffix (Dt 32²⁶, unless, with Kahan, *Infinitive u. Participien*, p. 13, הֵנִי־ from הֵנִי־ is to be read), while the forms יִי־ (2nd *f. pl.*) and יִי־ and יִי־ (3rd *f. pl.*), added by Qimhi, never occur.

and with *Mappiq*, since the ך is consonantal; but the weakening to ךֿ is also found, see below, *g*.

c 3. The *variety* of the suffix-forms is occasioned chiefly by the fact that they are modified differently according to the form and tense of the verb to which they are attached. For almost every suffix three forms may be distinguished:

(*a*) One beginning with a consonant, as ךֿ, ךֿ, ךֿ (only after *i*), ךֿ, (ךֿ) ךֿ, &c. These are attached to verbal forms which end with a vowel, e.g. ךֿ; ךֿ, for which by absorption of the ך we also get ךֿ, pronounced *qē'altū*; cf. § 8 *m*.

f (*b*) A second and third with what are called *connecting vowels*¹ (ך, ךֿ), used with verbal forms ending with a consonant (for exceptions, see § 59 *g* and § 60 *e*). This *connecting vowel* is *a* with the forms of the perfect, e.g. ךֿ, ךֿ, ךֿ (on ךֿ, the ordinary form of the 3rd masc. perf. with the 2nd fem. suffix, cf. below, *g*); and *e* (less frequently *a*) with the forms of the imperfect and imperative, e.g. ךֿ, ךֿ; also with the infinitive and participles, when these do not take noun-suffixes (cf. § 61 *a* and *h*). The form ךֿ also belongs to the suffixes of the perfect, since it has arisen from ךֿ (cf., however, § 60 *d*). With ךֿ, ךֿ, the connecting sound is only a vocal *Šewā*, which has arisen from an original short vowel, thus ךֿ, ךֿ, e.g. ךֿ (*qē'ālēkhā*), or when the final consonant of the verb is a guttural, ךֿ, e.g. ךֿ. In *pause*, the original short vowel (*a*) reappears as *Šeḡhōl* with the tone ךֿ (also ךֿ, see *g*). On the appending of suffixes to the final ך of the imperfect (§ 47 *m*), see § 60 *e*.

g Rem. 1. As *rare* forms may be mentioned *sing.* 2nd pers. *masc.* ךֿ, Gn 27⁷, 1 K 18⁴⁴, &c., in *pause* also ךֿ (see below, *i*); *fem.* ךֿ, ךֿ, ψ 103⁴, 137⁶. Instead of the form ךֿ, which is usual even in the perfect (e.g. Ju 4²⁰, Ez 27²⁶), ךֿ occurs as *fem.* Is 60⁹ (as *masc.* Dt 6¹⁷, 28⁴⁵, Is 30¹⁹, 55⁵ always in *pause*); with *Munah* Is 54⁶, Jer 23²⁷.—In the 3rd *masc.* ךֿ Ex 32²³, Nu 23⁸; in the 3rd *fem.* ךֿ without *Mappiq* (cf. § 91 *e*) Ex 2⁸, Jer 44¹⁰; Am 1¹¹, with

¹ We have kept the term *connecting vowel*, although it is rather a superficial description, and moreover these vowels are of various origin. The connective *a* is most probably the remains of the old verbal termination, like the *i* in the 2nd pers. *fem.* sing. ךֿ. Observe e.g. the Hebrew form *qē'āl-anī* in connexion with the Arabic *qatala-ni*, contrasted with Hebrew *qē'ālat-ni* and Arabic *qatalat-ni*. König accordingly prefers the expression 'vocalic ending of the stem', instead of 'connecting syllable'. The connective *e*, *ā*, as Prātorius (*ZDMG.* 55, 267 ff.) and Barth (*ibid.* p. 205 f.) show by reference to the Syriac connective *ai* in the imperf. of the strong verb, is originally due to the analogy of verbs ךֿ (ך = ךֿ from *mē'hānī*), in which the final *i* was used as a connecting vowel first of the imperat., then of the impf. (besides many forms with *a*, § 60 *d*), and of the infin. and participle.

retraction of the tone before a following tone-syllable, but read certainly לְצִיחַ שָׁמַר .—The forms מֹו , מֹו , מֹו occur 23 times, all in poetry¹ (except Ex 23²¹) [viz. with the perfect Ex 15¹⁰, 23²¹, ψ 73⁶; with the imperfect Ex 15⁶ (מֹו מֹו), 15^{7,9,12,15,17,17}, ψ 2⁵, 21^{10,13}, 22⁵, 45¹⁷, 8c⁶, 14c¹⁰; with the imperative ψ 5¹¹, 59^{12,12}, 83¹²]. On the age of these forms, see § 91 l 3; on י — and י — as suffixes of the 3rd fem. plur. of the imperfect, § 60 d.—In Gn 48⁹ נָא יְהִי שְׁמִי (cf. יְהִי שְׁמִי 1 Ch 14¹¹ according to Baer), י — has lost the tone before *Maqqeph* and so is shortened to י —. In Ez 44⁸ יְהִי שְׁמִי is probably only an error for יְהִי שְׁמִי .

2. From a comparison of these verbal suffixes with the noun-suffixes (§ 91) *h* we find that (a) there is a greater variety of forms amongst the verbal than amongst the noun-suffixes, the forms and relations of the verb itself being more various;—(b) the verbal suffix, where it differs from that of the noun, is longer; cf. e.g. יְהִי , יְהִי , יְהִי (*me*) with י — (*my*). The reason is that the pronominal object is less closely connected with the verb than the possessive pronoun (the genitive) is with the noun; consequently the former can also be expressed by a separate word (אֲנִי in אֲנִי , &c.).

4. A verbal form with a suffix gains additional strength, and sometimes intentional emphasis, when, instead of the mere connecting vowel, a special connecting-syllable² (*ān*)³ is inserted between the suffix and the verbal stem. Since, however, this syllable always has the tone, the *ā* is invariably (except in the 1st pers. sing.) modified to tone-bearing *Seghol*. This is called the *Nūn energicum*⁴ (less suitably *demonstrativum* or *epentheticum*), and occurs principally (see, however, Dt 32¹⁰ *bis*) in pausal forms of the imperfect, e.g. $\text{יְבָרֵךְ ה'$ *he will bless him* (ψ 72¹⁵, cf. Jer 5²¹), יְכַבְּדֵנִי Jer 22²⁴; יְכַבְּדֵנִי *he will honour me* (ψ 50²³) is unusual; rarely in the perfect, Dt 24¹³ יְבָרֵךְ . On examples like יְהִי Gn 30⁶, cf. § 26 g, § 59 f. In far the greatest number of cases, however, this *Nūn* is assimilated to the following consonant (נ , כ), or the latter is lost in pronunciation (so ה), and the *Nūn* consequently sharpened. Hence we get the following series of suffix-forms:—

¹ Thus in ψ 2 מֹו — occurs five times [four times attached to a noun or preposition, §§ 91 f, 103 c], and י — only twice.

² It is, however, a question whether, instead of a connecting syllable, we should not assume a special verbal form, analogous to the Arabic *energetic mood* (see l, at the end) and probably also appearing in the Hebrew cohortative (see the footnote on § 48 c).—As M. Lambert has shown in *REJ.* 1903, p. 178 ff. ('De l'emploi des suffixes pronominaux . . .'), the suffixes of the 3rd pers. with the impf. without *waw* in prose are נֶה and נֶה , but with *waw* consec. וְנֶה and וְנֶה or וְנֶה ; with the jussive in the 2nd and 3rd pers. always וְנֶה , וְנֶה , in the 1st pers. more often וְנֶה than וְנֶה , and always וְנֶה .

³ According to Barth 'n-haltige Suffixe' in *Sprachwiss. Untersuchungen*, Lpz. 1907, p. 1 ff., the connecting element, as in Aramaic, was originally *tn*, which in Hebrew became *en* in a closed tone-syllable.

⁴ So König, *Lehrgeb.*, i. p. 226.

1st pers. אֲנִי (even in pause, Jb 7¹⁴, &c.), אֲנִי (for אֲנִי , אֲנִי).

2nd pers. אַתָּה (Jer 22²⁴ in pause אַתָּה) and, only orthographically different,

אַתָּה (Is 10²⁴, Pr 2¹¹ in pause).

3rd pers. הוּא (for הוּא),¹ fem. הִיא for הִיא .

[1st pers. plur. אֲנֵנוּ (for אֲנֵנוּ), see the Rem.]

In the other persons Nûn energetic does not occur.

l Rem. The uncontracted forms with Nûn are rare, and occur only in poetic or elevated style (Ex 15², Dt 32¹⁰ [*bis*], Jer 5²², 22²⁴); they are never found in the 3rd fem. sing. and 1st plur. On the other hand, the contracted forms are tolerably frequent, even in prose. An example of אֲנִי as 1st plur. occurs perhaps in Jb 31¹⁵ [but read אֲנִי and cf. § 72 cc], hardly in Ho 12⁵; cf. הִנֵּנוּ behold us, Gn 44¹⁶, 50¹⁸, Nu 14⁴⁰ for הִנֵּנוּ (instead of הִנֵּנוּ ; see § 20 m).— In Ez 4¹² the Masora requires הִנֵּנוּ , without Dageš in the Nûn.

l That the forms with Nûn *energicum* are intended to give greater emphasis to the verbal form is seen from their special frequency in *pause*. Apart from the verb, however, Nûn *energicum* occurs also in the union of suffixes with certain particles (§ 100 o).

This Nûn is frequent in Western Aramaic. In Arabic the corresponding forms are the two *energetic moods* (see § 48 b) ending in *an* and *anna*, which are used in connexion with suffixes (e.g. *yaqtulan-ka* or *yaqtulanna-ka*) as well as without them.

§ 59. The Perfect with Pronominal Suffixes.

a 1. The endings (*affirmatives*) of the perfect occasionally vary somewhat from the ordinary form, when connected with pronominal suffixes; viz. :—

(a) In the 3rd sing. fem. the original feminine ending תָּ or תָּ is used for תָּ .

(b) In the 2nd sing. masc. besides הָ we find הָ , to which the connecting vowel is directly attached, but the only clear instances of this are with אֲנִי .²

(c) In the 2nd sing. fem. הִי , the original form of הָ , appears; cf. אֲנִי , אֲנִי , § 32 f; § 44 g. This form can be distinguished from the 1st pers. only by the context.

(d) 2nd plur. masc. הֵם for הֵם . The only examples are Nu 20⁵, 21⁵, Zc 7⁵. The fem. הֵנָּה never occurs with suffixes; probably it had the same form as the masculine.

b We exhibit first the forms of the perfect *Hip'îl*, as used in connexion with suffixes, since here no further changes take place in the stem itself, except as regards the tone (see c).

¹ On אֲנִי = אֲנִי Nu 23¹⁸, see § 67 o.

² On the *ā* as an original element of the verbal form, see § 58 f, note.

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
3. m. קָטִיל	3. c. קָטִילוּ
3. f. קָטִילָה	
2. m. קָטִילְתָּ, קָטִילְתְּ	2. m. קָטִילְתֶּם
2. f. קָטִילְתְּ, קָטִילְתְּ	
1. c. קָטִילְתִּי	1. c. קָטִילְנוּ

The beginner should first practise connecting the suffixes with these *Hipl'il* forms and then go on to unite them to the *Perfect Qal* (see *d*).

2. The addition of the suffix generally causes the tone to be thrown *c* forward towards the end of the word, since it would otherwise fall, in some cases, on the ante-penultima; with the *heavy* suffixes (see *e*) the tone is even transferred to the suffix itself. Considerations of tone, especially in the *Perfect Qal*, occasion certain vowel changes: (*a*) the *Qameṣ* of the first syllable, no longer standing *before* the tone, always becomes vocal *Ṣewā*; (*b*) the original *Pathah* of the second syllable, which in the 3rd *sing. fem.* and 3rd *plur.* had become *Ṣewā*, reappears before the suffix, and, in an open syllable before the tone, is lengthened to *Qameṣ*; similarly original *i* (as in the 3rd *sing. masc.* *without* a suffix) is lengthened to *e*, e.g. יָבִיחַ 1 S 18²², Pr 10⁷.

The forms of the perfect of *Qal* consequently appear as follows:— *d*

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
3. m. קָטַל	3. c. קָטְלוּ
3. f. קָטַלְתָּ (קָטַלְתְּ, see <i>g</i>)	
2. m. קָטַלְתָּ (קָטַלְתְּ, see <i>h</i>)	2. m. קָטַלְתֶּם
2. f. קָטַלְתְּ (קָטַלְתְּ, see <i>h</i>)	
1. c. קָטַלְתִּי	1. c. קָטַלְנוּ

The connexion of these forms with all the suffixes is shown in *Paradigm C*. It will be seen there also, how the *Ṣere* in the *Perfect Pi'el* changes sometimes into *Ṣeḡhol*, and sometimes into vocal *Ṣewā*.

Rem. 1. The suffixes of the 2nd and 3rd pers. plur. כֶּם and הֶם, since they *c* end in a consonant and also always have the tone, are distinguished as *heavy* suffixes (*suffixa gravia*) from the rest, which are called *light* suffixes. Compare the connexion of these (and of the corresponding feminine forms כֶּן and הֶן) with the *noun*, § 91. With a perfect כֶּם alone occurs, ψ 118²⁶. The form קָטַלְתֶּם which is usually given as the connective form of the 3rd *sing. masc.* before כֶּם and כֶּן is only formed by analogy, and is without example in the O. T.

2. In the 3rd *sing. masc.* קָטַלְתָּ (especially in verbs לָחַץ; in the strong verb only in Jer 20¹⁵ in *Pi'el*) is mostly contracted to קָטַלְתָּ, according to § 23 *k*; likewise in the 2nd *sing. masc.* קָטַלְתְּ to קָטַלְתָּ.—As a suffix of the 1st *sing.* קָטַלְתִּי occurs several times with the 3rd *sing. masc. perf. Qal* of verbs לָחַץ, not only in *pause* (as עָנִי ψ 118⁵; קָנִי Pr 8²² with *Dēhi*), but even with a con-

םָ, however, it is shortened to *Qames hatuph*, e.g. יִשְׁמְרֶךָ (but in pause יִשְׁמְרֶךָ or יִשְׁמְרֶךָ; with *Nûn energicum*, see § 58 i), &c. Instead of תִּקְטְלֶנָּה, the form תִּקְטְלִי¹ is used for the 2nd and 3rd fem. plur. before suffixes in three places: Jer 2¹⁹, Jb 19¹⁵, Ct 1⁶.

Rem. 1. יִחַבְּרֶךָ ψ 94²⁰ is an anomalous form for יִחַבְּרֶךָ (cf. the analogous בּ יִחַבְּרֶךָ § 67 n) and יִפְנֶשֶׁךָ (so Baer; others יִפְנֶשֶׁךָ) Gn 32¹⁸ for יִפְנֶשֶׁךָ. To the same category as יִחַבְּרֶךָ belong also, according to the usual explanation, תִּעֲבִידֶם (from תִּעֲבֹד), Ex 20⁵, 23²⁴, Dt 5⁹, and נִעְבֹּד Dt 13³. As a matter of fact, the explanation of these forms as imperfects of *Qal* appears to be required by the last of these passages; yet why has the retraction of the *ō* taken place only in these examples (beside numerous forms like יִעֲבֹדֶנִּי)? Could the Masora in the two Decalogues and in Ex 23²⁴ (on the analogy of which Dt 13³ was then wrongly pointed) have intended an imperfect *Hoph'al* with the suffix, meaning *thou shalt not allow thyself to be brought to worship them*?

Verbs which have *a* in the second syllable of the imperfect, and imperative, *C* *Qal* (to which class especially *verba tertiae* and *mediae gutturalis* belong, § 64 and § 65) do not, as a rule, change the *Pathah* of the imperfect (nor of the imperative, see § 61 g) into *Ṣewa* before suffixes; but the *Pathah*, coming to stand in an open syllable before the tone, is lengthened to *Qames*, e.g. וַיִּלְכְּשֵׁנִי Jb 29¹⁴; וַיִּנְאֲלֵהוּ 3⁵; וַיִּשְׁלַחֵם Jos 8³; וַיִּקְרָאָהוּ ψ 145¹⁸; but וַיִּקְרָא Jer 23⁶, is probably a *forma mixta* combining the readings וַיִּקְרָא and וַיִּקְרָא, cf. § 74 e.

2. Not infrequently suffixes with the connecting vowel *a* are also found *d* with the imperfect, e.g. תִּדְבְּקֵנִי Gn 19¹⁹, cf. 29³², Ex 33⁵⁰, Nu 22³³, 1 K 22²⁴ *Qere*, Is 56³, Jb 9¹⁸; also בִּי 2⁴, Gn 27^{19.31}, Jb 7¹⁴, 9³⁴, 13²¹ (in principal pause); וַיִּבְרָא Gn 37³³, cf. 16⁷, 2 S 11²⁷, Is 26⁵, Jb 28²⁷, 1 Ch 20²; וַיִּבְרָא Is 63¹⁶ (manifestly owing to the influence of the preceding וַיִּרְעַנִּי); וַיִּבְשֹׁם Ex 29⁹, cf. 2¹⁷, Nu 21³⁰, Dt 7¹⁵, ψ 74⁸; even וַיִּמְלֵם 118¹⁰⁻¹²; וַיִּוְשִׁיעַ Ex 2¹⁷, and וַיְחִיתֵן Hb 2¹⁷ (where, however, the ancient versions read וַיְחַיֵּם); even וַיִּדְבֹּם (δ from *āhu*) Ho 8³; cf. Ex 22²⁰, Jos 2⁴ (but read וַיִּחַיֵּם); 1 S 18¹ *Keth.*, 21¹⁴ (where, however, the text is corrupt); 2 S 14⁶ (where read with the old versions וַיִּחַי); Jer 23⁶ (see § 74 e), ψ 35⁸, Ec 4¹².—On pausal *S^ghōl* for *Sere* in וַיִּבְרָכֶם Gn 48⁹ and וַיִּתְּלֵהוּ (so Baer, but ed. Mant., Ginsb. וַיִּתְּלֵהוּ) Ju 16¹⁶, see § 29 g.

3. Suffixes are also appended in twelve passages to the plural forms in וַיִּ, *c* viz. וַיִּדְבְּקֵנִי *will ye break me in pieces*? Jb 19²; וַיִּשְׁרֹתֵנִי (here necessarily with a connecting vowel) Is 60^{7.10}; Pr 5²² (i but probably corrupt); elsewhere always without a connecting vowel; וַיִּקְרָאָנִי with two other examples Pr 1²⁸, 8¹⁷, Ho 5¹⁶; cf. וַיִּנְדֹּךָ ψ 63⁴, 91¹²; וַיִּנְהוּ Jer 5²²; וַיִּנְהוּ Jer 2²⁴, all in principal pause. [See Böttcher, *Lehrb.*, § 1047 f.]

4. In *P^{re}l*, *P^oel*, and *P^ol^{el}*, the *Sere* of the final syllable, like the *ō* in *Qal*, *f* becomes vocal *Ṣewa*; but before the suffixes וַיִּ and וַיִּ it is shortened to *S^ghōl*, e.g. וַיִּקְצֹץ Dt 30⁴, ψ 34¹², Is 51². With a final guttural, however, וַיִּשְׁלַח Gn 32²⁷; also in Pr 4⁸, where with *Qimḥi* וַיִּתְּבַרֵךְ is to be read, *ē* is

¹ This form is also found as feminine without a suffix, in Jer 49¹¹, Ez 37⁷. In the latter passage וַיִּתְּבַרֵב is probably to be regarded, with König, as a clumsy correction of the original וַיִּתְּבַרֵב, intended to suggest the reading וַיִּתְּבַרֵב, to agree with the usual gender of עֲצָמוֹת.

retained in the tone-syllable; an analogous case in *Hiph'il* is הִיָּדָה Dt 32⁷. Less frequently *Sere* is sharpened to *Hireq*, e.g. מִיָּדָה Jb 16⁵, cf. Ex 31¹³, Is 1¹⁵, 52¹²; so in *Po'tel*, Is 25¹, ψ 30², 37⁸⁴, 145¹, and probably also in *Qal* אִסְפָּה I S 15⁶; cf. § 68 h.

g 5. In *Hiph'il* the *i* remains, e.g. תִּלְבֹּשְׁנִי Jb 10¹¹ (after *wāw* consecutive it is often written defectively, e.g. וְיִלְבֹּשֶׁם Gn 32¹ and often); but cf. above, f, Dt 32⁷. Forms like תַּעֲשִׁירֶנָּה thou enrichest it, ψ 65¹⁰, I S 17²⁵, are rare. Cf. § 53 n.

h 6. Instead of the suffix of the 3rd plur. fem. (י), the suffix of the 3rd plur. masc. (ם) is affixed to the affirmative י, to avoid a confusion with the personal ending ין; cf. וַיִּמְלֹךְ Gn 26¹⁵ (previously also with a perf. בָּרַחְמוֹם); Gn 26¹⁸, 33¹³, Ex 2¹⁷ (where וַיִּשְׁעַן occurs immediately after); 39^{18,20}, I S 6¹⁰ (where also בְּנִיָּהֶם is for בְּנֵיהֶן , a neglect of gender which can only be explained by § 135 o).—For יִהְיֶהֱנָן Ze 11⁵ read perhaps יִהְיֶהֱנָן with M. Lambert.

§ 61. Infinitive, Imperative and Participle with Pronominal Suffixes.

a 1. The *infinitive construct* of an *active verb* may be construed with an accusative, and therefore can also take a *verbal suffix*, i.e. the *accusative* of the personal pronoun. The only undoubted instances of the kind, however, in the O. T. are infinitives with the verbal suffix of the 1st pers. sing., e.g. לִדְרֹשְׁנִי to inquire of me, Jer 37⁷. As a rule the infinitive (as a *noun*) takes *noun-suffixes* (in the *genitive*, which may be either subjective or objective, cf. § 115 c), e.g. עָבְרִי my passing by; מָלְכִי his reigning, see § 115 a and e. The infinitive *Qal*, then, usually has the form *qūl*, retaining the original short vowel under the first radical (on the probable ground-form *qūtūl*, see § 46 a). The resulting syllable as a rule allows a following *Begadkephath* to be spirant, e.g. בִּכְתָּבוֹ in his writing, Jer 45¹; cf., however, הִפְכִּי Gn 19²¹; נָנְפוֹ (so ed. Mant.; others נָנְפוֹ) Ex 12²⁷; עָצְבִּי I Ch 4¹⁰; before יָ— and בָּ— also the syllable is completely closed, e.g. בִּאֲסָפָךְ Ex 23¹⁶, Lv 23³⁹ (but in pause לְהִרְגֶּךָ Gn 27⁴²), unless the vowel be retained in the second syllable; see d. With the form *qūl* generally, compare the closely allied nouns of the form קָטַל (before a suffix קָטַל or קָטַל), § 84^a a; § 93 q.

b Rem. 1. The infin. of verbs which have *ō* in the last syllable of the *imperfect* of *Qal*, sometimes takes the form *qūl* before suffixes, e.g. בִּכְתָּבוֹ Ex 21⁸; מִכְתָּבִי Am 2⁸ (but מִכְתָּבָהּ Ex 21⁸), נָפְלוֹ 2 S 1¹⁰ (but נָפְלוֹ I S 29⁸), לְשִׁטְנוֹ Ze 3¹, שְׂבָרִי Lv 26²⁶, Ez 30¹⁸ &c. According to Barth (see above, § 47 i with the note) these forms with *i* in the first syllable point to former *i*-imperfects.

c Infinitives of the form קָטַל (§ 45 o) in verbs middle or third guttural (but cf. also שְׂבָרָהּ Gn 19^{38,35}—elsewhere שְׂבָרָךְ and שְׂבָרוֹ) before suffixes sometimes take the form *qūl*, as נָעַפִּי Jon 1¹⁵ (and, with the syllable loosely closed,

פָּעֵמוּ Ju 13²⁵, מִחֲאֶר and רָקַעַר Ez 25⁶; sometimes *qill*, with the *a* attenuated to *i*, especially in verbs third guttural; as בָּטַחְךָ בְּלִעֵי, בָּקַעְם, בָּנִיעֵי, בָּתַחְךָ, בָּרַעְךָ.—Contrary to § 58 f נִי (1 Ch 12¹⁷) and נָנִי (Ex 14¹¹) are sometimes found with the *infinitive* instead of נִי and נָנִי. On יָרַדְתִּי my following ψ 38²¹ (but *Q're* יָרַדְתִּי), cf. the analogous examples in § 46 e.

2. With the suffixes תָּ, כֶּם, contrary to the analogy of the corresponding nouns, forms occur like אָכַלְתָּ *thy eating*, Gn 2¹⁷; אָכַלְכֶם Gn 3⁵; עָמַדְךָ (others עָמַדְךָ) Ob 11, i.e. with *ō* shortened in the same way as in the *imperfect*, see § 60. But the analogy of the nouns is followed in such forms as קָצַרְכֶם *your harvesting*, Lv 19³, 23²² (with retention of the original *ā*), and כָּאִסְכֶם (read *mō's k'hēm*) *your despising*, Is 30¹²; cf. Dt 20²; on בָּמָצְאֶכֶם Gn 32²⁰ (for בָּמָצְךָ), see § 74 h.—Very unusual are the infinitive suffixes of the 2nd sing. masc. with *energicum* (on the analogy of suffixes with the *imperfect*, § 58 i), as יִסְרָךְ Dt 4³⁶, cf. 23², Jb 33³², all in principal pause.

Examples of the *infinitive Niph'al* with suffixes are, הִשְׁמָרְךָ Ex 14¹⁸; הִשְׁמָרְךָ Dt 28²⁰ (in *pause*, הִשְׁמָרְךָ verse 24); הִשְׁפָּכְךָ ψ 37³³; הִנְכָּרְכֶם Ez 21²⁰; הִשְׁמָרְךָ Dt 7²². In the *infinitive* of *Pē'el* (as also in the *imperfect*, see § 60 f) the *ē* before the suff. תָּ, כֶּם, becomes *Sghōl*, e.g. דָּבַרְךָ Ex 4¹⁰, and with a sharpening to *ē* בָּרַעְךָ Is 1¹⁵ (see § 60 f). In the *infinitive Pō'el*, הִשְׁכָּכְךָ occurs (with *a* for *i* or *ē*) Am 5¹¹, but probably בִּישְׁכָּכְךָ, with Wellhausen, is the right reading; the correction *ē* has crept into the text alongside of the *corrigendum* *sh*.

2. The leading form of the *imperative Qal* before suffixes (קָטַלְ) is *f* due probably (see § 46 d) to the retention of the original short vowel of the first syllable (ground-form *qūṭūl*). In the *imperative* also *ō* is not followed by *Dageš lene*, e.g. קָטַלְכֶם *kōṭhblhēm* (not *kōṭhblēm*), &c.¹ As in the *imperfect* (§ 60 d) and *infinitive* (see above, c), so also in the *imperative*, suffixes are found united to the stem by an *a*-sound; e.g. קָטַלְכֶם Is 30⁸; cf. 2 S 12²⁸.—The forms קָטַלְ, קָטַלְ, which are not exhibited in Paradigm C, undergo no change. Instead of קָטַלְנָה, the masc. form (קָטַלְ) is used, as in the *imperfect*.

In verbs which form the *imperative* with *a*, like שְׁלַח (to which class *g* belong especially verbs *middle* and *third guttural*, §§ 64 and 65), this *a* retains its place when pronominal suffixes are added, but, since it then stands in an open syllable, is, as a matter of course, lengthened to *Qameṣ* (just as in *imperfects Qal* in *a*, § 60 c), e.g. שְׁלַחֲנִי *send me*, Is 6⁸, בְּרַחֲנִי ψ 26², קָרַחֲנִי ψ 50¹⁵, שְׁמַעֲנִי Gn 23³. In Am 9¹, בְּרַחֲעִם (so ed. Mant., Baer, Ginsb., instead of the ordinary reading בְּרַחֲעִם) is to be explained, with Margolis, *AJSL*. xix, p. 45 ff., from an original בְּרַחֲעִמוּ, as וְהִרְגֶּנְתֶּם Am 9⁴ from original וְהִרְגֶּנְתֶּמוּ.—In the *imperative Hiph'il*, the form used in conjunction with suffixes is not the 2nd sing. masc.

¹ שְׁמַעֲנִי *šām'ereni* required by the Masora in ψ 16¹ (also שְׁמַעֲךָ ψ 86², 119¹⁰⁷; cf. Is 38¹⁴ and עֲמַדְךָ Ob 11), belongs to the disputed cases discussed in § 9 c and § 48 i note.

הקטיל, but הקטיל (with *i* on account of the open syllable, cf. § 60 g), e. g. הקריבו present it, Mal 1⁸.

h 3. Like the infinitives, the participles can also be united with either verbal or noun-suffixes; see § 116 f. In both cases the vowel of the participles is shortened or becomes *Šewa* before the suffix, as in the corresponding noun-forms, e. g. from the form קטל: קטל, &c.; but before *Šewa mobile* יצרך, &c., or with the original *z*, יצרך Ex 23⁴, &c., יצרך 2 K 22²⁰ (coinciding in form with the 1st sing. imperfect Qal, 1 S 15⁶; cf. § 68 h); with a middle guttural (יחל, יחל; with a third guttural, יחל Is 43¹, but יחל Jer 28¹⁰, cf. § 65 d. The form יחל, with suffix יחל; before *Šewa* sometimes like יחל Is 48¹⁷, יחל 51¹², sometimes like יחל 52¹². In Is 47¹⁰ יחל is irregular for יחל; instead of the meaningless יחל Jer 15¹⁰ read יחל.

Also unusual (see above, *d*) with participles are the suffixes of the 2nd sing. masc. with *energicum*, as יחל Jb 5¹; cf. Dt 8⁵, 12^{14, 28}.

§ 62. Verbs with Gutturals.

Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, p. 584 ff.

Verbs which have a guttural for one of the three radicals differ in their inflexion from the ordinary strong verb, according to the general rules in § 22. These differences do not affect the consonantal part of the stem, and it is, therefore, more correct to regard the guttural verbs as a subdivision of the strong verb. At the most, only the entire omission of the strengthening in some of the verbs *middle guttural* (as well as in the *imperfect Niphal* of verbs *first guttural*) can be regarded as a real weakness (§§ 63 h, 64 e). On the other hand, some original elements have been preserved in guttural stems, which have degenerated in the ordinary strong verb; e. g. the *ā* of the initial syllable in the *imperfect Qal*, as in יחל, which elsewhere is attenuated to *z*, יחל.—In guttural verbs *נ* and *ה* are only taken into consideration when they are actual consonants, and not vowel-letters like the *נ* in some verbs פ"נ (§ 68), in a few ע"נ (§ 73 g), and in most ל"נ (§ 74). In all these cases, however, the *נ* was at least originally a full consonant, while the *ה* in verbs ל"ה was never anything but a vowel letter, cf. § 75. The really consonantal *ה* at the end of the word is marked by *Mappiq*.—Verbs containing a *ר* also, according to § 22 g, r, share some of the peculiarities of the guttural verbs. For more convenient treatment, the cases will be distinguished, according as the guttural is the first, second, or third radical. (Cf. the Paradigms D, E, F, in which only those conjugations are omitted which are wholly regular.)

§ 63. Verbs First Guttural, e.g. עָמַד to stand.

In this class the deviations from the ordinary strong verb may be *a* referred to the following cases:—

1. Instead of a simple *Šewā* mobile, the initial guttural takes a compound *Šewā* (*Hateph*, § 10 f, § 22 l). Thus the *infinitives* עָמַד, אָכַל to eat, and the *perfects*, 2nd plur. masc. עָמַדְתֶּם, אָכַלְתֶּם from עָמַץ, אָכַץ to be inclined, correspond to the forms קָמַל and קָטַלְתֶּם; also אָכְלוּ to eat, and so always with initial — before a suffix for an original *ā*, according to § 22 o.

2. When a preformative is placed before an initial guttural, either *b* the two may form a closed syllable, or the vowel of the preformative is repeated as a *Hateph* under the guttural. If the vowel of the preformative was originally *a*, two methods of formation may again be distinguished, according as this *a* remains or passes into *Seghōl*.

Examples: (*a*) of firmly closed syllables after the original vowel *c* of the preformative (always with *ō* in the second syllable, except יָעֲצֵב Ez 23⁵, הָעָדָה &c. from עָדָה to adorn oneself, and יָעֲטָה; but cf. *e*): יָחַמַּד, יָחַמַּל, יָחַשֵׁב, יָחַשֵׁף, יָעֲלֵב Jer 9⁸ (probably to distinguish it from the name יָעֲלֵב, just as in Jer 10¹⁹, &c., the participle fem. Niph'al of הָלָה is נִחְלָה to distinguish it from נִחַלָה), &c., and so generally in the *imperfect Qal* of stems beginning with ח, although sometimes parallel forms exist, which repeat the *ā* as a *Hateph*, e.g. יָחַשֵׁב, &c. The same form appears also in the *imperfect Hiph'il* יִחַסֵּיר, &c. Very rarely the original *ā* is retained in a closed syllable under the preformative נ of the *perfect Niph'al*: נִחַלְתָּ Gn 31²⁷; cf. 1 S 19², Jos 2¹⁶; also the *infinitive absolute* נִחַתוּם Est 8⁸, נִעְתוּר 1 Ch 5²⁰, and the *participle fem.* נִחַלָה (see above), plur. נִעְתוּרוֹת Pr 27⁶. In these forms the original *ā* is commonly kept under the preformative and is followed by *Hateph-Pathah*; thus in the *perfect* of some verbs לָהּ, e.g. נִעְשָׂה, &c.; in the *infinitive absolute*, נִחְפֹּד Est 9¹; in the *participle* נִעְרַץ ψ 89⁸, &c.

(*b*) Of the corresponding *Hateph* after the original vowel: יָחַבֵּשׁ *d* (but יָחַבֵּשׁ Jb 5¹⁸ in pause), יָחַלֵּם, יָעֲמֵד, יָחַרֵם, and so almost always with *y* and often with *h* in the *imperfects* of *Qal* and *Hiph'il*; in *Hoph'al*, יָחַמַּד, יָחַמַּל; but cf. also יָחַבֵּאִי Is 42²³, יָחַמַּל Ez 16⁴.

The *ā* of the preformative before a guttural almost always (§ 22 i, c cf. § 27 p) becomes *Seghōl* (cf., however, *q*). This *Seghōl* again appears sometimes

(*c*) in a closed syllable, e.g. יָחַבֵּשׁ, יָחַסֵּר, יָעֲמֵר, יָחַשֵׁם, always with *ā* in the second syllable, corresponding to the *imperfects* of verbs עָ"ע,

with original *z* in the first and *z* in the second syllable, § 67 *n*, and also to the imperfects of verbs *ו'ע*, § 72 *h*; but cf. also *יִאָסֵר*, *יִאָסֵר*, and *יִהְיֶה*; in *Niph.*, e. g. *נִהְיָה* Am 6^e, &c.; in *Hiph.* *הִהְיֶה*, *הִהְיֶה*, 2 K 4¹⁷, &c.: sometimes

(*d*) followed by *Ha'ep̄h-Sēghōl*, e. g. *יִהְיֶה*, *יִהְיֶה*, *יִהְיֶה* in *imperfect Qal*; *הִיפְּחִל* *Hiph'il*; *נִפְּחִל* *Niph'al*.

f Rem. With regard to the above examples the following points may also be noted: (1) The forms with a firmly closed syllable (called the hard combination) frequently occur in the same verb with forms containing a loosely closed syllable (the soft combination). (2) In the 1st *sing. imperfect Qal* the preformative *z* invariably takes *Sēghōl*, whether in a firmly or loosely closed syllable, e. g. *אֶחָבֵךְ* (with the cohortative *אַחֲבֶךָ*), *אֶחָבֵךְ* (in *pause*), &c. In Jb 32¹⁷ *אֶחָבֵךְ* must unquestionably be *Hiph'il*, since elsewhere the pointing is always *אֶחָבֵךְ*. Cohortatives like *אֶחָבֵךְ* Gn 27⁴¹ and *אֶחָבֵךְ* Jb 16⁶, are explained by the next remark. (3) The shifting of the tone towards the end frequently causes the *Pathah* of the preformative to change into *Sēghōl*, and vice versa, e. g. *נִעְשֶׂה*, but *נִעְשֶׂה*, 3rd *sing. fem.*; *נִאָּמַר*, but *נִאָּמַר*, *הִעָּמִיד*, but *הִעָּמִיד*, consecutive *וְהִעָּמִיד*, &c.; so *וְהִתְקַדֵּם* Gr 8⁸ the plur. of *וְהִתְקַדֵּם*, cf. Gn 11⁸; and thus generally a change of the stronger *Ha'ep̄h-Sēghōl* group (*־וֹיִ*) into the lighter *Ha'ep̄h-Pathah* group takes place whenever the tone is moved one place toward the end (cf. § 27 *v*).

g 3. When in forms like *נִעְמַד*, *נִעְמַד*, the vowel of the final syllable becomes a *vocal Šwā* in consequence of the addition of an affirmative (*וֹי*, *וֹיִ*, *וֹיִ*) or suffix, the compound *Šwā* of the guttural is changed into the corresponding short vowel, e. g. *נִעְמַד*, plur. *נִעְמַדוּ* (*ya'-a-me-dhū* as an equivalent for *ya'-me-dhū*); *נִעְזְבָה* *she is forsaken*. But even in these forms the hard combination frequently occurs, e. g. *יִתְחַבֵּל* *they take as a pledge* (cf. in the *sing.* *יִתְחַבֵּל*, also *יִתְחַבֵּל*); *יִתְחַבֵּל* (also *יִתְחַבֵּל*) *they are strong*. Cf. *m* and, in general, § 22 *m*, § 28 *c*.

h 4. In the *infinitive*, *imperative*, and *imperfect Nipha'l*, where the first radical should by rule be strengthened (*הִתְחַבֵּל*), the strengthening is always omitted, and the vowel of the preformative lengthened to *Šere*; *נִעְמַד* for *yi'amēd*,¹ &c. Cf. § 22 *c*.—For *תִּעֲשֶׂה* Ex 25³¹ (according to Dillmann, to prevent the pronunciation *תִּעֲשֶׂה*, which the LXX and Samaritan follow) read *תִּעֲשֶׂה*.

REMARKS.

I. On *Qal*.

i 1. In verbs *אָסַר* the *infinitive construct* and *imperative* take *Ha'ep̄h-Sēghōl* in the first syllable (according to § 22 *o*), e. g. *אָסַר* *gird thou*, Jb 38³, *אָהַב* *love thou*,

¹ *אֶעֱמִיד* Jb 19⁷ (so even the Mantua ed.) is altogether abnormal: read *אֶעֱמִיד*, with Baer, Ginsb.

Ho 3¹, אָחֹז *seize thou*, Ex 4⁴ (on אָפֵי *bake ye*, Ex 16²³, see § 76 d); אָכַל *to eat*; infinitive with a prefix אֲחֹז, אֲכַל, אֲכָל, Is 5²⁴; אָחֹז Ec 3⁸. Sometimes, however, *Hateph-Pathah* is found as well, e.g. *infinitive* אֲחֹז I K 6⁶; אֲכַל הָאֵשׁ Nu 26¹⁰ (before a suffix אֲכַלְךָ, אֲכַלְכֶם, אֲכַלְכֶם § 61 d); cf. Dt 7²⁰, 12²⁸, Ez 25⁸, ψ 102⁵, Pr 25⁷ (אֲכַרְךָ), Jb 34¹⁸, always in close connexion with the following word. With a firmly closed syllable after ל cf. לְחַסֹּת Is 30²; לְחַפֵּר Jos 2^{2f}. (on Is 2²⁰, cf. § 84^b n); לְחַמֹּת Is 30¹⁴, Hag 2¹⁶; כְּחֶשֶׁב Ex 31⁴, &c.; עֹזֹר 2 S 18³ *Qeré*, but also בְּעֹזֹר I Ch 15²⁶.

הִחְדִּילְתִּי Ju 9^{3,11,13} is altogether anomalous, and only a few authorities give *k* הִחְדִּילְתִּי (Hiph'il), adopted by Moore in Haupt's Bible. According to Qimhi, Olshausen, and others, the Masora intended a *perfect Hoph'al* with syncope of the preformative after the ה interrogative = הִחְדִּילְתִּי, or (according to Olshausen) with the omission of the ה interrogative. But since the *Hiph'il* and *Hoph'al* of חָדַל nowhere occur, it is difficult to believe that such was the intention of the Masora. We should expect the *perfect Qal*, הִחְדִּילְתִּי. But the *qames* under the ה, falling between the tone and counter-tone, was naturally less emphasized than in חָדַלְתִּי, without the ה interrogative. Consequently it was weakened, not to simple *S'wā*, but to *—*, in order to represent the sound of the *Qames* (likewise pronounced as *ā*) at least in a shortened form. The *S'ghöl* of the ה interrogative is explained, in any case, from § 100 n (cf. the similar pointing of the article, e.g. in הַחֲדָשִׁים, § 35 k). For the accusative after חָדַל, instead of the usual כֵּן, Jb 3¹⁷ affords sufficient evidence.

Also in the other forms of the *imperative* the guttural not infrequently influences the vowel, causing a change of *i* (on this cf. § 48 i) into *S'ghöl*, e.g. אֶסְפָּה *gather thou*, Nu 11¹⁶; עֲרְכָה *set in order*, Jb 33⁵; חִשְׁפֵי *strip off*, Is 47² (on this irregular *Dages* cf. § 46 d), especially when the second radical is also a guttural, e.g. אֶחָבוּ Am 5¹⁵, ψ 31²⁴; cf. Zc 8¹⁰; אֶחָחוּ Ct 2¹⁵; cf. also in verbs לִי *sing ye*, Nu 21¹⁷, ψ 147⁷ (compared with עֲנֵי *answer ye*, I S 12³) and אֶלִּי Jo 1⁸.—*Pathah* occurs in חָבַלְתִּי *hold him in pledge*, Pr 20¹⁶, and probably also in ψ 9¹⁴ (חֲנַנִּי).—As a pausal form for חָרַבִּי (cf. the *plur.* Jer 2¹²) we find in Is 44²⁷ חָרַבִּי (cf. the *imperf.* חָרַב) with the *i* repeated in the form of a *Hateph-Qames*. For other examples of this kind, see § 10 h and § 46 e.

2. The pronunciation (mentioned above, No. 2) of the imperfects in *ā* with *m* *S'ghöl* under the preformative in a firmly closed syllable (e.g. יִחְדַּל, יִחְבַּם) regularly gives way to the soft combination in verbs which are at the same time *lā*, e.g. יִחְדַּל יִחְדַּל &c. (but cf. יִחְדַּל &c., יִחְדַּל Pr 6²⁷, יִחְדַּל ed. Mant., Ex 3²⁰). Even in the strong verb יִחְדַּק is found along with יִחְדַּק. Cf. also יִחְדַּב Ez 23⁵; יִחְדַּב Gn 27³⁶ (so Ben-Asher; but Ben-Naphtali יִחְדַּב); יִחְדַּב Neh 9²², and so always in the *imperfect Qal* of עֹזֵר with suffixes, Gn 49²⁶, &c.—יִחְדַּב Pr 1²² is to be explained from the endeavour to avoid too great an accumulation of short sounds by the insertion of a long vowel, but it is a question whether we should not simply read יִחְדַּב with Haupt in this Bible, *Proverbs*, p. 34, l. 44 ff.; cf. the analogous instances under *p*, and

such nouns as בָּאֵר, נֶאֱבָר, § 93 *t*.—On יִחְבֹּרֶךְ ψ 94²⁰ for יִחְבֹּרֶךְ (according to Qimḥi, and others, rather *Pu'al*) cf. § 60 *b*.
 n יִעָרֵם ψ 58⁵ and יַעֲרֹם 1 S 23²², Pr 15⁵, 19²⁵, may be explained with Barth (*ZDMG*, 1889, p. 179) as *i*-imperfects (see above, § 47 *i*).—the latter for the purpose of distinction from the causative יַעֲרִים ψ 83⁴.—Instead of the unintelligible form יִחְלֶקֶם (so ed. Mant.; Baer and Ginsb. as in 24³) 1 Ch 23⁶ and § 24³ (partly analogous to תַּעֲבֹדֶם § 60 *b*) the Qal יִחְלֶקֶם is to be read. The form יִרְדֶּף ψ 7⁶ which is, according to Qimḥi (in *Mikhlol*; but in his *Lexicon* he explains it as *Hithpa'el*), a composite form of Qal (יִרְדֵּף) and *Pi'el* (יִרְדֶּף), can only be understood as a development of יִרְדֶּף (cf. § 64 *h* on יִצְחָק, and § 69 *x* on תִּהְלֶךְ Ex 9²³, ψ 73⁹). Pathah has taken the place of *Hateph-Pathah*, but as a mere helping-vowel (as in נִשְׁמַעְתָּ § 28 *e*, note 2) and without preventing the closing of the syllable. It is much simpler, however, to take it as a *forma mixta*, combining the readings יִרְדֶּף (impf. Qal) and יִרְדֶּף (impf. *Pi'el*).

II. On *Hiph'il* and *Hoph'al*.

- O 3. The above-mentioned (*f*, 3) change of $\frac{\text{---}}{\text{---}}$ to $\frac{\text{---}}{\text{---}}$ occurs in the perfect *Hiph'il*, especially when *wāw* consecutive precedes, and the tone is in consequence thrown forward upon the affirmative, e.g. הֶעֱמַדְתָּ, but הֶעֱמַדְתָּ Nu 3⁶, 8¹³, 27¹⁰; הֶעֱבַרְתָּ, but הֶעֱבַרְתָּ Jer 15¹⁴, Ez 20³⁷; even in the 3rd sing. הֶעֱמַדְתָּ ψ 77².—On the contrary $\frac{\text{---}}{\text{---}}$ occurs instead of $\frac{\text{---}}{\text{---}}$ in the imperative *Hiph'il*, Jer 49^{8,30}; and in the infinitive Jer 31³². The preformative of עָתָר in *Hiph'il* always takes *a* in a closed syllable: Ex 8⁴ הֶעֱתִירוּ; verse 5 אֶעֱתִיר; also verse 25 and Jb 22²⁷.
 P 4. In the perfect *Hiph'il* $\frac{\text{---}}{\text{---}}$ is sometimes changed into $\frac{\text{---}}{\text{---}}$, and in *Hoph'al* $\frac{\text{---}}{\text{---}}$ into $\frac{\text{---}}{\text{---}}$ (cf. § 23 *h*); הֶעֱבַרְתָּ Jos 7⁷, הֶעֱלָה Hb 1¹⁵, Ju 6²⁸, 2 Ch 20³⁴, Na 2⁶, always before *u*, and hence evidently with the intention of strengthening the countertone-syllable (הֶ or הֶ) before the guttural. On a further case of this kind (הֶעֱמַדְתָּ) see § 64 *c*. Something similar occurs in the formation of segholate nouns of the form *qūl*; cf. § 93 *q*, and (on אָמַן &c. for אָמַן) § 84^a *q*.—In the imperfect consecutive בּוֹ יִחְזֹק the tone is thrown back on to the first syllable. On the *Hoph'al* תַּעֲבֹדֶם Ex 20⁵, &c., see § 60 *b*.

III. הָיָה and הָיָה.

- q 5. In the verbs הָיָה to be, and הָיָה to live, the guttural hardly ever affects the addition of preformatives; thus imperfect Qal יִהְיֶה, *Niph'al* יִהְיֶה, but in the perfect *Hiph'il* הָיָה (2nd plur. הָיִיתֶם Jos 2¹³, and even without *wāw* consecutive, Ju 8¹⁹). Initial ה always has *Hateph-S'ghol* instead of vocal *S'wā*; הָיָה, הָיִיתֶם, הָיִיתָ (except הָיִי be thou! fem. Gn 24⁶⁰). The 2nd sing. fem. imperative of הָיָה is חַיִּי live thou, Ez 16⁶; the infinitive, with suffix, חַיִּיתָ Jos 5⁸. After the prefixes הֵ, הֶ, הִ, הֵ, הֶ, הִ both ה and ה retain the simple *S'wā* (§ 28 *b*) and the prefix takes *i*, as elsewhere before strong consonants with *S'wā*; hence in the perfect Qal הָיִיתֶם, imperative הָיִי, infinitive לְהָיִיתָ &c. (cf. § 16 *f*, *e*). The only exception is the 2nd sing. masc. of the imperative after *wāw*; וְהָיָה Gn 12², &c., וְהָיָה Gn 20⁷.

§ 64. Verbs Middle Guttural, e.g. שָׁחַט *to slaughter*.

The slight deviations from the ordinary inflexion are confined *a* chiefly to the following¹:—

1. When the guttural would stand at the beginning of a syllable with simple *Šwā*, it necessarily takes a *Hateph*, and almost always *Hateph-Pathah*, e.g. *perfect* שָׁחַט *imperfect* יִשְׁחַט *imperative Niph'al* הִשְׁחַט. In the *imperative Qal*, before the affirmatives *i* and *u*, the original *Pathah* is retained in the first syllable, and is followed by *Hateph-Pathah*, thus, וְעָקֵי, וְעָקֵי, &c.; in אֶחָבִי the preference of the א for *Sghōl* (but cf. also אֶחָוִי Jer 13²¹) has caused the change from *ā* to *ē*; in שָׁחַד Jb 6²², even שׁ remains before a *hard* guttural.

So in the *infinitive Qal fem.*, e.g. אֶחָבָה *to love*, אֶחָבָה *to pine*; and in the *infinitive* with a suffix לְכַעֲרָה Is 9⁶; the doubtful form שָׁחַטָה Ho 5², is better explained as *infinitive Pi'el* (= שָׁחַטָה).

2. Since the preference of the gutturals for the *a*-sound has less *b* influence on the following than on the preceding vowel, not only is *Holem* retained after the middle guttural in the *infinitive Qal* שָׁחַט (with the *fem.* ending and retraction and shortening of the *o* רָחַץ and רָחַץָה, cf. § 45 *b*), but generally also the *Sere* in the *imperfect Niph'al* and *Pi'el*, e.g. יִלָּחֵם *he fights*, יִנָּחֵם *he comforts*, and even the more feeble *Sghōl* after *wāw consecutive* in such forms as וְיִלָּחֵם, וְיִנָּחֵם Gn 41⁸ (cf., however, וְיִנָּחֵם 1 K 12⁶, &c. But in the *imperative* and *imperfect Qal*, the final syllable, through the influence of the guttural, mostly takes *Pathah*, even in transitive verbs, e.g. שָׁחַט, יִשְׁחַט; וְעָקֵי, וְעָקֵי; יִנָּחֵם, יִנָּחֵם; with *suffixes* (according to § 60 *c*), *imperative* יִנָּחֵם, *imperfect* יִנָּחֵם.

With *ō* in the *imperative Qal*, the only instances are נָעַל 2 S 13¹⁷; אָחַז Ex 4⁴, 2 S 2²¹, *fem.* אָחַזָה Ru 3¹⁵ (with the unusual repetition of the lost *ō* as *Hateph-Qames*; 2nd *plur. masc.* in *pause* אָחַז Neh 7³; without the *pause* אָחַז Ct 2¹⁵); אָחַזָה Ju 19⁸.² Finally אָחַזָה Nu 23⁷, is an example of the same kind, see § 63 *p*. Just as rare are the *imperfects* in *ō* of verbs *middle guttural*, as יִנָּחֵם, יִנָּחֵם Lv 5¹⁵, Nu 5²⁷ (but וְיִנָּחֵם 2 Ch 26¹⁶); cf. וְיִנָּחֵם Ez 16³³; וְיִנָּחֵם Jb 35⁶. Also in the *perfect Pi'el*, *Pathah* occurs somewhat more frequently than in the strong verb, e.g. נָחַם *to comfort* (cf., however, נָחַם, נָחַם, נָחַם, נָחַם);

¹ *Hoph'al*, which is not exhibited in the paradigm, follows the analogy of *Qal*; *Hiph'il* is regular.

² Also Ju 19⁸ (where *Qimhi* would read *s'ād*), read *s'ād*, and on the use of the conjunctive accent (here *Darga*) as a substitute for *Metheg*, cf. § 9 *u* (*c*) and § 16 *b*.

but *א* and *י* always have *ē* in 3rd *sing.*—On the *infinitive* with suffixes, cf. § 61 b.

d 3. In *Pi'el*, *Pu'al*, and *Hithpa'el*, the *Dageš forte* being inadmissible in the middle radical, the preceding vowel, especially before ה, ח, and ע, nevertheless, generally remains short, and the guttural is consequently to be regarded as, at least, *virtually* strengthened, cf. § 22 c; e.g. *Pi'el* שחַק Jos 14¹, יִבְעֲרֵתִי 1 K 14¹⁰, יָנַח Ex 10¹³ (cf., however, אָחַר Gn 34¹⁹; נָחַל Ex 15¹³, but in the *imperfect* and *participle* יִנְחַל, &c.; in verbs ל"ה, e.g. רָעָה), *infinitive* שַׁחַק, *Pu'al* רָחַץ (but cf. דָּחַץ 36¹³ from דָּחָה, also the unusual position of the tone in בָּחַן¹ Ez 21¹⁸, and in the *perfect* *Hithpa'el* הִתְרַחֵץ Jb 9³⁰); *Hithpa'el perfect* and *imperative* הִפְחִיזוּ, &c.; in *pause* (see §§ 22 c, 27 q, 29 v, 54 k) הִפְחִיזוּ Nu 8⁷, 2 Ch 30¹³; יִתְנַחֵם Nu 23¹⁹, &c.

e The complete omission of the strengthening, and a consequent lengthening of the preceding vowel, occurs invariably only with ר (בָּרַח Ez 16⁴ is an exception; בָּרַחָה also occurs, Ju 6²⁸), e.g. בָּרַח (in *pause* בָּרַחָה), *imperfect* יִבְרַח, *Pu'al* בִּרַח. Before *א* it occurs regularly in the stems בָּאָר, בָּאָל, בָּאָן, בָּאָר, and in the *Hithpa'el* of בָּאָשׁ, רָאָה, and שָׂאָה; on the other hand, *א* is *virtually* strengthened in the *perfects*, נִאָּר (once in the *imperfect*, Jer 29²³) to *commit adultery*, נִאָּץ to *despise* (in the *participle*, Nu 14²³, Is 60¹⁴, Jer 23¹⁷; according to Baer, but not ed. Mant., or Ginsb., even in the *imperfect* יִנְאָץ ψ 74¹⁰), נִאָּר to *abhor* La 2⁷ (also נִאָּרָה ψ 89⁴⁰) and שָׂאָל ψ 109¹⁰; moreover, in the *infinitive* יֵאָשׁ Ec 2²⁰, according to the best reading. On the *Mappiq* in the *Pu'al* רָאָה Jb 33²¹, cf. § 14 d.

f Rem. 1. In the verb שָׂאָל to *ask*, to *beg*, some forms of the *perfect Qal* appear to be based upon a secondary form *middle e*, which is *Sere* when the vowel of the *א* stands in an open syllable, cf. שָׂאֵלָה Gn 32¹⁸, Ju 4²⁰; שָׂאֵלָנִי ψ 137³; but in a closed syllable, even without a suffix, שָׂאֵלָם 1 S 12¹³, 25⁵, Jb 21²⁹; שָׂאֵלָהּ Ju 13⁶, 1 S 1²⁰. Cf., however, similar cases of attenuation of an original *ā*, § 69 s, and especially § 44 d. In the first three examples, if explained on that analogy, the *i* attenuated from *ā* would have been lengthened to *ē* (before the tone); in the next three *i* would have been modified to *ē*. Also in the *Hithpa'el* form הִשְׁאֵלָהּ 1 S 1²⁸ the *א* is merely attenuated from *א*.

g 2. In *Pi'el* and *Hithpa'el* the lengthening of the vowel before the guttural causes the tone to be thrown back upon the penultima, and consequently the *Sere* of the ultima to be shortened to *S^ghöl*. Thus (a) before monosyllables, according to § 29 e, e.g. לְשִׁרָה שָׂם Dt 17¹², even in the case of a guttural which is *virtually* strengthened, Gn 39¹⁴, Jb 8¹⁸ (see § 29 g). (b) after *vāw* consecutive, e.g. וַיְבָרֶךְ and he blessed, Gn 1²² and frequently, וַיִּבְרָכְשׁ and he drove out, Ex 10¹¹, וַיִּתְחַפְּעוּ Dn 2¹.

¹ בָּחַן is explained by Abulwalid as the 3rd pers. *perfect Pu'al*, but by Qimhi as a noun.

3. The following are a few rarer anomalies; in the *imperfect Qal* יִצְחָק Gn 21⁶ *h* (elsewhere יִצְחָק, &c., in *pause* יִצְחָק, cf. § 10 g (c) and § 63 n); וַיֵּאָחֶז Gn 32⁵ (for וַיֵּאָחֶז); in the *perfect Pēl* אָחֶזְתִּי Ju 5²⁸ (perhaps primarily for אָחֶזְתִּי according to Gn 34¹⁹ אָחֶזְתִּי would be expected), and similarly יִתְחַנֵּן ψ 51⁷ for יִתְחַנֵּן; in the *imperative Pēl* קַרְבַּ עֲרַב Ez 37¹⁷ (cf. above, § 52 n); finally, in the *imperative Hiph'il* הֲרַחֵק Jb 13²¹ and הֲמַעַר ψ 69²⁴, in both cases probably influenced by the closing consonant, and by the preference for *Pathah* in *pause* (according to § 29 g); without the *pause* הֲרַחֵק Pr 4²⁴, &c.; but also הֲנַחֵם Jo 4¹¹.

4. As *infinitive Hithpa'el* with a suffix we find הִתְחַשֵּׁם Ezr 8¹, &c., with *i* a firmly closed syllable, also the *participle* מְתַחַשֵּׁם Neh 7⁶⁴; Baer, however, reads in all these cases, on good authority, הִתְחַשֵּׁם &c.—The quite meaningless *Kethibh* וַיִּשְׁאָר Ez 9⁸ (for which the *Qere* requires the equally unintelligible וַיִּשְׁאָר) evidently combines two different readings, viz. וַיִּשְׁאָר (*part. Niph.*) and וַיִּשְׁאָר (*imperf. consec.*); cf. König, *Lehrgebäude*, i. p. 266 f.—In הִתְחַהֵּוּ Is 44¹⁸ (also יִתְחַהֵּוּ in the same verse) an *imperfect Pēl* appears to be intended by the Masora with an irregular shortening of the *o* for יִתְחַהֵּוּ; cf. § 55 b מְלִשְׁנֵי ψ 101⁵ *Qere*; on the other hand Qimḥi, with whom Delitzsch agrees, explains the form as *Pēl*, with an irregular — for — , as in the reading אֶקְטֶמָּה Ru 2²⁷; cf. § 10 h.

5. A few examples in which *ṣ*, as middle radical, entirely loses its consonantal value and quiesces in a vowel, will be found in § 73 g.

§ 65. *Verbs Third Guttural*, e.g. שָׁלַח to send.¹

1. According to § 22 d, when the last syllable has a vowel incompatible with the guttural (i.e. not an *a*-sound), two possibilities present themselves, viz. either the regular vowel remains, and the guttural then takes *furtive Pathah*, or *Pathah* (in *pause Qames*) takes its place. More particularly it is to be remarked that—

(a) The unchangeable vowels — , — , — (§ 25 b) are always retained, even under such circumstances; hence *inf. abs. Qal* שָׁלַח, *part. pass.* שָׁלֵחַ, *Hiph.* הִשְׁלִיחַ, *imperf.* יִשְׁלִיחַ, *part.* מִשְׁלִיחַ. So also the less firm — in the *inf. constr.* שָׁלַח is almost always retained: cf., however, שָׁלַח, in close connexion with a substantive, Is 58⁹, and שָׁלַח Nu 20³. Examples of the *infinitive* with suffixes are שָׁלַח בְּבָרְתֶּךָ Gn 35¹; שָׁלַח בְּפִנְעוֹ Nu 35¹⁹; לְרַבְעָה Lv 18²³, &c.

(b) The *imperfect* and *imperative Qal* almost always have *a* in the *o* second syllable, sometimes, no doubt, due simply to the influence of the guttural (for a tone-long *o*, originally *u*), but sometimes as being the original vowel, thus שָׁלַח, שָׁלַח, &c.; with suffixes יִשְׁלַחֲנִי, יִשְׁלַחֲנִי, see § 60 c.

¹ Verbs — in which the — is consonantal obviously belong also to this class, e.g. נָבַח to be high, תָּמַה to be astonished, מָהַם (only in *Hithpa'el*) to delay.

Exceptions, in the *imperfect* אסלח Jer 5⁷, K^{eth}. (אסלח Q^{red}); in the *imperative* מִבֶּה Gn 43¹⁶. On such cases as אֲפֹשֶׁעַ Is 27⁴, cf. § 10 k.

c (c) Where *Sere* would be the regular vowel of the final syllable, both forms (with *ē* and *ā*) are sometimes in use; the choice of one or the other is decided by the special circumstances of the tone, i. e.:—

d Rem. 1. In the *absolute state* of the *participle* Qal, Pi'el and Hithpa'el, the forms שָׁלַח (with suff. שְׁלָחִי, but שְׁלַחְךָ), מִשְׁלַח (with suff. מִשְׁלַחְךָ), and מִשְׁתַּעֵץ are used exclusively; except in verbs לָע where we find, in close connexion, also שָׁלַע ψ 94⁹, רָעַע Is 51¹⁵, Jer 31⁸⁵, רָעַע Is 42⁵, 44²⁴, רָעַע ψ 136⁶, שָׁשַׁע Lv 11⁷, all with the tone on the last syllable.—The part. Pu'al is מְרַבֵּעַ Ez 45² according to the best authorities (Kittel מְרַבֵּעַ).

c 2. Similarly, in the *imperf.* and *inf.* Niph'al, and in the *perf. inf.* and *imperf. Pi'el* the (probably more original) form with *ā* commonly occurs in the body of the sentence, and the fuller form with *ē* in *pause* (and even with the lesser distinctives, e.g. with D^{hi} ψ 86⁴ in the *imperative* Pi'el; with Tiph'ha 1 K 12³² in the *infinitive* Pi'el; Jer 4³¹ *imperfect* Hithpa'el; Jer 16⁶ *imperfect* Niph'al), cf. e.g. יָרַע Nu 27⁴, with יָרַע 36³; וַיִּשְׁבַּע Dt 1⁸⁴, even with retraction of the tone in the *inf. abs.* Niph'al הִשְׁבַּע Nu 30⁸ (elsewhere הִשְׁבַּע Jer 7⁹, 12¹⁶ twice, in each case without the *pause*); הִבְשַׁע Hb 3⁹, with תִּבְשַׁע Ez 13¹¹; בָּלַע to devour Hb 1¹³, Nu 4²⁰ with בָּלַע La 2⁸; for *infinitive* Hithpa'el, cf. Is 28²⁰. The *infinitive absolute* Pi'el has the form שָׁלַח Dt 22⁷, 1 K 11²²; the *infinitive construct*, on the other hand, when without the *pause* is always as שָׁלַח except לְשַׁלַּח Ex 10⁴.—יָבַח Hb 1¹⁶ has *ē*, though not in *pause*, and even יוֹבַח 2 K 16⁴, 2 Ch 28⁴; but *a* in *pause* in the *imperative* Niph'al הִאָּבַח Ez 21¹¹; *jussive* Pi'el תִּאָּבַח ψ 40¹⁸; cf. § 52 n. An example of *ā* in the *imperative* Pi'el under the influence of a final ר is בָּתַר Jb 36², in the *imperfect* Niph'al וַיִּתְּצֵר Nu 17¹³, &c.—In יִפְרָה Jb 14⁹ (cf. ψ 92¹⁴, Pr 14¹¹), Barth (see above, § 63 n) finds an *i-imperfect* of Qal, since the intransitive meaning is only found in Qal.

f 3. In the 2nd *sing. masc.* of the *imperative*, and in the forms of the *jussive* and *imperfect consecutive* of Hiph'il which end in gutturals, *a* alone occurs, e.g. הִצְלַח prosper thou, יִרְמַח let him make to trust, וַיַּצְמַח and he made to grow (so in Hithpalpel וַיִּתְּמַח, &c., Hb 2⁹); even in *pause* וַיַּצְלַח 1 Ch 29²³, and, with the best authorities, וַיִּזְכַּח 1 Ch 12¹⁷; וַיִּשְׁעֵב Is 35⁴ is perhaps to be emended into וַיִּשְׁעֵעַ (= וַיִּשְׁעֵעַ).—In the *infinitive absolute* *Sere* remains, e.g. הִנְבַּח to make high; as *infinitive construct* הִנְבַּח also occurs in close connexion (Jb 6²⁶); on הִשְׁעֵעַ as *infinitive construct* (1 S 25^{26,33}), cf. § 53 k.

g 2. When the guttural with *quiescent Šewa* stands at the end of a syllable, the ordinary strong form remains when not connected with suffixes, e.g. שְׁלַחְתִּי, שְׁלַחְתָּ. But in the 2nd *sing. fem. perfect* a *helping-Pathah* takes the place of the *Šewa*, שְׁלַחְתְּ Jer 13²³ (§ 28 e); also in 1 K 14³, לָקַחְתְּ is to be read, not לָקַחְתָּ.

h Rem. The soft combination with compound *Šewa* occurs only in the 1st *plur. perfect* with suffixes, since in these forms the tone is thrown one place farther forward, e.g. יָדַעְנוֹךָ we know thee, Ho 8² (cf. Gn 26²⁹, ψ 44¹⁸, 132⁶). Before the suffixes ךָּ and ךֶּם, the guttural must have ׁ, e.g. אֶשְׁלַחְךָ I will send thee, 1 S 16¹; וְאֶשְׁלַחְךָ Gn 31²⁷; וְאֶשְׁמִיעְךָ Jer 18².

On the weak verbs לָא, see especially § 74.

II. The Weak Verb.¹

§ 66. *Verbs Primae Radicalis Nûn* (נ), e.g. נִשְׁבַּח to approach.

Brockelmann, *Semit. Sprachwiss.*, p. 138 ff.; *Grundriss*, p. 595 ff.

The weakness of initial נ consists chiefly in its suffering *aphaeresis* *a* in the *infinitive construct* and *imperative* in some of these verbs (cf. § 19 h). On the other hand, the *assimilation* of the נ (see below) cannot properly be regarded as weakness, since the trilateral character of the stem is still preserved by the strengthening of the second consonant. The special points to be noticed are—

1. The *aphaeresis* of the Nûn (a) in the *infinitive construct*. This *b* occurs only (though not necessarily) in those verbs which have a in the second syllable of the *imperfect*. Thus from the stem נִשְׁבַּח, *imperfect* שִׁבַּח, *infinitive* properly שִׁבַּח, but always lengthened by the feminine termination ת to the segholate form שִׁבַּחַת²; with *suffix* שִׁבַּחְתִּי Gn 33³; with the concurrence of a guttural נִשְׁבַּח to touch, *imperfect* שִׁבַּח, *infinitive* שִׁבַּח (also שִׁבַּח, see below); נִשְׁבַּח to plant, *infinitive* שִׁבַּח (also שִׁבַּח, see below); on the verb נָתַן to give, see especially *h* and *i*. On the other hand, *aphaeresis* does not take place in verbs which have *o* in the *imperfect*, e.g. נָפַל to fall, *imperfect* נָפַל, *infinitive* נָפַל, with *suffix* נָפַלְתִּי, also נָפַלְתָּ, Nu 6², &c.; cf., moreover, נָשַׁע Gn 20⁶, &c., נָשַׁע Ex 19¹² (even נָשַׁע Jb 6⁷; cf. Jer 1¹⁰); with *suffix* נָשַׁעְתִּי Lv 15²³. Also נָשַׁע Is 51¹⁶ (but נָשַׁע Ec 3²); נָשַׁע Is 1¹⁴, 18³; with *suffix* נָשַׁעְתִּי ψ 28² (elsewhere נָשַׁעְתָּ, cf. § 74 *i* and § 76 *b*), נָשַׁע 2 S 20⁹.

(b) In the *imperative*. Here the Nûn is always dropped in verbs *C* with a in the *imperfect*, e.g. נִשְׁבַּח, *imperative* שִׁבַּח (more frequently with *paragogic a*, שִׁבַּח; before *Maqqeph* also שִׁבַּח Gn 19⁹), *plur.* שִׁבַּחוּ, &c. Parallel with these there are the curious forms with *o*, שִׁבַּח Ru 2¹⁴ (with *retarding* Metheg in the second syllable, and also *nasog 'ahor*, according to § 29 *e*, before הָלַם) and שִׁבַּח Jos 3⁹ (before הָלַם), 1 S 14²³ (before הָלַם) and 2 Ch 29³¹; in all these cases without the *pause*. With Nûn retained, as if in a strong verb, נִשְׁבַּח drive, 2 K 4²⁴ (*imperfect* שִׁבַּח, without assimilation of the Nûn), 2 K 19²⁹, Is 37³⁰, Jer 29^{5,28}; cf. also the verbs נָשַׁע, which are at the same time נָשַׁע Ez 32¹⁸, נָשַׁע Ex 32³⁴, נָשַׁע Ex 8¹, &c.; the verb נָשַׁע, נָשַׁע ψ 10¹² (usually נָשַׁע); cf. § 76 *b*. But, as in the *infinitive*, the *aphaeresis* never takes place in verbs which have *o* in the *imperfect*, e.g. נָפַח, נָפַח, &c.

¹ Cf. the summary, § 41.

² The law allowing the addition of the feminine termination to the unlengthened form, instead of a lengthening of the vowel, is suitably called by Barth 'the law of compensation' (*Nominalbildung*, p. xiii).

d 2. When, through the addition of a *preformative*, *Nûn* stands at the end of a syllable, it is readily assimilated to the second radical (§ 19 c); thus in the *imperfect Qal*,¹ e.g. יפֿל for *yinpôl*, he will fall; שִׁי for *yingsâ*; יתִּן for *yintên*, he will give (on this single example of an *imperfect* with original *i* in the second syllable, cf. *h*)²; also in the *perfect Niph'al* שִׁי for *ningsâ*; throughout *Hiph'il* (שִׁי, &c.) and *Hoph'al* (which in these verbs always has *Qibbûs*, in a sharpened syllable, cf. § 9 n) שִׁי.

The other forms are all quite regular, e.g. the *perfect, infinitive absolute* and *participle Qal*, all *Pi'el, Pu'al, &c.*

In Paradigm H, only those conjugations are given which differ from the regular form.

e The characteristic of these verbs in all forms with a preformative is *Dageš* following it in the second radical. Such forms, however, are also found in certain verbs פֿ (§ 71), and even in verbs ע"ע (§ 67). The *infinitive* שִׁי and the *imperative* שִׁי, also שִׁי (Gn 19⁹) and יתִּן, resemble the corresponding forms of verbs פֿ (§ 69).—On יתִּן, קח, and לקח, from לקח to take, see g.—In יקום (*imperfect Niph'al* of קום), and in similar forms of verbs ע"ע (§ 72), the full writing of the *ô* indicates, as a rule, that they are not to be regarded as *imperfects Qal* of קום, &c.—Also אִפֶּס (ψ 139⁸) is not to be derived from נָסַם, but stands for אִפֶּסֶל (with a sharpening of the *ס* as compensation for the loss of the *ל*), from קַלַּם to ascend, see § 19 f, and Kautzsch, *Gramm. des Bibl.-Aram.*, § 44. Similarly the *Hiph'il*-forms הִשִּׁיקוּ Ez 35⁹, הִשִּׁיק Is 44¹⁵, and the *Niph'al* הִשִּׁיקוּ ψ 78²¹ are most probably from a stem שִׁלַּק, נִשְׁלַק, נִשְׁלָק.

f Rem. 1. The instances are comparatively few in which the forms retain their *Nûn* before a firm consonant, e.g. יִנָּכַר, *imperfect Jer* 3⁵ (elsewhere יִנָּכַר); also from נָצַר the pausal form is יִנָּצַר (without the *pause* יִנָּצַר, Pr 20²⁸); similarly in Is 29¹, 58³, ψ 61⁸, 68³ (where, however, הִנָּצַר is intended), 140^{2,5}, Pr 21¹, Jb 40²¹, the retention of the *Nûn* is always connected with the *pause*. In *Niph'al* this never occurs (except in the irregular *inf.* פָּהֲנִיָּה ψ 68³, cf. § 51 k), in *Hiph'il* and *Hoph'al* very seldom; e.g. הִנָּחִיָּה Ez 22²⁰, הִנָּחִיָּה Ju 20³¹; for לִנָּחֵל Nu 5²² read לִנָּחֵל, according to § 53 g. On the other hand, the *Nûn* is regularly retained in all verbs, of which the second radical is a guttural, e.g. יִנָּחֵל he will possess, although there are rare cases like יִנָּחֵל (also יִנָּחֵת) he will descend, Jer 21¹³ (even יִנָּחֵת Pr 17¹⁰; without apparent reason accented as *Mi'el*, plur. יִנָּחֵת Jb 21¹³ (cf. § 20 i; the Masora, however, probably regards יִנָּחֵת and יִנָּחֵת as *imperfect Niph'al* from יִנָּחֵת); *Niph'al* נָחַם for נָחַם he has grieved.

g 2. The ל of לקח to take is treated like the *Nûn* of verbs פֿ (§ 19 d). Hence *imperfect Qal* יִקַּח, cohortative (§ 20 m) אִקַּח, *imperative* קח, in *pause* and

¹ Cf. Mayer Lambert, 'Le futur qal des verbes פֿ, פֿ, פֿ, פֿ,' in the *REV.* xxvii. 136 ff.

² An *imperfect* in a (יִנָּחֵל) is given in the Paradigm, simply because it is the actual form in use in this verb.

before *suffixes* קָ (on נָקַם־Gn 48⁹, see § 61 g), *paragogic form* קָקָה; קָקָי, &c. (but cf. also לָקַח Ex 29¹, Ez 37¹⁶, Pr 20¹⁶, לָקַחִי 1 K 17¹¹, perhaps a mistake for קָחִי לָהּ cf. LXX and Lucian); *infinitive construct* קָחַת (once קָחַת 2 K 12⁹, cf. § 93 h); with לָ, לָקַחַת; with *suffix* קָחַתִּי; *Hoph'al* (cf., however, § 53 u) *imperfect* יִקַּח; *Niph'al*, however, is always נִקְחָה.—The meaningless form קָח Ez 17⁵ is a mistake; for the equally meaningless קָחַח Ho 11³ read יִקַּחֲחִי.

3. The verb נָתַן to give, mentioned above in d, is the only example of a *h* verb נָ"ן with *imperfect* in ע (נָתַן for *yintēn*; נָתַנְּיָא only in Ju 16⁵, elsewhere before *Maggeph* יִתֵּן, &c.), and a corresponding *imperative* הֵן or (very frequently) הֵנָּה (but in ψ 8² the very strange reading הֵנָּה is no doubt simply meant by the Masora to suggest נִתְּנָה); before *Maggeph* יִתֵּן, fem. יִתֵּנִי, &c. Moreover, this very common verb has the peculiarity that its final *Nūn*, as a weak nasal, is also assimilated; נָתַתִּי for *nāthānti*, נָתַתְּ or, very frequently, נָתַתָּה, with a kind of orthographic compensation for the assimilated *Nūn* (cf. § 44 g); *Niph'al perfect* נִתְּחַם Lv 26²⁵, Ezr 9⁷.

In the *infinitive construct Qal* the ground-form *tint* is not lengthened to *tēneth* i (as נָתַתְּ from נָתַתְּ), but contracted to *titt*, which is then correctly lengthened to תִּת, with the omission of *Dageš forte* in the final consonant, see § 20 l; but with *suffixes* יִתֵּנִי, יִתֵּנָּה, &c.; before *Maggeph* with the prefix לָ=לָתַתְּ, e.g. Ex 5²¹, and even when closely connected by other means, e.g. Gn 15⁷. However, the strong formation of the *infinitive construct* also occurs in נָתַן Nu 20²¹ and נָתַן־Gn 38⁹; cf. § 69 m, note 2. On the other hand, for לָתַתְּ 1 K 6¹⁹ read either לָתַתְּ or simply לָתַח, just as the *Q'rē*, 1 K 17¹⁴, requires תַּח for תַּת.

In other stems, the נ is retained as the third radical, e.g. יִקְרָאִי, cf. *h* § 19 c and § 44 n. On the entirely anomalous *aphaeresis* of the *Nūn* with a strong vowel in יִתֵּנָּה (for יִתֵּנָּה) 2 S 22⁴¹, cf. § 19 i.—On the *passive imperfect* יִתֵּן, cf. § 53 u.

§ 67. *Verbs ע"ע*, e.g. סָבַב to surround.

Brockelmann, *Semit. Sprachwiss.*, p. 155 ff.; *Grundriss*, p. 632 ff.

1. A large number of Semitic stems have verbal forms with only *a* two radicals, as well as forms in which the stem has been made triliteral by a *repetition of the second radical*, hence called verbs ע"ע. Forms with two radicals were formerly explained as being due to contraction from original forms with three radicals. It is more correct

¹ P. Haupt on Ju 16⁵ in his Bible, compares the form of the Assyrian imperfect *iddan* or *iltan* (besides *inādin*, *ināmdin*) from *nadānu*=נָתַן. But could this one passage be the only trace left in Hebrew of an imperf. in *a* from נָתַן?

to regard them as representing the original stem (with two radicals), and the forms with the second radical repeated as subsequently developed from the monosyllabic stem.¹ The appearance of a general contraction of trilateral stems is due to the fact that in biliteral forms the second radical regularly receives *Dageš forte* before affirmatives, except in the cases noted in § 22 b and q. This points, however, not to an actual doubling, but merely to a strengthening of the consonant, giving more body to the monosyllabic stem, and making it approximate more to the character of trilateral forms.

The development of biliteral to trilateral stems (ע"ע) generally takes place in the 3rd *sing. masc.* and *fem.* and 3rd *plur. perfect Qal* of *transitive* verbs, or at any rate of verbs expressing an activity, e.g. קָבַב, קָבְבָהּ, קָבְבִי : קָבַבְנָה Gn 33⁵ (but with suffix חָלַלְי, ver. 11); sometimes with an evident distinction between transitive and intransitive forms, as צָרַר to *make strait*, צָר to *be in a strait*; see further details, including the exceptions, in aa. The development of the stem takes place (a) necessarily whenever the strengthening of the 2nd radical is required by the character of the form (e.g. שָׁדַד, חָלַל), and (b) as a rule, whenever the 2nd radical is followed or preceded by an essentially long vowel, as, in Qal, קָבַב, קָבְבָהּ, in Pō'el and Pō'al, סוֹכַב, סוֹכְבָהּ.

b 2. The biliteral stem always (except in *Hiph'il* and the *imperfect Niph'al*, see below) takes the vowel which would have been required between the *second* and *third* radical of the ordinary strong form, or which stood in the ground-form, since that vowel is characteristic of the form (§ 43 b), e.g. פָּחַם answering to קָטַל, תָּפַח to the ground-form qāṭālāt, תָּפַח to the ground-form qāṭālā; *infinitive*, קָטַל to טָבַח.

c 3. The insertion of *Dageš forte* (mentioned under a), for the purpose of strengthening the second radical, never takes place (see § 20 l) in the final consonant of the word, e.g. פָּחַם, טָבַח, not פָּחַם, טָבַח; but it appears again on the addition of affirmatives or suffixes, e.g. תָּפַחְנָה, טָבַחְנָה, &c.

d 4. When the affirmative begins with a consonant (ג, ח), and hence the strongly pronounced second radical would properly come at the end of a closed syllable, a *separating vowel* is inserted between the stem-syllable and the affirmative. In the *perfect* this vowel is i, in the *imperative* and *imperfect* '—, e.g. קָבַחְנִי, קָבַחְנִי, *imperfect* תִּקְבְּחִנִּי (for *sabb-tā, sabb-nā, tasōbb-nā*). The artificial opening of the syllable

¹ So (partly following Ewald and Böttcher) A. Müller, *ZDMG.* xxxiii. p. 698 ff.; Stade, *Lehrbuch*, § 385 b, c; Nöldeke, and more recently Wellhausen, 'Ueber einige Arten schwacher Verba im Hebr.' (*Skizzen u. Vorarb.* vi. 250 ff.). Against Böttcher see M. Lambert, *REJ.* xxxv. 330 ff., and Brockelmann, as above.

by this means is merely intended to make the strengthening of the second radical audible.¹

The *perfect* תָּמַנְו (for תָּמַנְוּ) Nu 17²⁸, ψ 64⁷ (Jer 44¹⁸ תָּמַנְו with *Silluq*), owing *C* to omission of the separating vowel, approximates, if the text is right, to the form of verbs עָנְו (cf. עָנְוּ from קוּם).

5. Since the preformatives of the *imperfect Qal*, of the *perfect f* *Niph'al*, and of *Hiph'il* and *Hoph'al* throughout, before a monosyllabic stem form an open syllable, they take a *long* vowel before the tone (according to § 27 e), e.g. *imperfect Hiph'il* יִסֵּב for *yā-sēb*, *imperative* הִסֵּב for *hā-sēb*, &c. Where the preformatives in the strong verb have *z*, either the original *ā* (from which the *z* was attenuated) is retained and lengthened, e.g. יִסֵּב in *imperfect Qal* for *yā-sēb*, or the *z* itself is lengthened to *ē*, e.g. הִסֵּב *perfect Hiph'il* for *hī-sēb* (see further under *h*). The vowel thus lengthened can be maintained, however, only before the tone (except the *ū* of the *Hoph'al*, הִסֵּב for *hū-sāb*); when the tone is thrown forward it becomes *Šewā*, according to § 27 k (under *z* and *h* compound *Šewā*), e.g. הִסֵּב, but הִסֵּבָה; *imperfect Hiph'il* הִסֵּב, but הִסֵּבָה; *perfect* הִסֵּבָה, &c.

Besides the ordinary form of the imperfects, there is another (common in *g* *Aramaic*), in which the *imperfect Qal* is pronounced יִסֵּב or יִסֵּב, the first radical, not the second, being strengthened by *Dageš forte*, cf. יִסֵּם 1 K 9⁸, וְיִקֵּד Gn 24²⁶; with *a* in the second syllable, יִנָּר Lv 11⁷, יִנָּל Is 17⁴, וְיִנָּח Is 2⁹, &c., יִדֵּם Am 5¹³ and frequently, וְיִאֲכֹל Dt 9²¹, &c., יִסֵּב (turn intrans.) 1 S 5⁸, &c., וְיִסֵּב Lv 24¹¹, יִדֵּם Ez 47¹², &c., יִחֵם (with *Dageš forte implicitum*) 1 K 1¹; in the plural, יִתְּפֹז Nu 14³⁵, &c. (in pause יִתְּפֹז ψ 102²³); perhaps also יִמָּל, יִמָּה (unless these forms are rather to be referred to *Niph'al*, like יִדְּפֹז 1 S 2⁹, יִמָּל Jb 24²⁴); with suffix הִתְּקַנְנוּ occurs (cf. § 10 h) in Nu 23²⁵; *Imperfect Hiph'il* יִתְּחֵם, *Hoph'al* יִתְּחֵם, &c. The vowel of the preformative (which before *Dageš* is, of course, short) follows the analogy of the ordinary strong form (cf. also *u* and *y*). The same method is then extended to forms with affirmatives or suffixes, so that even before these additions the second radical is not strengthened, e.g. וְיִקְרֹו Gn 43²⁸, &c., for וְיִקְרֹוּ and they bowed the head; וְיִכְתֹּו and they beat down, Dt 1⁴⁴ (from כָּתַת); וְיִתְּחֹו Dt 32⁸; יִדְּמֹו Ex 15¹⁶, Jb 29²¹ (cf., however, וְיִתְּחֹו Ju 18²³, 1 S 5⁸, יִבְחֹו Jer 46⁵, Jb 4²⁰). To the same class of apparently strong formations belongs הִתְּעִלְנָה (without the separating vowel, for הִתְּעִלְנָה, cf. 1 S 3¹¹ and below, *p*) they shall tingle, 2 K 21¹², Jer 19³.—On the various forms of the *Niph'al*, see under *t*.

¹ Of all the explanations of these separating vowels the most satisfactory is that of Rüdiger, who, both for the *perfect* and *imperfect* (Ewald and Stade, for the *imperfect* at least), points to the analogy of verbs לָחַץ. We must, however, regard סָבַח as formed on the analogy not of לָחַץ, but (with P. Haupt) of a form גָּלַחַת (= *gūlantā*, cf. Arab. *gazanta*), while הִסֵּבָה follows the analogy of הִתְּעִלְנָה. [See also Wright, *Comp. Gr.*, 229 f.]

h 6. The original vowel is retained, see *f*, (*a*) in the preformative of the *imperfect Qal* יִסֵּב for *yā-sōb* (cf. §§ 47 *b*, 63 *b*, and for verbs י"ע § 72); (*b*) in the *perfect Niph'al* נִסַּב for *nā-sāb* (§ 51 *a*); (*c*) in *Hoph'al* הִסֵּב, with irregular lengthening (no doubt on the analogy of verbs י"פ) for *hōsāb* from *hū-sab*, imperfect יִסֵּב from *yū-sab*, &c.

i On the other hand, an already attenuated vowel (*i*) underlies the intransitive *imperfects Qal* with *ā* in the second syllable (probably for the sake of dissimilating the two vowels), e.g. יָמַר for *yā-mār* (see *p*); and in the preformative of *Hiph'il* הִמָּר from *hū-mār* (ground-form הִמָּל, § 53 *a*), as well as of the participle מִמָּר (ground-form מִמָּל), on the analogy of the perfect. In the second syllable of the Perf. the underlying vowel is *z*, attenuated from an original *ā*, which in the strong verb is abnormally lengthened to *ī* (§ 53 *a*). The *ē* lengthened from *z* is, of course, only tone-long, and hence when without the tone and before *Dageš forte* we have e.g. הִכְבֹּתִי. On the retention of the original *ā* in the second syllable, cf. *v*.

k 7. The *tone*, as a general rule, tends to keep to the stem-syllable, and does not (as in the strong verb) pass to the affirmatives הִכְבֵּה, י and '— (2nd *sing. fem. imperfect*); e.g. 3rd *sing. fem. perfect* הִכְבֵּה, in *pause* הִכְבֵּה; with ר and gutturals כָּרַה (for כִּרְה), שָׁרַה ψ 44²⁶; on the other hand, with *wāw consecutive* וְכָרַה Is 6¹² (but וְכָרַה Ex 1¹⁶). In the 3rd *plur. perfect* the tone-syllable varies; along with כָּלִי, רָלִי, we also find כָּלִי and כָּלִי Is 59¹², שָׁרִי Hb 3⁶, &c.; but in *pause* always הָרִי, חָרִי, &c. The tone likewise remains on the stem-syllable in the *imperfect Qal* in חָסַבִּי, יָסַבִּי; *perfect Hiph'il* הִסְבֵּה, הִסְבֵּה; *imperfect* יִסְבֵּה, יִסְבֵּה, &c. In the forms with separating vowels, the tone is moved forward to these vowels (or to the final syllable, cf. *ee*), e.g. כְּבֹתִי, חְסִינִי, &c.; except before the endings הֵם and הֵן in the *perfect*, which always bear the tone. This shifting of the tone naturally causes the shortening of the merely tone-long vowels *ē* and *ō* to *z* and *ū* (or *ō*, see *n*), hence הִכְבֹּתִי from הִכֵּב, חִסְבִּי from יִסֵּב; on cases in which the vowel of the preformative becomes *Šwā*, see above, *f*.

l 8. In several verbs י"ע, instead of *Pī'el*, *Pu'al* and *Hithpa'el*, the less frequent conjugation *Pō'el*, with its passive and reflexive, occurs (most probably on the analogy of the corresponding forms of verbs י"ע, cf. § 72 *m*), generally with the same meaning,¹ e.g. עוֹלֵל to *ill-treat*, passive עוֹלָל, reflexive הִתְעוֹלֵל (from עָלַל; cf. the *Hithpō'el* from רָעַע

¹ Sometimes both *Pī'el* and *Pō'el* are formed from the same stem, though with a difference of meaning, e.g. רָצַץ to *break in pieces*, רָצַץ to *oppress*; חָנַן to *make pleasing*, חָנַן to *have pity*; סָבַב to *turn, to change*, סוֹבֵב to *go round, to encompass*.

and פָּרַר Is 24¹⁹); in a few verbs also *Pālpāl* (§ 55 f) is found, e.g. גָּלַל to roll, *Hithpalpāl* הִתְגַּלְגַּל to roll oneself (from גָּלַל); imperative with suffix סִלְסִלָּהּ exalt her, Pr 4⁸; שִׁעֲשַׁע to comfort, to delight in; passive נִשְׁעָשַׁע to be caressed (from שִׁעֲשַׁע). These forms cannot appear in a biliteral form any more than *Pā'el*, *Pu'al*, and *Hithpa'el*.—For תִּתְקַר 2 S 22²⁷ read, according to ψ 18²⁷, תִּתְקַרְר.

REMARKS.

I. On Qal.

1. In the *perfect*, isolated examples are found with *ō* in the first syllable, *m* which it is customary to refer to triliteral stems with middle *ō* (like גָּלַל, § 43 a); viz. רָמוּ they are exalted, Jb 24²⁴ רָמוּם; רָבוּ they sho; Gn 49²³ רָבֹב; וָרָר Is 1⁹ to וָרָר. But this explanation is very doubtful: וָרָ especially is rather to be classed among the passives of Qal mentioned in § 52 e.

2. *Imperfects* Qal with *ō* in the second syllable keep the original *a* in the preformative, but lengthen it to *ā*, as being in an open syllable, hence יָהֵן, יָמוֹר, יָעוֹ, יָרֵן, יָרַע (trans. he breaks in pieces, but יָרַע intrans. = he is evil); imperfects with *ā* have, in the preformative, an *ē*, lengthened from *ī*. See the examples below, under *p*, § 63 c and e, § 72 h, and specially Barth in ZDMG. 1894, p. 5 f.

The *Holem* of the *infinitive*, *imperative*, and *imperfect* (יָכַב, יָכַב) is only tone-long, and therefore, as a rule, is written defectively (with a few exceptions, chiefly in the later orthography, e.g. צוֹר bind up, Is 8⁶; צוֹרָה 37⁵; דוֹם ver. 7; לָבֹז for לָבֹז to plunder, Est 3¹³, 8¹¹). When this *ō* loses the tone, it becomes in the final syllable *ū*, in a sharpened syllable *ū̇*, or not infrequently even *ü* (see above, k). Examples of *ū* are: (a) in a toneless final syllable, i.e. before *Magqeph* or in the *imperfect consecutive*, רָן (rūn) to rejoice, Jb 38⁷; וָיָסֵב Ju 11¹⁸ (once even with *ū̇* in a toneless final syllable, וָיָרֵם Ex 16²⁰); on the other hand, in the plur. וַיִּסְבּוּ, fem. וַיִּסְבִּינָה; (b) before a tone-bearing *afformative* or *suffix*, e.g. *imperative 2nd sing. fem.* רָנִי, רָנִי (cf. ff); וָיָסֵב pity me; סָלַח Jer 50²⁶; יִשְׁלַח Pr 11³ Q^{re}; וָיָסֵב Ex 12¹⁴ (for the defective writing, cf. וָיָסֵב Jb 40²²). In וָיָסֵב Gn 43²⁹, Is 30¹⁹ (for וָיָסֵב) this *ō* is thrown back to the preformative.

On the 2nd plur. fem. imperat. עָרִה make yourselves naked Is 32¹¹, cf. the O analogous forms in § 48 i.—Quite abnormal is the *infinitive absolute* רָעָה Is 24¹⁹ (as ה follows, probably only a case of dittography for רָע, cf. קָב Nu 23²⁶ and שָׁל Ru 2¹⁶); so also are the *imperatives* קָבֵה לִי Nu 22^{11,17} and אָרֵה לִי 22⁶, 23⁷, with ה *paragogic*. We should expect קָבֵה, אָרֵה. If these forms are to be read qūballi, 'ōralli, they would be analogous to such cases as מָדַרְהָ (§ 90 i), the addition of the *paragogic* ה causing no change in the form of the word (קָב like רָן above). If, however, as Jewish tradition requires, they are to be read qāballi, 'āralli, then in both cases the *Qameṣ* must be explained, with

Stade, as the equivalent of δ (קָבַח-לִי), &c.; cf. § 9 v). Still more surprising is קָבַנּוּ *curse him*, Nu 23¹³, for קָבַנּוּ or קָבַי.¹

p 3. Examples with *Pathah* in the *infinitive*, *imperative*, and *imperfect* are בָּר (in קָבַרְם *to prove them*, Ec 3¹⁸); בָּר Is 45¹; בָּר Jer 5²⁶; בָּרְשָׁם *in their error*, Gn 6⁸ (so ed. Mant., but there is also good authority for בָּרְשָׁם, from בָּרְשָׁ = בָּרְשָׁ = בָּרְשָׁ; so Baer and Ginsburg). Also בָּר take away, ψ 119²²; and the *imperfects* יָחַם *it is hot*, Dt 19⁶, &c. (on the \bar{e} of the preformative cf. n); יָמַר *it is bitter*, Is 24⁹; יָצַר *it is straitened*; יָרַךְ *it is soft*, Is 7⁴; יָשַׁם *it is desolate*, Ez 12¹⁹ (in pause יָשַׁם Gn 41¹⁹); וְהָלַל *she was despised*, Gn 16⁴ (but elsewhere in the *impf. consec.* with the tone on the penultima, e.g. וְיָצַר Gn 32⁸, &c.; cf. Ez 19⁷); in the 1st *sing. imperfect* יִתְחַם² ψ 19¹⁴, abnormally written fully for יִתְחַם, unless יִתְחַם is to be read, as in some MSS., on the analogy of the 3rd *sing.* יִתְחַם. — In the *impf. Qal* of שָׁלַל the reading of Hb 2⁸ varies between יִשְׁלֹךְ (Baer, Ginsb.) and יִשְׁלֹךְ (ed. Mant., Jabl.). — The following forms are to be explained with Barth (ZDMG. xliii. p. 178) as *imperfects Qal* with original \bar{u} in the second syllable, there being no instances of their *Hiph'il* in the same sense: וְנָלַל Gn 29¹⁰; וְנָלַל Is 31⁵, &c.; וְנָלַל Ex 42²¹, ψ 91⁴, &c.; perhaps also וְנָלַל 1 S 31¹ and וְנָלַל Jb 31²³, &c.; in accordance with this last form, וְנָלַל (בְּ) Jb 29⁵ would also be an *infinitive Qal*, not *Hiph'il* (for בְּנָלַל), as formerly explained below, under *v*. Finally the very peculiar form וְנָלַל Ju 9⁵³ may probably be added to the list.

q Imperfects, with an original u in the second syllable, are also found with this \bar{u} lengthened to \bar{u} (instead of \bar{o}), e.g. יָרִין, if the text is correct, in Pr 29⁶; יָשַׁר ψ 91⁶ (unless it be simply an imperfect from יָשַׁר *to be powerful, to prevail*); יָרִין (if from יָרִין Is 42⁴, &c. (also defectively יָרִין ψ 18²⁰; but in Ec 12⁶, according to Baer, וְיָרִין); יָרִין Ez 24¹¹ (on the sharpening of the \bar{r} cf. *g* above).³

r A similar analogy with verbs ע"ו is seen in the infinitives לָבוּר (for בָּר) Ec 9¹; בָּרוּךְ Pr 8²⁷ (cf. בָּרוּךְ Pr 8²⁹) for בָּרוּךְ, and in the *imperfect* אֲבוּשָׁךְ (Gn 27²¹). (The forms חָנוּת in ψ 77¹⁰, שְׁמוֹת Ez 36³, חָלוּתִי ψ 77¹¹, formerly treated here as infinitives from ע"ו stems, are rather to be referred to ל"ה stems, with Barth, *Wurzeluntersuchungen*, Lpz. 1902, p. 21.) On other similar cases, see below, under *ee*. For examples of the *aramaizing imperfect*, see above, *g*.

s 4. In the *participle*, the *aramaizing* form יִשְׁפָּטִיךְ for יִשְׁפָּטִיךְ occurs in K^{ethibh}, Jer 30¹⁶ (the *Qere* indicates a *participle* from יִשְׁפָּט); רָעָה Pr 25¹⁹ appears to be a contraction from רָעָה, *part. fem.* = *breaking in pieces*.

¹ For נו as suffix of the 3rd person a parallel might be found in יִשְׁנֹו, § 100 o, and probably also in the *Nun* of the Phoenician suffix נם: cf. Barth, ZDMG. xli. p. 643, and the note on § 100 o.

² Also in Ez 6⁶, instead of יִשְׁמְנָה, which could only come from יִשְׁמַם, יִשְׁמַם is intended, and יִשְׁמְנָה in the same verse is probably only an error for יִשְׁמַם.

³ According to Stade, *Grammatik*, § 95, Rem., the pronunciation with \bar{u} , since it also appears in Neo-Punic [and in Western Syriac, see Nöldeke, *Syr. Gramm.*, § 48], was that of everyday life.

II. On Niph'al.

5. Besides the ordinary form of the *perfect* נִסַּב with *Pathah* (in *pause* *t* נִסַּב) and the *participle* נֹסֵב with *Qames* in the second syllable, there is also another with *Sere*, and a third with *Holem*, e.g. *perfect* נִמַּס *it melts*, Ez 21¹², 22¹⁵; נִמְסָה (for נִסְמָה) Ez 26²; *part.* נִמֵּס *mollen*, 1 S 15⁹, Na 21¹; נָקַל *it is a light thing*, 2 K 20¹⁰, Is 49⁶ (*perf.* נִקַּל); with *ō*, e.g. נִקְלוּ *they are rolled together*, Is 34⁴; cf. 63¹⁹, 64², Am 3¹¹, Na 1¹², Ec 12^{6b}. In the *imperfect* with *ō* in the second syllable, on the analogy of verbs ע"ו (from which König would also explain the *perfects* with *ō*), we find תִּדְמִי *thou shalt be brought to silence*, Jer 45² (unless this form should be referred to *Qal* with *Qimhi*, Olshausen, König); יִרְעַע *he suffers hurt*, Pr 11¹⁵, 13²⁰; תִּירֹץ (for *tirrōs*) Ez 29⁷; with *ē* in the second syllable תִּתַּל *she profanes herself*, Lv 21⁹, but וַתַּחַל Ez 22²⁶, and יִתַּל Is 48¹¹, יִחַח Is 7⁸, &c. For *infinitives*, cf. הִמַּס *to melt*, ψ 68³ (as *inf. constr.*; 2 S 17¹⁰ as *inf. absol.*); again, with compensatory lengthening in the first syllable, הִתַּל Ez 20⁹, 14²², but with suffix הִתְלֹ Lv 21⁴; also הִבֹּז *to be plundered*, and הִבֹּק *to be emptied*, Is 24⁸; in the *imperative*, only הִפְרִי *be ye clean*, Is 52¹¹. On הִרְפוּ *get you up*, Nu 17¹⁰, and the corresponding *imperf.* יִרְפוּ Ez 10¹⁷, &c., cf. 72 *dd.*

Examples of the *perfect* Niph'al with sharpening of the initial syllable are, וַחַל *it is profaned*, Ez 22¹⁶, 25³ (from חָלַל); נָחַר (from חָרַר) ψ 69⁴, 102⁴ (also נָחַר Jer 6²⁰); נָחַת *fractus est* (from חָתַת) Mal 2⁵; cf. with this in the *participle*, נִחְמָם (for *nihhāmim*) Is 57⁵, and נִאָּרִים Mal 3⁹: in the *imperative* and *infinitive* Niph'al such a virtual strengthening of the guttural after preformatives never occurs.—The occurrence of *u* instead of *ō* as a separating vowel in the *perfect* נִשְׁדָּנָה Mic 2⁴ is abnormal.

III. On Hiph'il and Hoph'al.

6. The second syllable in *Hiph'il* sometimes has *Pathah* instead of *Sere*, *u* especially under the influence of ר and the gutturals, e.g. *perfect* הִמַּר *he made bitter*, הִשָּׁח *he bowed*, הִפַּר *he hath broken*, Gn 17¹⁴, in *pause*, cf. § 29 *q*; otherwise הִפַּר, *plur.* הִפְּרוּ Is 24⁵. In הִפִּיר ψ 33¹⁰, Ez 17¹⁹, cf. ψ 89⁴, and in הִשִּׁיר Ho 8⁴ (perhaps also in יִהִיֶּנּוּ Hab 2¹⁷, but cf. § 20 *n*) there is an assimilation to the corresponding forms of verbs ע"ו, see *z*. Also הִצִּיר Dt 28⁵², הִתָּו (in *pause*) Is 18⁵; *inf.* לְהַכִּיר *to cleanse*, Jer 4¹¹, in *pause*. But also with other consonants, e.g. הִדַּק 2 K 23¹⁵, הִקַּל Is 8²³; הִדָּב Jb 23¹⁶; *plur.* הִדְּבוּ 1 S 5^{9.10} (and so usually in the 3rd *plur.* *perf.*, except before ר and gutturals, e.g. הִרְעֹו *imper.* הִשְׁעַע *besmear*, Is 6¹⁰; *plur.* הִשְׁפֹּו *be astonished*, Jb 21⁵; *imperfect* תִּרְעַע *Thou dost afflict*; *part.* מִצֵּל (on *ē* in the first syllable, see under *i*) *shadowing*, Ez 31³ (but מִסִּיֶּה Ju 3²⁴ is assimilated to the form of verbs ע"ו, unless, with Moore, we simply read מִסִּיֶּה, or, with incorrect spelling, מִסִּיֶּה. So in the *imperative* הִמְיִשְׁנִי Ju 16²⁶ *6^{re}*, and in the *infinitive* הִתְחַמֵּד Is 33¹).

The *ē* of the second syllable, when without the tone, may become *z*, e.g. הִתַּל Gn 31⁷ (see also *x*). It is unusual (cf. § 53 *k*) to find the *ē* written fully as in the *infinitive* לְהַפִּיר Zc 11¹⁰. Instead of *Hateph-Pathah* a *Hateph-*

S^ghôt is found under the preformative in הִקְלִיטִי 2 S 19⁴⁴, and a *Pathah* occurs before ה (with a virtual sharpening of the ה) in such forms as הִקְלִיטִי Is 9³; cf. Gn 11⁶, Dt 2³¹, 3²⁴, 1 S 22¹⁵, Est 6¹³—in all these cases before ה.—On בִּהְלֹלָו Jb 29³, see above, *p*: on יוֹהֲתִיתִי Jer 49³⁷, see below, *dd*.

a 7. In the *imperfect consecutive* of verbs whose second radical is a guttural, *ā* is retained (§ 22 *d*) in the second syllable instead of *ē*, e.g. וְיָרַע 1 K 16²⁵: so also with ר, as וְיִצַּר 2 Ch 28²⁰, Dt 2⁹—but cf. also וְיָפַר Neh 4⁹.

y 8. Aramazing forms (but cf. Rem. to § 67 *g*) in *Hiph'il* and *Hoph'al* are, וַיִּסַּב Ex 13¹⁸, &c.; cf. Ju. 18²³; וַיִּסַּבְתִּי Ex 23²¹, but read וַיִּסַּבְתִּי from סָבַח: וַיִּסַּבְתִּי Dt 1⁴⁴ (cf. Nu 14⁴⁵), but וַיִּסַּבְתִּי Ju 18²³, 1 S 5⁸, 2 Ch 29⁶; וַיִּסַּבְתִּי Ez 39⁷; וַיִּסַּבְתִּי Jb 22³; without elision of the ה (cf. § 53 *g*), וַיִּסַּבְתִּי 1 K 18²⁷, but Jer 9⁴ וַיִּסַּבְתִּי, Jb 13⁹ וַיִּסַּבְתִּי; with *i* in the second syllable וַיִּסַּבְתִּי Jer 49²⁰, 50⁴⁵; cf. וַיִּסַּבְתִּי Nu 21³⁰; in the *perfect* וַיִּסַּבְתִּי La 1⁸. In *Hoph'al*, וַיִּסַּבְתִּי they are brought low, Jb 24²¹; יִסַּבְתִּי he is smitten, Is 24¹² (*plur.* יִסַּבְתִּי Jer 46³, Mi 1⁷); in *pause*, וַיִּסַּבְתִּי Jb 15²³, but also יִסַּבְתִּי Jb 4²⁰ (so Baer, Ginsb., but ed. Mant., Jabl. *יִסַּבְתִּי*); with *ō* in the initial syllable, וַיִּסַּבְתִּי (*infinitive with suffix* וַיִּסַּבְתִּי, cf. § 91 *e*) Lv 26³⁴, cf. 2 Ch 36²¹; וַיִּסַּבְתִּי, with irregular syncope for וַיִּסַּבְתִּי, Lv 26⁴³.

IV. In General.

z 9. Verbs וָע are most closely related as regards inflexion to verbs וָע (§ 72). The form of verbs וָע is generally the shorter (cf. e.g. וָע and וָע, וָע and וָע); in a few cases, however, the two classes exactly coincide, e.g. in the *imperfect Qal* and *Hiph'il* with *wāw consecutive*, in *Hoph'al* and in the less common conjugations (see above, *l*).

aa 10. The developed forms (with three radicals), as mentioned in *a*, are especially frequent in the 3rd *sing. masc.* and *fem.*, and the 3rd *plur. perf. Qal* (i.e. in forms without an affirmative or with an affirmative beginning with a vowel) of transitive verbs, or verbs, at any rate, expressing action, e.g. וָע, וָע (but before a suffix also וָע, as well as וָע, &c.); וָע, &c. Sometimes the contracted, as well as the uncontracted form, is found, e.g. וָע to plunder, *plur.* וָע; in other parts, only וָע Dt 2³⁵, as well as וָע Dt 3⁷; וָע Zc 8^{14,15} and וָע Jer 4²⁸. Other examples of biliteral forms in 2nd *sing. masc.* are Dt 25¹², Pr 30³²; in 1st *sing.*, Jos 5⁹. Apart from *Qal* the only example of a developed form is וָע Jer 49³⁷.

bb On the other hand, the biliteral forms are the more common in the 3rd *sing.* and *plur.* of perfects which are *intransitive*, and express a state; cf. וָע Dt 9²¹ (Ex 32²⁰ וָע; elsewhere always a transitive verb); וָע, *fem.* וָע; וָע, *fem.* וָע (for *marrā*); וָע, *fem.* וָע (cf. וָע Ez 24²¹); וָע, *fem.* וָע, &c.; *plur.* וָע, וָע, &c. (but on the tone, cf. *ee* below). Exception, וָע ψ 6⁸.

cc The intransitive but developed perfects וָע (also וָע), וָע (also וָע) (in *pause* וָע, וָע, *plur.* in *pause* וָע ψ 31¹¹), וָע (also וָע), almost all have, as Mayer Lambert observes, at least an active, not a stative meaning. Triliteral forms of the *infinitive* after וָע are וָע Nu 21⁴; וָע Jer 47⁴; וָע Gn 31¹⁹ (also וָע Gn 38¹³); cf. also וָע Is 47¹⁴, in *subordinate pause*, for וָע; with *suffix* וָע Is 30¹⁸, and, from the same

form *חָנַן*, with retraction and modification of the vowel, *לְחַנֵּן* ψ 102¹⁴; also *שָׁחַן* Is 60¹⁴, *בָּחַן* 1 S 25², *כָּמַח* Is 10¹⁸, *בָּעֹחַן* Pr 8²⁸, *בָּצָרוֹר* Pr 26⁸.—*Imperative* *שָׁדַר* Jer 49²⁸ (cf. § 20 b, and *ibid.* also on *חָנַנִי* ψ 9¹⁴); in the *imperfect*, *יָדַר* Na 3⁷ (ψ 68¹⁸; cf. Gn 31⁴⁰) from *נָדַר*; the strong form here, after the assimilation of the *Nūn*, was unavoidable. On the other hand, *יָשָׁדַר* Jer 5⁶ is anomalous for *יָשָׁדַר* (Pr 11³ *Qere*; the eastern school read the *Po'el* *יְשֹׁדַר* in the *K'ithib*); the strengthening of the second radical has been afterwards resolved by the insertion of a vocal *S'wā*. Cf. also *יָחַן* Am 5¹⁵ (elsewhere *יָחַן*). In *Niph'al*, the trilateral form *יָלַב* is found, Jb 11¹²; in *Hiph'il*, all the forms of *רָנַן*, thus *imperative* *הִרְנִינִי*, *imperfect* *תִּרְנִינִי*, *infinitive* *הִרְנִינִי* Mi 6¹³; *participle* *מִרְנִינִי* Ez 3¹⁸. That the developed (trilateral) forms possess a certain emphasis is seen from their frequent use in *pause*, as in ψ 118¹¹ after a biliteral form (*סָבִיבִי נִמְסָבִיבִי*).

11. The above-mentioned (see *g*) neglect of the strengthening in aramaizing *dd* forms, such as *יָדָמוּ* and the like, occurs elsewhere tolerably often; in the *perfect* *Qal* *תָּמַנוּ* for *תָּמְנוּ* Nu 17²⁸ (Jer 44¹⁸; cf. above, *e*); *imperfect* *נָבְּחוּ* 1 S 14³⁶ (*ה*— *parag.* without any influence on the form, cf. *o*); even with the firm vowel reduced to vocal *S'wā*; *נָבְּלוּ* Gn 11⁷ for *נָבְּלוּ* (*cohortative* from *בָּלַל* for *יָבֹלוּ* *ibid.* ver. 6, *they purpose*; following the analogy of verbs *ע"ע* *אָבִישׁ* (see above, *r*); from *intransitive imperfects* *Qal*, *תִּצְרִי* Is 49¹⁹ (*plur. masc.* Jb 18⁷); *יָרַעַ* Neh 2³; also *תִּישְׁמַנָּה* Ez 6⁶ (for which read *תִּישְׁמַנָּה* = *תִּישְׁמַנָּה*) might be explained in the same way.—*Perfect Niph'al* *נָסְבָהּ* for *נָסְבָהּ* Ez 41⁷; *נָזְלוּ* Ju 5⁶ for *נָזְלוּ*; *נָזְלוּ* (as if from *נָזַל* not *כֹּוֹל* to *circumcise*), cf. Is 19³, Jer 8¹⁴; *imperfect* *תִּפְקֹנָה* Zc 14¹²; *participle* *נִפְקָה*, cf. *u*. So also *נָפַץ* 1 S 13¹¹, *נָפַץ* Gn 9¹⁹ (cf. Is 33³), are *perfects Niph'al* from *פָּצַץ* (= *פָּצַץ*), not *Qal* from *נָפַץ*.—In *Hiph'il* *תִּתְלַחֵת* (for *תִּתְלַחֵת*) Ju 16¹⁰ (2 S 15³⁴); *תִּתְלַחֵת* for *תִּתְלַחֵת* Pr 7¹⁸ (cf. Ct 6¹¹, 13¹⁸).

No less irregular is the suppression of the vowel of the stem-syllable in *לְהַפְרִיחַ* Lv 26¹⁵.—On the *perfect* *דָּלִי* Pr 26⁷, cf. § 75 *u*.

12. Cases in which the tone is thrown forward on the affirmatives (see *cc* *k*) are (a) in the *perfect*, the 1st *sing.* regularly (but cf. *וְהִצִּירִתִּי* Jer 10¹⁸ before *לָהֶם*) after 1 *consec.*, Ex 33^{19,22}, 2 K 19³⁴, &c., also Is 44¹⁶ (*וְהִמְוֹתִי* before *ר*); ψ 92¹¹ (but the text is certainly corrupt; see the Lexicon), 116⁶, perhaps also Jb 19¹⁷, *וְחִנְתִּי* (though in this passage, and in ψ 17³, the form might be an *infinitive* in *ôth*; see Delitzsch on Jb 19¹⁷); in the 2nd *sing.* *וְקִצְתָּהּ* (before *א*) Dt 25¹³; in the 3rd *plural*, *רַבּוּ* *multi sunt*, ψ 3², 104²⁴, Jer 5⁶, 1 S 25¹⁰; *רַבּוּ* they are soft, ψ 55²² *קָלִי* they are swift, Jer 4¹³, Hb 1⁸; *נָפְּדוּ* they are pure, Jb 15¹⁵, 25⁵, La 4⁷; *שָׁחוּ* they did bow, Hb 3⁶; *חָרְדוּ* they are burned, Is 24⁶. A by-form of *שָׁחַר* (*ע"ע*, cf. § 72 *dd*) is *שָׁחַר* ψ 49¹⁵, 73⁹.

(b) In the *imperative* (a command in an emphatic tone) *רָצִי* *sing.* Is 54¹, *ff* *Zp* 3¹⁴, *Zc* 2¹⁴; *רָצִי* Is 44²³, 49¹³, Jer 31⁷ (but *רָצִי* *lament*, La 2¹⁹), *קִיִּי* *keep* (*thy feasts*), Na 2¹, Jer 7²⁹; *עֲזֹדוּ* (= *עֲזֹדוּ*) before *א*, ψ 68²². On the retention of the short vowels *ü* (*ö*) and *i* before *Dages forte*, in place of the tone-long *ō* and *ē*, see above, *k*; on the change of the vowel of the preformative into *S'wā*, when it no longer stands before the tone, see *g*.

THE WEAKEST VERBS (*Verba Quiescentia*).

§ 68. Verbs א"ב e.g. אכל to eat.

Brockelmann, *Semit. Sprachwiss.*, p. 140 ff.; *Grundriss*, p. 589 ff.

- a* So far as א retains its full consonantal value as a guttural, these verbs share all the peculiarities of verbs *primae gutturalis*, mentioned in § 63. They are, however, to be treated as *weak* verbs, when the א loses its value as a consonant, and coalesces with the preceding vowel (originally short) to form one long syllable. This takes place only in the following very common verbs and forms, as if through phonetic decay:—
- b* 1. In the *imperfect Qal*, five verbs (viz. אפר to perish, אבה to be willing, אכל to eat, אמר to say, אפה to bake) regularly make the א quiesce in a long *ō*, e.g. יאכל.¹ In a few others the ordinary (strong) form is also in use, as יאחז (18 times) and יאחז (3 times) he takes hold; יסף (see *h*), also יסף, he collects. This *ō* has primarily arisen from an obscuring of *a* (§ 9 *g*), and the *a* from א—, the weak consonant א coalescing with *a* to *ō*; cf. § 23 *a*.
- c* In the second syllable *ō* (for original *ū*) never appears, but either *ē*² or *ā*; and in *pause* almost always *ē*, even before the tone-bearing heavy affirmative ו, e.g. יאכלו Dt 18¹, without the pause יאכלו Dt 4²⁸. In the 3rd *sing. masc.* and 1st *sing.* of אמר, however, *ā* is always retained in *pause*, יאמר and אמר; but in the 2nd *masc.* תאמר 1 K 5²⁰, in the 3rd *fem.* תאמרי Pr 1²¹; in the *plural* יאמרו Jer 5², ψ 145^{6,11}, תאמרו Jer 23³⁸, with *S^golta*; cf. also תאכל 1 S 17, &c. But with conjunctive accents in the body of the sentence, *ā* (as being a lighter vowel) is used, e.g. תאכל לך ψ 9¹⁰, but in *pause* תאכל ψ 1⁶; cf. a similar interchange of *ē* and *ā* in § 65 *c*. The 3rd *fem. plur. impf.* always has the form תאכלנה Zc 11⁹.
- d* When the tone moves back, the final syllable of the *imperfects* of אפר and אכל, with a conjunctive accent, also always takes *Pathah*, e.g. יאפר יב 3³, יאכל and he did eat; in אמר the loss of the tone from the final syllable only occurs in the form with *wāw* consecutive

¹ So in the modern vulgar Arabic of South Palestine, *ya'kul* (he eats) becomes *yōkul*.

² On this *ē* (originally *i*) as a dissimilation from *ō* (originally *ū*), cf. § 27 *w*, and F. Philippi, in the *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft*, xiv. 178. The latter rightly observes that the existence of an original *u* in the *imperfect* of אכל is indicated by the form of the *imperative* אכל, the Arabic *ya'kul* and the Aramaic יאכל, as well as by the fact that יאחז and יסף are found along with יאחז and יסף.

(but never in the 1st *sing.* וְאָמַר; cf. וְאָבַל), and then the final syllable, if without the *pause*, always takes *Seghôl*, וְאָמַר and he said (except לוֹ וְאָמַר Pr 7¹³).

In *pause*, however, the *imperfect consecutive* (except the 1st pers. of עָבַל, see below) always has the form וְאָבַל (but *plur.* always וְאָבְלוּ, וְאָבְלוּ; except וְאָמַר in the poetic portion of the book of Job, as 3², 4¹, &c., but not in 32⁶, in the middle of the verse. The weak *imperfect* of אָחַז is always יֵאָחַז and יִאָחַז, but in the 1st *sing.*, according to § 49 e, וְאָחַז Ju 20⁶; cf. וְאָבַל Gn. 3^{12,13} in *pause*.—אָחַז and אָחַז are, at the same time, verbs א"ב, hence *imperfect* אָחַז (§ 75 c).

Before *light* suffixes the vowel of the second syllable becomes vocal Šwā, as וְאָבַלְתִּי, but וְאָבַלְתֶּם.—In a few cases, instead of the *ô* in the first syllable an *ê* is found, which is due to contraction from the group (or) in place of ; e.g. תֵּאָחֶזֶת it shall come, Mi 4⁸, from תֵּאָחֶזֶת (from תֵּאָחֶזֶת; אָחַז (for אָחַז) I love, Pr 8¹⁷, also (four times) אָחַז Mal 1², &c., with suffixes אָחֶזְתִּי Ho 11¹, 14⁵, &c. (but only in 1st *sing.*, otherwise אָחַז, &c., from אָחַז, אָחַז; וְאָחַזְתִּי and I stayed, Gn 32⁵. The *infinitive construct* of אָמַר with לְ is always לְאָמַר *dicendo*, for לְאָמַר.—According to Barth (ZDMG. 1889, p. 179) וְאָבַל Nu 11²⁵ is to be regarded as an *imperfect Qal*, without the obscuring of אָ to *ô*, not as *imperfect Hiph'il*, since אָבַל elsewhere occurs only in the *perfect Qal* and *Niph'al*; on the original *i* in the second syllable, see above, § 67 p. For וְאָבַלְתִּי Jb 20²⁶ we should simply emend 'הָאָבַל; the view that it is *imperfect Pô'el* (which nowhere else occurs) can, as regards the change of *ô* to *ê*, be supported only by the very doubtful analogies of ψ 62⁴ (see § 52 q) and ψ 101⁵ Qêrê (see § 55 b), while the view that it is *Pi'el* ('הָאָבַל = 'הָאָבַל = 'הָאָבַל) rests on no analogy whatever. It would be more admissible to suppose that 'הָאָבַל stands for 'הָאָבַל, *Pu'al* (cf. אָבַלְתִּי אָבַלְתִּי, § 27 q); but no reason has been discovered for this departure from the natural punctuation 'הָאָבַל.

2. In the 1st *pers. sing. imperfect*, where two א's would ordinarily come together, the second (which is radical) is regularly dropped (§ 23 f), as אָמַר¹ (for אָאמַר), &c., and even *plene* וְאָמַר Neh 2⁷, &c., וְאָמַרָה ψ 42¹⁰. In the other cases, also, where the א is ordinarily regarded as *quiescing* in *ô* or *ê*, it is only retained orthographically, and on etymological grounds. Hence the possibility of its being dropped in the following cases:—

Always in the contracted forms of אָחַז, as וְאָחַז ψ 104²⁹; וְאָחַז 2 S 6¹ (but for וְאָחַז Jb 27¹⁹ read וְאָחַז = וְאָחַז with the LXX); cf. also in

¹ The regularity of this orthography indicates that the contraction of אָא to *â* in this 1st pers. occurred at a time when in the 3rd and 2nd persons the א was still audible as a consonant (which accordingly was almost always retained in writing). Noldeke (ZDMG. xxxii. 593) infers this from the fact that also in Arabic the 3rd and 2nd persons are still written *yâ'kullû*, *tâ'kullû*, but the 1st pers. 'âkullû, not 'â'kullû.

the 1st pers. Mi 4⁶ and אֶסְכֶּךָ 1 S 15⁶, which is apparently (from the *Metheg* with the *ē*), intended for an *imperfect Hiph'il*; instead of it, however, read, with the Mantua edition, אֶסְכֶּךָ (with *z*, according to § 60 f). But הִאֲסִיפִין Ex 5⁷ (for 'הוֹסִיפִין, 1 S 18²⁹ (for 'וְיִסְכֶּךָ), and יִאֲסֶה Jb 27¹⁹ (see above) are due to a mistake, since all three forms must be derived from the stem יִסְכֶּךָ. Furthermore, יִמְרֶהָ ψ 139²⁰ (where certainly 'יִמֶר is to be read); הִבֵּהָ Pr 1¹⁰ (cf. § 75 *hk*); וְהִפְּחֶהָ 1 S 28²⁴; וְיִזְכְּלוּ Ex 42⁵; וְהִמְרֶהָ 2 S 19¹⁴; וְהִתְּחוּ 2 S 20⁹; וְהִתְּחִי thou gaddest about (from 'הִתְּחִי, Jer 2²⁶; וְהִתְּחִי Dt 33²¹ (for 'וְהִתְּחִי), according to other readings (on the analogy of the cases mentioned in § 75 p) וְהִתְּחִי, וְהִתְּחִי or וְהִתְּחִי.

Paradigm I shows the weak forms of the *imperfect Qal*, and merely indicates the other conjugations, which are regular.

i Rem. 1. In the derived conjugations only isolated weak forms occur: *Perfect Niphal* נִאֲתָהּ Nu 32³⁰, Jos 22⁹; *Hiph.* וְהִאֲתָלָה Nu 11²⁵ (but the statement in verse 17 is וְהִאֲתָלָה, therefore *Qal*); equally doubtful is the punctuation of וְהִאֲתָלָה (for 'וְהִאֲתָלָה?) and he laid wait, 1 S 15⁵, and אֶשְׁמֹעַ I listen, Jb 32¹¹ (on the analogy of verbs 'עָשָׂה); cf. also אֶכְבֹּל (δ from ā) I give to eat, Hos 11⁴; אֶבְרֶה (δ from ā) I will destroy, Jer 46⁸; וְיִזְכְּרוּ 2 S 20⁵ *Q'rā* (for 'וְיִזְכְּרוּ); the *Kethibh* appears to require the *Pi'el* וְיִיחַר, from יחַר as a secondary form of אָחַר; but וְיִיחַר = וְיִאֲחַר for וְיִאֲחַר as *imperfect Qal* is not impossible. On וְאִוְצְרָה Neh 13¹³, cf. § 53 n.—*Infinitive* לְהַכִּיל Ez 21³⁸ (= לְהַחֲבֹ' unless it is rather *inf.* *Hiph.* from כָּוִל); *Participle* מְכַוֵּן giveth ear, Pr 17⁴ (clearly by false analogy of verbs 'עָשָׂה, for מְכַוֵּן); *Imperative* הִרְיֵה bring (from 'הִרְיֵה Jer 12⁹. (On the same form used for the *perfect* in Is 21¹⁴, cf. § 76 d.)

k 2. In the *Pi'el* the *h* is sometimes elided (like ה in יִהְיֶה, thus מִלָּה (as in Aramaic and Samaritan) teaching, for מִלָּהָ Jb 35¹¹; יִהְיֶה (if not a mere scribal error) for יִהְיֶה Is 13²⁰; וְתִתְּנֵנִי thou hast girded me, 2 S 22⁴⁰, for וְתִתְּנֵנִי, as ψ 18⁴⁰; וְתִתְּנֵנִי Ez 28¹⁶; cf. § 23 c.

§ 69. Verbs פ. First Class, or Verbs originally פ, e.g. יָשַׁב to dwell.

Brockelmann, *Semit. Sprachwiss.*, p. 141 f.; *Grundriss*, p. 596 ff.

α Verbs which at present begin with *Yôdh* when without preformatives are divided into two classes according to their origin and consequent inflexion: (α) Verbs which (as still in Arabic and Ethiopic) originally began with *Wāw*, e.g. יָלַד to give birth to, Arab. and Eth. *wāldā*. In consequence of a phonetic change which prevails also with few exceptions in the noun, this *Wāw* in Hebrew and Aramaic always becomes a *Yôdh*, at least when it is the initial consonant; but after preformatives it either reappears, or is again changed into

Yôdh, or, lastly, is altogether elided; (b) Verbs which (as in Arabic) originally began with *Yôdh* (called *Verba cum Iod originario*, see § 70). A few verbs again (some with original *Yôdh*, and some with original *Wāw*) form a special class, which in certain forms assimilates the *Wāw* or *Yôdh* to the following consonant on the analogy of the *Nûn* in verbs ו"ב (see § 71).

With regard to verbs ו"ב (i. e. ו"ב with original *Wāw*) it is to be noticed that—

1. In the *imperfect*, *imperative* and *infinitive construct* *Qal* there is a twofold inflexion, according as the *Wāw* is wholly rejected or only changed into *Yôdh*. The complete rejection (or *elision*) takes place regularly in eight verbs (see *h*) in the following manner:

A. *Imperfect* יִשַׁב, יִרַע with an unchangeable¹ *Sere* in the first syllable and original *î* in the second, which in the tone-syllable (according to § 27 c) becomes *ē* (thus יִלַּךְ, יִצֵּא, יִרַךְ, יִלְךְ, see *x*), or, under the influence of a guttural, with *ā* in the second (יִחַד, יִקַּע, יִרַע).

The tone-long *ē* of the second syllable is of course liable to be shortened or to become *Ṣwā*, e. g. יִשַׁב, יִשְׁבֵּה, &c.; in the same way *ā* becomes *Ṣwā* in such cases as יִרַע, &c., but is lengthened to *Qameṣ* in *pause* (יִרָע) and before suffixes (יִרְעֵם).

B. *Imperative* שֵׁב with *aphaeresis* of the *Wāw* and with tone-long *ē*, from *î*, as in the *imperfect*.

C. *Infinitive* שֵׁבַת from original *ṣibh*, by addition of the feminine ending (ת) lengthened to a *segholate* form; as in verbs ו"ב (cf. § 66 b) this lengthening affords a certain compensation for loss of the initial consonant.

Rem. Since the infinitives לָרַח, לָרַח (see below, *m*) point to a ground-form *dī'at*, *ūdat*, we must, with Philippi (*ZDMG.* xxxii. 42) and Barth (*ibid.* xli. 606), assign to וְשֵׁבַת, &c., the ground-form *ṣibt* (which, therefore, reappears in שִׁבְתִּי, &c.); the apparent ground-form *ṣabt* rests upon the law that the *î* of the stem-syllable is changed into *a* whenever the syllable becomes doubly closed by the addition of the vowelless feminine ending.

¹ The *e* of the first syllable is really *ē*, not tone-long *ē*, since it is retained not merely before the tone, and in the counter-tone (e. g. יִרְעֵם Ho 14¹⁰), but also in אֶרְעֶךָ Ex 33^{13, 17}. It is no objection to this view that the *scriptio plena* of this *ē* occurs (with the exception of יִקַּח ψ 72¹⁴, elsewhere pointed יִקַּח) only in Mi 1⁸ and Ez 35⁹ Kth.; in ψ 138⁶ the Masora prefers to point יִקַּח.—Of the various explanations of the *ē* the most satisfactory is that of Philippi (*ZDMG.* xl. p. 653) that an original *yālid*, for example (see above), became *yīld* by assimilation of the vowel of the first syllable to that of the second; this then became *yēld* instead of *yēld*, in an attempt to raise the word again in this way (by writing *ē* instead of *e*) to a trilateral form.

d In more than half the number of verbs פ"ו the original *Wāw* in the above-mentioned forms gives place to *Yōdh*, which, unless it suffers aphaeresis (see *f*), appears:—

in the *imperatives* יִצַק, יִרַשׁ and *infinitives* יִכַד, יִרֶא, as a strong consonant, but

in the *imperfect* יִירַשׁ, properly *yiyraš*, merges with the preceding *î* into *î*.

In the second syllable *imperfects* of this form regularly have *ā*.

e (a) That the latter forms are derived from verbs with an original *Wāw* (not *Yōdh*) is shown partly by the inflexion of these verbs in *Niph'al*, *Hiph'il*, and *Hoph'al* (where the original *Wāw* reappears throughout), and partly by the Arabic, in which verbs פ"ו likewise exhibit a twofold formation; cf. *wāladā*, imperf. *yāllidu*, with elision of the *Wāw*, and *wāḡilū*, *yawḡalu*, with retention of the *Wāw*.

f (b) Sometimes both forms, the weaker and the stronger, occur in the same verb; cf. פָּצַק 2 K 4⁴¹ and יָצַק *pour*, Ez 24³ (cf. יָצַק 1 K 18³⁴ and the *infin.* יָצַק Ex 38²⁷); רָשׁ *take possession*, Dt 1²¹, 1 K 21¹⁵ (but cf. *s*), רָשׁ (in pause for רָשׁ) Dt 24³¹; plur. רָשׁוּ Dt 1⁸, 9²³, but also, with הֶפֶז *paragoge*, יִרְשֶׁה Dt 32²². In the *imperfect* יִקַּד Dt 32²² and יִקַּד Is 10¹⁶ *it shall be kindled*; יִיָּקֶר *it was precious*, 1 S 15⁵⁰ and יִקַּר ψ 49³ (cf. יִיָּקֶר ψ 72¹⁴).—The form וַיִּהְיוּ Gn 30⁵⁹, for וַיִּהְיוּ, beside וַיִּהְיוּ verse 38, is remarkable; cf. § 47 k.

g (c) On רָר Ju 19¹¹ for יָרַר and שׁוּב Jer 42¹⁰ for the *infinitive absolute* יִשׁוּב, cf. § 19 i.—But יָרַר Ju 5¹³ (twice) is not intended by the Masora either as *perfect* (for יָרַר, which really should be restored) or as *imperative* of יָרַר, but as an apocopated *imperfect P'āl* from יָרַה (= יִרְהֶה) *to have dominion*.

h (d) The eight verbs,¹ of which the initial consonant in the above-mentioned forms always suffers elision or aphaeresis, are יָלַךְ *to bring forth*, יָצָא *to go forth*, יָשַׁב *to sit, to dwell*, יָרַד *to descend*, also הֵלֵךְ *to go* (cf. below, *x*); and with *ā* in the second syllable of the *imperfect*, יָדַע *to know*, יָחַד *to be united*, יָקַע *to be dislocated*. Examples of the other formation (יִירַשׁ, &c.) are יָעָר *to be wearied*, יָעַץ *to counsel*, יָשַׁן *to sleep*, יָרַא (*imperfect* יִירֶא, *imperative* יִרֶא) *to fear*.

i 2. The original *Wāw* is retained as a firm consonant: (a) in the *infinitive*, *imperative*, and *imperfect Niph'al*, being protected by the strengthening, e.g. הִנָּשֵׁב, הִנָּשֵׁב, which are consequently strong forms like הִנָּשֵׁל, הִנָּשֵׁל; (b) in the *Hithpa'el* of some verbs, e.g. הִתְנוּדַע from יָדַע, הִתְנוּדַה from יָדַה; otherwise a radical *Wāw* at the beginning of a word is now found only in a few nouns, e.g. וָלָר *offspring* from יָלַר *to bear*. At the end of a syllable *Wāw* with the homogeneous

¹ A ninth יָפַק *to add*, is also to be included. In the Mēša'-inscription, l. 21, the *infinitive* is written לִסְפַּת (cf. יִסְפַּת, l. 29); hence read in Is 30¹ (Nu 32¹⁴, Dt 29¹⁸) סָפַת for סָפַת. The 2nd plur. masc. *imperative* סָפו Is 29¹, Jer 7²¹ corresponds to יִשְׁבוּ; thus in proof of a supposed סָפַה *addere*, there remains only אִסְפַּה Dt 32²³, for which, according to 2 S 12⁸, read אִסְפַּה.

vowel *ū* coalesces into *û*; so throughout *Hoph'al*, e.g. הוֹשֵׁב for *hūwšabh*; but with a preceding *a* the *Wāw* is contracted into *ô* (וֹ); so in the *perfect* and *participle Niph'al* and throughout *Hiph'il*, e.g. נוֹשֵׁב from an original *nāwšābh*, הוֹשִׁיב from an original *hāwšābh*.

The first radical always appears as *Ycdh* in the *perfect* and *participle k* *Qal*, יָשַׁב, &c., יָשִׁיב, יֹשִׁיב, even when *!* precedes, e.g. וַיֵּשֶׁב (but וַיֵּשְׁבָתָם according to § 24 b), also throughout *Přel* and *Pu'al*, e.g. יָחַל to wait, יֵלֵךְ to be born, and in the *imperfect* and *participle* יֵחַל מְיָרֵעַ known (from יָרַע), and, as a rule, also in *Hithpa'el*, e.g. הִתְיַלֵּךְ, הִתְיַצֵּב, הִתְיַחַש (as against הִתְיָדַע &c., with *Wāw*).

The beginner may recognize verbs פ"ו in the *imperfect Qal* partly by the *Sere* under the preformatives; in *Niph'al* and *Hiph'il* by the *Wāw* (וֹ, וּ) before the second radical. (The defective writing, as in הָלִיךְ, is rare.) Verbs פ"ו have forms like שָׁבַת (דָּע) שָׁב, in common with verbs פ"נ. Similarly *Hoph'al* has the same form as in verbs ע"ע and ע"ו.

Rem. 1. The *infinitive Qal* of the weaker form (שָׁבַת, ground-form *šibt*, *m* *שָׁבַת*; cf. above, c) with suffixes is pointed as שָׁבַתִּי, ¹רָשַׁתִּי (the strong form only in לִי־רָשַׁנִּי Ju 14¹⁵). The masculine form is very rare, e.g. דָּע to know, Jb 32⁶⁻¹⁰, as also the feminine ending הָ, e.g. דָּעָה ²Ex 24, לָדָה Is 37⁵ (2 K 19⁵); Jer 13²¹, Ho 9¹¹; מְרַדָּה ²to descend, Gn 46⁵, where the change of the *e* into vocal *šēa* is to be explained, with König, from its position between the principal and secondary tone. From יָדַע, under the influence of the guttural, דָּעַת is formed, with *sufl.* דָּעַתִּי, &c.; but from יָצַא, יָצַאת, From יָרַד there occurs in ψ 30⁴ in *Qerē* מְיָרֵדִי (the *Keth.* requires מְיָרֵדִי a very remarkable case of the strong form (for מְרַדָּתִי). For לָת 1 S 4¹⁹ (generally explained as a case of assimilation of דָּ to הָ in the supposed ground-form *laät*; according to Mayer Lambert pausal of לָת = *liät*, see above, c) read simply לָדַת.

Examples of the strong form of the *infinitive* are יִרָא to fear, Jos 22²⁵, with *78* preposition לִיפֹד Is 51¹⁶ (but 2 Ch 31⁷ according to Ben Naphtali לִיפֹד, where the *y* is only retained orthographically, but is really assimilated to the *š*; the reading of Ben Asher, לִיפֹד, accepted by Baer, is meaningless); לִישֹׁן Ec 5¹¹; לָרָא 1 S 18²⁰ is irregular, but probably לָרָא (for לִירָא) is intended. With *sufl.* בִּי־סָרִי Jb 38⁴, cf. Ju 14¹⁵, Ezr 3¹²; with *fem.* תִּלְכָּת to be able, Nu 14¹⁰. On יָבִישָׁת, which is likewise usually referred to this class, cf. the note on § 70 a.

¹ יָשַׁבְתִּי ψ 23⁶ can hardly be intended for an *infin.* with suffix from יָשַׁב, but rather for a *perf. consec.* from יָשַׁב; but read וַיֵּשְׁבָתִי.

² The infinitives דָּעַת and רָדָה belong to the source marked E (Dillmann's B) in the modern criticism of the Pentateuch. The same document also has תָּתֵן to give, for תָּתַן; תָּלֵךְ to go, for תָּלַךְ; and עָשָׂה to make, for עָשָׂה. See Dillmann, *Die BB. Num., Deut., Jos.*, p. 618.

O 2. The *imperative Qal* frequently has the lengthening by הָ, e.g. יִשְׁבָּה *sit thou*, יִרְדָּה *descend thou*. From יָתַב *to give*, Arab. *wāhābā*, only the *imperative* is used in Hebrew; it has the form הָתַב *give*, lengthened to several persons (Gn 29²¹ הָתַב before אַ to avoid the hiatus); *fem.* הָתַבְּ Ru 3¹⁵, *Mil'era'* on the analogy of the plural הָתַבּ (once in Jb 6²² הָתַב before the tone-syllable; but cf. Dt 32³), whilst, on the analogy of other *imperatives Qal* of verbs פָּרַח, הָבִי, הָבִי, would be expected.—On רָעָה Pr 24¹, cf. § 48 L.

P 3. The *imperfect* with ו elided takes *ā* in the second syllable, besides the cases mentioned above (under *f*), also in הִרְדָּה Jer 13¹⁷ (cf. La 3⁴⁸) and in the pausal form יִלְךָ Jb 27²¹, &c. (from הִלְךָ, see *x*); on יִכַּד Is 10¹⁶ see above, *f*. The *ā* in the second syllable, when followed by the affirmative תִּהְיֶה (תִּהְיֶה &c.), is in accordance with the law mentioned above (under *c*), by which *ā* takes the place of *i* in a doubly closed syllable. Forms with *ē* in the second syllable shorten the *ē* to *S^{ghōl}*, when the tone is drawn back (before a tone-syllable or after *wāw* consecutive), e.g. יִשְׁבֹּת Gn 44³³; יִכְרֹךְ Ex 16²⁹, but *ē* is retained in an open syllable, even with *Mil'el*-tone, in יִצְאָה Ju 9³⁹, in both cases with *nasog 'ahor*, § 29 *e*. The *pausal* is either of the form יִשְׁבֹּת Ru 4¹ or יִכְרֹךְ ψ 18¹⁰; the 1st pers. sing., whether in or out of pause, is יִכְרֹךְ, יִכְרֹךְ, &c., except יִכְרֹךְ Jb 19¹⁰, see *x*.—For יִירָדָה ψ 138⁶ (cf. the note above, on *b* and the analogous cases in § 70 *d*) יִירָדָה is intended.

Q The *imperfect* of the form יִירָשׁ is frequently (especially before affirmatives) written defectively, in which case the *i* can always be recognized as a long vowel by the *Metheg* (see § 16 *f*), e.g. יִירָשׁ Is 40²⁰, יִירָשׁ Is 65²³; and so always יִירָאוּ *they fear*, as distinguished from יִירָאוּ *they see* (*imperf. Qal* of יָרָא).—On יִירָשׁ Gn 50²⁶, 24³³ *Keth.*, and יִירָשׁ Ex 30³², see § 73 *f*.

R From יָכַל *to prevail, to be able*, the *imperfect Qal* is יִיכַל, which can only have arisen through a depression of the vowel from יִיכַל (ground-form *yaukhal* = *yaukhal*), to distinguish it, according to Qimhi, from אוֹכַל, just as, according to § 47 *b*, יִקְטֹל is differentiated from יִקְטֹל. Cf. the Arabic *yauru'u* (*yōru'u*) from *waru'a*, *yauḡalu* (*yōḡalu*) from *waḡala*, as also the vulgar Arabic (among towns-people) *yūḡal*, &c., from *waḡala*. Others regard יִיכַל as an *imperfect Hiph'al* (*he is enabled* = *he can*), always used instead of the *imperfect Qal*; cf., however, § 53 *u*.—יִיכַל occurs in Jer 3⁵ as 2nd *sing. fem.* for יִיכַלְי, according to König because the 2nd *fem.* had been sufficiently indicated previously.—Further יִיכַל or יִיכַל is to be regarded with M. Lambert (*REJ.* xxxvii, no. 73) as *imperf. Qal* (not *Hiph'il*) of יָרָה *to throw, shoot* (the supposed *imperf. Qal* יִיכַל Nu 21³⁰ is critically very doubtful). This is shown especially by the passages in which the *imperf. Qal* is immediately preceded by the *imperat. Qal* (2 K 13¹⁷) or *imfin. Qal* (ψ 64⁵), or is followed by the *participle Qal* (2 Ch 35²³; but in 2 S 11²⁴ by the *participle Hiph'il*).

S 4. The attenuation of *ā* to *i* in the *perfect* (in a toneless, closed syllable) which is discussed in § 44 *d* (cf. § 64 *f*) occurs in verbs פָּרַח in a few forms of יָרַח Nu 11¹², Jer 22⁷, ψ 27, &c. (always after י), as well as of יָרַח, e.g. יָרַח, &c., Dt 4¹, 8¹, 17¹⁴, 19¹, 26¹, 31⁸ (always after י for י). In both cases the attenuation might be explained from the tendency to assimilate the vowels, especially if the initial *i* was pronounced, as in Syriac, like *i* (§ 47 *b*). In the case of יָרַח, however, a secondary form יָרַח (cf. § 44 *d*) is probably to be assumed, since in Arabic also the verb is *wāriḡā*. The forms

וַיִּשְׁנֶה Ez 36¹² and וַיִּשְׁנֶה ψ 69³⁶, &c., are most simply explained from the return of this *z*.

5. As an exception, the *imperfect Niph'al* sometimes has a *y* instead of the *t*, e.g. וַיִּהָלַךְ and he stayed, Gn 8¹² (unless the *Piel* or וַיִּהָלַךְ, as in ver. 10, is to be read), cf. Ex 19¹³; 1 S 13⁸ *Kethibh*.—The first person always has the form אֶשָּׁב, not אֶשָּׁב, cf. § 51 *p*.—In the *participle* the plural נִגְיִי (from נִיגָה, with depression of *o* to *u*, cf. § 27 *n*) is found in Zp 3¹⁸; cf. La 1⁴. While in these cases some doubt may be felt as to the correctness of the Masoretic pointing, much more is this so in the perfect נִגְלַד *null'ahû*, 1 Ch 3⁵, 20⁸, for נִגְלַד which appears to be required by the *wāw* in the initial syllable.

6. In the *imperfect Piel* elision of the first radical (*y*) sometimes takes place *u* after *wāw consec.* (as in the case of נ, § 68 *k*), e.g. וַיִּנָּה for וַיִּנְהַ and he has grieved, La 3³⁸, וַיִּנְדוּ for וַיִּנְדוּ and they have cast, verse 53, from יִנְה, which may also be a true verb פ"י (on the other hand, in יִנְדוּ they have cast lots, Jo 4⁸, Ob 11, Na 3²⁰, a perfect *Qal* of יִנְדוּ is required by the context; but as this, being a *transitive perfect*, ought to have the form יִנְדוּ according to § 67 *a*, perhaps we should read יִנְדוּ). So from a verb פ"י, of the second class, וַיַּבֵּשׂהוּ for וַיַּבֵּשׂהוּ and he made it dry, Na 1⁴; cf. וַיִּשְׁרַם 2 Ch 32³⁰ *Qere* (the *Keth.* points either to *Piel* וַיִּשְׁרַם or *Hiph'il* וַיִּשְׁרַם).

7. The *imperative Hiph'il*, instead of the usual form הוֹשִׁיב, sometimes has *i* in the second syllable; הוֹצִיֵּא Is 43⁸, הוֹפִיעַ ψ 94¹ (before ה, hence probably a mere mistake for הוֹפִיעָה). On the uncertainty of the tone in הוֹשִׁיעָה-נָא see § 53 *m*. When closed by a guttural the second syllable generally has *ā*, as הוֹדַע, cf. also הִקֵּר Pr 25¹⁷ (as in the *inf.* הִקֵּחַ Jb 6²⁸; see § 65 *f*). On the other hand, *i* always appears when the syllable is open, thus הוֹשִׁיבָה, הוֹשִׁיבִי, and so also before suffixes (§ 61 *g*). הוֹצִיֵּא Gn 8¹⁷ *Qere* (*Keth.* הוֹצִיא, see § 70 *b*) is irregular.—The *jussive* and the *imperfect consecutive Hiph'il* when the tone is drawn back take *Seghol* in the second syllable, as in *Qal*, e.g. יִזְכֶּךָ that he may increase, Pr 1⁵, before קָכָה; cf. Ex 10²⁸ and Dt 3²⁶ after אֶל; יִזְכֶּךָ Pr 30⁶ is anomalous; in *pause*, however, also הוֹכֵחַ as *jussive*, Jb 40³² (usual *jussive in pause* יוֹשֵׁב, &c., which occurs even without the *pause* after *wāw consecutive*, Gn 47¹¹, Jos 24³, 2 S 8⁴, &c.). With a final guttural יִדַּע and יוֹכַח (*jussive*) and יוֹכֵחַ, &c.; with a final ר in *pause* וַתִּתֵּר Ru 2¹⁴: on יוֹשְׁעֶכֶם Is 35⁴, cf. § 65 *f*.—On forms like יוֹשִׁיעַ, see § 53 *g*.

In *Hoph'al* *o* stands instead of *i*, in הוֹדַע (for הוֹדַע) Lv 4^{23,28}, הוֹנֶה 2 S 20¹³, *u* and perhaps in יוֹרָא (for יוֹרָה) Pr 11²⁵; but cf. Delitzsch on the passage.—*Ptcp.* מוֹדַעַת Is 12⁵ *Qere* מוֹדַעַת (*Keth.*).—An *infinitive Hoph'al* with feminine ending occurs in הִקְלַת Gn 40²⁰, for הִקְלַת = הוֹלֵ; cf. above, *t*, on נִגְלַד, and § 71 at the end.

8. The verb הִלַּךְ to go, also belongs in some respects to the פ"ב class, since it *u* forms (as if from הִלַּךְ) *imperfect* יִלַּךְ, with *wāw consecutive* וַיִּלַּךְ (in *pause* וַיִּלַּךְ Gn 24⁶¹, &c.), 1st sing. וַאֲלַךְ (but in Jb 19¹⁰ וַאֲלַךְ); *infinitive construct* לָכַת with suff. לָכַתִּי (*Seghol* under the influence of the following palatal, as in נִכְדִּי, cf. also נִגְדִּי); *imperative* לָךְ, לָךְ, in the lengthened form לָכָה (as an interjection referring even to a *feminine*, Gn 19³², or a *plural*, Gn 31⁴⁴) and לָךְ (Nu 23¹³, Ju 19¹³, 2 Ch 25¹⁷); *Hiph.* הוֹלִיךָ (also in Ex 2⁹ הוֹלִיכִי 2nd *fem.* *imperative* is to be read for הוֹלִיכִי, which probably arose merely through

confusion with the following הִינָקְהוּ; *imperfect* יוֹלִיף, but in the 1st sing. of the *imperfect consecutive* always יוֹלִיף Lv 26¹³, Am 2¹⁰, &c. Rarely, and almost exclusively late or in poetry, the regular inflexions of הָלַךְ are also found: *imperf.* יִהְיֶה (ψ 58⁹, &c.; but הִהְיֶה Ex 9²³, ψ 73⁹; cf. § 64 a and h); אֶהְיֶה Jb 16²², also Meša' inscription, line 14, אֶהְלֵךְ; *inf.* הֵלֵךְ (Ex 3¹⁹, Nu 22¹³ f. 16, 1 Ec 68⁹); *imperative plur.* הִלְכוּ Jer 51⁵⁰. On the other hand, the *perfect Qal* is always הָלַךְ, *participle* הֹלֵךְ, *infinitive absolute* הֵלֵךְ, *Niph'al* הִתְהַלֵּךְ, *Piel* הִלְכָהּ, *Hithpa'el* הִתְהַלְּכָהּ, so that a י never appears unmistakably as the first radical. The usual explanation of the above forms is nevertheless based on a supposed obsolete הָלַךְ. It is, however, more correct to regard the apparent פ"ו forms of הָלַךְ with Praetorius (ZAW. ii. 310 ff.) as originating with the Hiph'il, of which the ground-form *hahlīkh* became *hālīkh*, and this again, on the analogy of the *imperfect Qal* of verbs פ"נ, הֹלִיךְ. This *hōlīkh* being referred to a supposed *hawlīkh* (properly *hawlīkh*) gave rise to new formations after the manner of verbs פ"ו.

§ 70. Verbs פ"ב. Second Class, or Verbs properly פ"ב,
e. g. יָטַב to be good. Paradigm L.

Brockelmann, *Semit. Sprachwiss.*, p. 143 ff.; *Grundriss*, p. 603 ff.

Verbs properly פ"ב differ from verbs פ"ו in the following points:

- a 1. In *Qal* the initial Yōdh never suffers aphaeresis or elision; hence the *infinitive* has the form יָבֵשׁ,² the *imperfect* יִבְשֵׁן, יִבֵּשׁ (in *pause* יִיבֵּשׁ), also written יָטַב, &c.; and so always with a tone-bearing *ā* in the second syllable, even after *wāw consec.*, e. g. וַיִּבְשֵׁן Gn 9²¹, and וַיִּבְשֵׁן Gn 27¹⁹, unless יָצַר is to be included among verbs פ"ו (cf. נֹצֵר Is 43¹⁰).
- b 2. In *Hiph'il* the original form הִיטִיב is regularly contracted to הִטִּיב (rarely written הִטִּיב, הִטִּיב, &c.); *imperfect* יִיטִיב, יִיטֵב. Instances of the uncontracted form are יִיטֵרוּ Pr 4²⁵, according to Barth (see above, § 67 p), an example of an *i-imperfect* of *Qal*, since the *Hiph'il* is otherwise always *causative*; הִיטֵר (imperative) ψ 5⁹ Q^{erē} (the *Keth.* requires הִיטֵר according to the form of verbs פ"ו; cf. Is 45², הִיטֵר *Keth.*, אִיטֵר Q^{erē}), cf. Gn 8¹⁷ Q^{erē}; מִיטִיבִים 1 Ch 12², to be explained as a denominative from יָטַן; אִיטִירִים Ho 7¹² (§ 24 f, note), but perhaps the punctuation here is only intended to suggest another reading אִיטִירִים.

¹ Cf. above, m, note 2.

² This may be inferred from בִּיבֵשׁ (= בִּי') Is 27¹¹, which with its fem. יִבְשֵׁת Gn 8⁷, is the only example of an *infinitive construct Qal* of these verbs. No example of the *imperative Qal* is found: consequently the forms יָטַב, &c. (in Paradigm L of the earlier editions of this Grammar), are only inferred from the *imperfect*.

Rem. 1. The only verbs of this kind are: **יָטַב** *to be good* (only in the *C* imperfect *Qal* and in *Hiph'il*; in the perfect *Qal* **טוֹב**, a verb ע"י, is used instead), **יָצַח** *to suck*, **יָקַץ** *to awake*, **יָצַר** *to form* (but see above, a), **יָלַל** only in *Hiph'il* **יָלַל** *to bewail*, **יָשַׁר** *to be straight, right*, also **יָבֵשׁ** (Arabic *yābīṣā*) *to be dry* (but *Hiph'il* **הוֹבִישׁ** 2 S 19⁸, on the analogy of verbs פ"י, on Is 30⁸, cf. § 72 x), and the *Hiph'il* **יָמִין** (denominative from **יָמִין**), infin. **לְהֵמִין** 2 S 14¹³ *to go to the right*.

2. In some examples of the imperfect *Hiph'il* the preformative has been subsequently added to the contracted form: **יֵיטִיב** Jb 24²¹; **יֵלִל** Is 15^{2,3}, 16⁷; **יֵצֵחַ** Jer 48⁸¹; plur. **יֵצְחוּ** Ho 7¹⁴, cf. Is 65¹⁴. Qimḥi and others explain the above forms from a phonetic interchange of *Yôdh* and *He*, arising from the unsyncopeated forms **יְהֵלִיל**, &c. (cf. Is 52⁵). It is, perhaps, more correct to suppose that the regular forms (**יֵיטִיב**, **יֵלִיל**) were originally intended, but that in the later pronunciation the syllable was broken up in order to restore artificially the preformative which had become merged in the first radical.

Isolated anomalies are: perfect *Hiph'il* **וְהֵיטַבְתִּי** Ez 36¹¹ with separating vowel (for **וְהֵיטַבְתִּי**) on the analogy of verbs ע"י; imperfect **יֵיטִיב** for **יֵיטִיב** 1 K 14⁷; **תֵּיטַבִּי** (imperfect *Qal* for **תֵּיטַבִּי**) Na 3⁸; **וְהֵיטַבְתִּי** imperfect *Hiph'il* Ex 2⁹, either an error for **וְהֵיטַבְתִּי**, or an irregular shortening of the first syllable, caused by the forward movement of the tone. Similarly, the *Hiph'il* **הֵקִיץ** (from **קִיץ**) is always used instead of **הֵקִיץ** from **קִיץ**; hence also **הֵקִיצוּהוּ**, *imperat.* **הֵקִיצוּהוּ**, *infin.* **הֵקִיץ**.—On **וְהֵיטַבְתִּי** Na 1⁴, see § 69 u).

§ 71. Verbs פ"י. Third Class, or Verbs with *Yôdh* assimilated.

In some verbs פ"י, the *Yôdh* (or the original *Wāw*) does not quiesce in the preceding vowel, but is regarded as a full consonant, and, like *Nām*,¹ is assimilated to the following consonant. These forms, therefore, belong properly to the class of strong verbs. Assimilation invariably takes place in **יָצַע** (prop. **וָצַע**) *to spread under*; *Hiph'il* **הֵצִיעַ**, *Hoph'al* **הִצֵּעַ**; **יָצַח** *to burn*, imperfect **יָצַח**, *Niph'al* **נִצַּח**, *Hiph'il* **הֵצִיחַ** (in Is 27⁴ also **הֵצִיחָה** is to be read with König; in 2 S 14³⁰ the Masora has rightly emended the *Kethibh* **וְהוֹצִיחָהּ**, which could only be the 1st sing. perf. of a verb פ"י, to the imperative **וְהֵצִיחֶיהָ** in agreement with the context and all the early versions); **יָצַח**, *Hiph'il* **הֵצִיחַ** *to place*, *Hoph'al* **הִצֵּחַ**; and probably also in the forms ordinarily derived from **נִצַּח**, viz. **נִצַּח** (*Niph'al*), **הֵצִיב**, **הִצִּיב**; at any rate a stem **יָצַח** is implied by the *Hithpa'el* **הִתְיַצַּח**; instead of the anomalous **יִתְיַצַּח** Ex 2⁴ read with the Samaritan **וְתִתְיַצַּח**, i.e. **וְתִתְיַצַּח**. Besides the common form we find once **יִצָּק** in Is 44³ (from **יָצַק** *to pour*) with a transitive meaning, beside **יִצָּק** *intransitive*, 1 K 22³⁵. Elsewhere the imperfect

¹ These verbs, like verbs ע"י (cf. above, note on § 67 g), may perhaps have been influenced by the analogy of verbs פ"י.

consecutive has the form וַיֵּלֶךְ Gn 28¹⁸, 35¹⁴, &c., cf. § 69 f, where also other forms of יָצַק are given; וַיֵּצֵר and וַיֵּצֶר (Is 44¹², 49⁸, Jer 1⁵ *Q'éré*), from יָצַר to *form*, are, however, used in the same sense. Cf. also אָפַרַם Ho 10¹⁰; וַיִּשְׁרָה (for וַיֵּרָא according to § 47 k) 1 S 6¹²; לִיפֹר 2 Ch 31⁷ (cf. § 69 n) and מִשְׁפָּר Is 28¹⁶. This assimilation is found always with sibilants (most frequently with ש) except in the case of וַיִּשָּׂא 1 K 3¹⁵ (so ed. Mant., Ginsb., Kittel; but Jabl., Baer וַיִּשָּׂא) and in הִלָּחַת Gn 40²⁰, Ez 16³ (cf. הִלָּחַת verse 4), *infinitive Hoph'al* of יָלַח (cf. נִלְחָד § 69 t).

§ 72. Verbs ע"י (*vulgo* י"ע), e.g. קָם to rise up. *Paradigm M.*

Brockelmann, *Semit. Sprachwiss.*, p. 144 ff.; *Grundriss*, p. 605 ff.

- a 1. According to § 67 a a large number of monosyllabic stems were brought into agreement with the triliteral form by a strengthening, or repetition, of the second radical, i.e. of the *consonantal* element in the stem. In another large class of stems the same object has been attained by strengthening the *vocalic* element. The ground-form used for these verbs is not, as in other cases (§ 39 a), the 3rd *sing. masc. perfect*, but always the *infinitive construct* form (§ 39 b), the *î* of which is characteristic also of the *imperative* and of the *imperfect indicative Qal*. These stems are consequently termed verbs ע"י or more correctly (see below) י"ע.¹

¹ The term י"ע was consequent on the view that the *Wāw* (or *î* in the case of verbs ע"י) in these stems was originally consonantal. This view seemed especially to be supported by the return of the *Wāw* in *Piel* (עָרַךְ), the *î* usually passing into *î* as in קָם, cf. Arabic *qawwamā*, and by certain forms of the *absolute state* of the nouns of such stems, e.g. מָוֹת *death*, compared with מוֹת *to die*. Hence in explaining the verbal forms a supposed stem *qawam* (in verbs ע"י e.g. *ṣayaf*) was always assumed, and יָקַם was referred to an original *yaqwūm*, the *infinitive absolute* קָם to original *qawūm*, the *participle passive* קָם to original *qawūm*. It must, however, be admitted: (1) that forms like עָרַךְ, קָם (see m) are only to be found in the latest books, and are hence evidently secondary as compared with the pure Hebrew forms קָוַם, &c.; (2) that to refer the verbal forms invariably to the stem קָוַם, leads in many cases to phonetic combinations which are essentially improbable, whereas the assumption of original *middle-vowel* stems renders a simple and natural explanation almost always possible. These ע"י stems are therefore to be rigidly distinguished from the real י"ע stems of the strong forms, such as נָוַע, נָוַע, &c. (see below, gg).—As early as the eleventh century the right view with regard to י"ע stems was taken by Samuel Hannagid (cf. Bacher, *Leben und Werke des Abulwa'id*, p. 16); recently by Böttcher (*Lehrbuch*, § 1112), and (also as to ע"ע stems) especially by Müller, Stade, and Wellhausen (see above, § 67 a, note). On the other hand, the old view of *î* and *î* as consonants has been recently revived by Philippi, Barth, M. Lambert, and especially Brockelmann (op. cit.).

2. As in the case of verbs ע"י, the monosyllabic stem of verbs ע"י *b* generally takes the vowel which would have been required in the second syllable of the ordinary strong form, or which belonged to the ground-form, since this is essentially characteristic of the verbal form (§ 43 *b*; § 67 *b*). However, it is to be remarked: (a) that the vowel, short in itself, becomes of necessity long in an open syllable as well as in a tone-bearing closed *ultima* (except in *Hoph'al*, see *d*), e. g. 3rd sing. masc. perf. קָם, fem. קָמָה, plur. קָמוּ, but in a closed penultima קָמָה, &c.¹; (b) that in the forms as we now have them the lengthening of the original short vowel sometimes takes place irregularly. Cf. *f*.

Intransitive verbs middle *e* in the perfect *Qal* have the form מָת *he* *c* is dead; verbs middle *o* have the form אָזַר *he* shone, בָּשָׁם *he* was ashamed, טוֹב *he* was good.² Cf. *n-r*.

3. In the imperfect *Qal*, perfect *Niphal*, and throughout *Hiph'il* and *Hoph'al* the short vowel of the preformatives in an open syllable before the tone is changed into the corresponding tone-long vowel. In *Qal* and *Niphal* the original *ā* is the basis of the form and not the *i* attenuated from *ā* (§ 67 *h*; but cf. also *h* below, on יָבִישׁ), hence יָקִים, for *yāqūm*; יָקִים for *nāqōm*; on the other hand, in the perfect *Hiph'il* הָקִים for *hūqām*; participle הָקִים (on the *Sere* cf. *z*); perfect *Hoph'al* הִקָּם for *hūqām*.

A vowel thus lengthened before the tone is naturally changeable and *e* becomes vocal *Šwā* when the tone is moved forward, e. g. יָמִיתֵנִי *he* will kill him; so also in the 3rd plur. imperfect *Qal* with *Nūn* paragogic; מִיתֵנִי (without *Nūn* מִיתֵנוּ). The wholly abnormal *scriptio plena* of *ē* in הָיִיתִיר Jer 2¹¹ (beside הָיִיר in the same verse) should, with König, be emended to הָיִיתִיר; the incorrect repetition of the interrogative necessarily led to the pointing of the form as perfect instead of imperfect.—But in *Hoph'al* the *ā* is retained throughout as an unchangeable vowel, when it has been introduced by an abnormal lengthening for the tone-long *ō* (as in the *Hoph'al* of verbs ע"י).

¹ In Aramaic, however, always קָמָה; also in Hebrew grammars before *Qimhi* קָמָה, קָמָה, &c., are found, but in our editions of the Bible this occurs only in pause, e. g. קָמָה, Mi 7⁸, קָמָה, 2 K 7³⁴.

² According to Ståde (*Grammatik*, § 385 *e* and *f*) the *e* in מָת is of the nature of a diphthong (from *ai*, which arose from the union of the vowel *i*, the sign of the intransitive, with the *ā* of the root), and likewise the *o* in אָזַר, &c. (from *au*). But *ō* (from *au*) could not, by § 26 *p*, remain in a closed penultima (בָּשָׁה, &c.); consequently the *o* of these forms can only be tone-long, i. e. due to lengthening of an original *ā*, and similarly the *ē* of מָת to lengthening of an original *i*. This is confirmed by the fact that the *ō* in בָּשָׁה, בָּשָׁה, בָּשָׁה is always, and in בָּשָׁה, 3rd plur. perfect, nearly always (the instances are 11 to 2), written defectively. Forms like בָּשָׁה, בָּשָׁה, &c., are therefore due to orthographic licence.

f 4. The cases of unusual vowel lengthening mentioned in *b* are: *imperfect Qal* יָקַם (also in Arabic *yāqāmu*), but *jussive* with normal lengthening (§ 48 *g*), יָקַם, with retraction of the tone יָקַם (yāqūm), יָקַם (in *pause* יָקַם); *imperative* יָקַם, with normal lengthening of the *ā* in the 2nd *plur. fem.* יָקַמְנָה, since, according to § 26 *p*, the *ā* cannot be retained in a closed penultima; *infinitive construct* יָקַם. In *Hiph'il* the original *ī* is naturally lengthened to *ī* (יָקַם, *imperfect* יָקַם, *jussive* יָקַם, with retraction of the tone יָקַם, יָקַם); on the transference of this *ī* to the *Hiph'il* of the strong verb, cf. § 53 *a*.

g The following forms require special consideration: the *participle Qal* יָקַם is to be traced to the ground-form with *ā* unobscured, Arab. *qātil*, § 9 *q*, and § 50 *b*. On this analogy the form would be *qāim*,¹ which after absorption of the *ī* became יָקַם, owing to the predominating character of the *ā*. The unchangeableness of the *ā* (*plur.* יָקַמִּים, *constr.* יָקַמִּי, &c.) favours this explanation.

h In the *imperfect Qal*, besides the forms with original *ā* (now *ā*) there are also forms with original *ā*. This *ā* was lengthened to *ā*, and then further obscured to *ō*; hence especially יָבֹא (יָבֹא, &c., from the *perfect* יָבֹא *he has come*. In the *imperfects* יָבֹא (but cf. יָבֹא 1 S 14²⁷) and יָבֹשׁ from the *intransitive perfects* יָבֹשׁ, בָּשׁ (see above, *c*), most probably also in יָבֹשׁ 2 K 12⁹, יָבֹשׁ Gn 34¹³ from an unused יָבֹשׁ to *consent*, and perhaps in יָבֹשׁ 1 S 4⁵, &c., as in the cases noticed in § 63 *e* and especially § 67 *n*, the *ē* of the preformative is lengthened from *ī* (which is attenuated from original *ā*) and thus *yī-bāš* became *yī-bāš*, and finally *yī-bōš*. Finally the *Niph.* יָקַם (*nā-qām*), *imperfect* יָקַם from *yiqqām*, originally (§ 51 *m*) *yinqām*, arises in the same way from the obscuring of *ā* lengthened from *ā*.

i 5. In the *perfect Niph'al* and *Hiph'il* a *ī* is inserted before the affirmatives beginning with a consonant in the 1st and 2nd persons, and יָ regularly (but see Rem.) in the *imperfect Qal*, sometimes also in the *imperfect Hiph'il* (as in יָבֹא לְיָבֹא Lv 7³⁰, cf. יָבֹא לְיָבֹא Mi 2¹²), before the termination of יָה. As in verbs עָע (§ 67 *d* and note) these *separating vowels* serve as an artificial opening of the preceding syllable, in order to preserve the long vowel; in the *perfect Hiph'il*, however, before the *ī*, instead of the *ī* an *ē* is somewhat often found² (as a normal lengthening of the original *ī*), especially after *wāw con-*

¹ So in Arabic, prop. *qā'im*, since the two vowels are kept apart by the insertion of an *ā*, cf. Aram. יָקַם; but also contracted, as *šāk*, *hār*, for *šā'ik*, &c. (cf. Wright's *Gramm. of the Arabic Language*, 2nd ed. vol. i. p. 164).

² יָבֹא לְיָבֹא 1 S 6⁷ (cf. 2 Ch 6²⁵) could only be an orthographic licence for 'וְיָבֹא'; perhaps, however, 'וְיָבֹא' was originally intended.

secutive, Dt 4³⁹, 30¹, as well as before the affirmatives הָם and הֵן or before suffixes, Dt 22², 1 S 6⁸, 1 K 8³⁴, Ez 34⁴. For in all these cases the tone is removed from the *i* to the following syllable, and this forward movement of the tone produces at the same time a weakening of the *i* to *e*; thus הַקִּים, הַקִּימוֹת, הַקִּיָּם (or הָקִי; on הָעֵרִיָּה Ex 19²³, cf. *v*), but הַקִּמְתָּ, &c., Ex 26³⁰, &c.; Dt 4³⁹, Nu 18²⁶ (cf., however, הַקִּימְנִי Mi 5⁴). In the same way in the 1st *pers. sing.* of the *perfect Niph'al*, the *o* before the separating vowel is always modified to *u* (הַקִּימֹותִי); cf. *v*. In the *imperfect Qal* and *Hiph'il* the separating vowel ' always bears the tone (הַקִּימֶנִּי).

Without the separating vowel and consequently with the tone-long *o* and *k* *e* instead of *u* and *i* we find in *imperfect Qal* הַקִּימֶנִּי (see § 76 g); הַקִּימֶנִּי Ez 16²⁵ (also הַקִּימֶנִּי in the same verse); הַקִּימֶנִּי 1 S 7¹⁴ (cf. Ez 35⁹ *Qere*; on the *Kethibh* הַקִּימֶנִּי cf. above, note on § 69 b); הַקִּימֶנִּי 1 S 14²⁷ from אָזַר (*Kethibh* הַקִּימֶנִּי and they saw, see § 75 w); in *Hiph'il*, e.g. הַקִּימֶנִּי Ex 20²⁵, also הַקִּימֶנִּי Jb 31²¹; הַקִּימֶנִּי Jer 22²⁶; הַקִּימֶנִּי Jb 20¹⁰; with a separating vowel, e.g. הַקִּימֶנִּי Lv 7³⁰ from בָּוֹא. *S'ghol* without ' occurs in the *imperfect Qal* in הַקִּימֶנִּי Ez 13¹⁹, Zc 1¹⁷; and in *Hiph'il* Mi 2¹²: the Dageš in the *Nûn* is, with Baer, to be rejected in all three cases according to the best authorities. Wholly abnormal is הַקִּימֶנִּי Jer 44²⁵, probably an erroneous transposition of יִמ (for הַקִּימֶנִּי), unless it originates from an incorrect spelling הַקִּימֶנִּי or הַקִּימֶנִּי.

6. The tone, as in verbs ו"ע (cf. § 67 k), is also generally retained *l* on the stem-syllable in verbs ו"י before the affirmatives הָם, הֵן, ' ; thus קָמָה (but also לָמָּה 2 K 19²¹, probably for the sake of rhythmical uniformity with the following לָמָּה; after *wāw consecutive* וְשָׁבָה Is 23¹⁷); קָמָה (but also קָמָה, cf. Is 28⁷, 29⁹, Na 3¹⁸, ψ 76⁶, Pr 5⁶, La 4¹⁸; וְרָצָה 1 S 8¹¹; so especially before a following *x*, cf. § 49 l, Nu 13³²; וְנָעָה Is 19¹; before *y*, ψ 131¹, Pr 30¹³, La 4¹⁴); וְקָמָה, but before a *suffix* or with *Nûn paragogic* וְקָמָה 2 Ch 28¹⁵; וְקָמָה Dt 33¹¹, &c.

7. The formation of the conjugations *Pi'el*, *Pu'al*, and *Hithpa'el* is, *m* strictly speaking, excluded by the nature of verbs ו"י. It is only in the latest books that we begin to find a few secondary formations, probably borrowed from Aramaic, on the analogy of verbs ו"ע (with consonantal ו, see below, gg); e.g. the *Pi'el* עָוֵר to surround, only in עָוֵרִי ψ 119⁶¹; and with change of ו to י, קִיֵּם Est 9²¹, קִיֵּמוֹ Est 9²⁷, *impf.* וְקִיֵּמוֹ ψ 119¹⁰⁶, *inf.* קִיֵּם Ez 13⁶, Ru 4⁷ &c., Est 9²¹ &c., *imperat.* קִיֵּם ψ 119²⁸; וְיִבְרָחֵם Dn 1¹⁰ from חָגַב to be guilty. The *Hithpa'el* הִצְטִיִּיר Jos 9¹², which belongs to the older language, is probably a denominative from צִיֵּר. On the other hand the otherwise less common conjugation *Pel'el* (see § 55 c), with its passive and reflexive, is usually

employed in the sense of *Pi'el* and as a substitute for it, e.g. קִיָּם *to set up* from קָיָם; מוֹתֶה *to slaughter*, 1 S 14¹³, 17⁵¹, 2 S 1⁹, from מָוָה; רוֹמֵם *to exalt*, passive רוּמַם, from רוּם; reflexive הִתְעוֹרֵר *to stir up oneself* (cf. יִתְעַרֵּר Jb 17⁸ in *pause*) from עָרָה; reciprocal הִתְבַּשְׁשׁ *to be ashamed before one another*, Gn 2²⁵. The conjugation *Pilpel* (§ 55 f), on the analogy of verbs ע"ע, is less common, e.g. מְקַטֵּל *to hurl away* from כָּטַל; בּוֹטֵל *to contain* from בָּטַל; מְרַסֵּס *to destroy* from רָסַס.

REMARKS.

I. On Gal.

70. 1. Of verbs *middle e* and *o*, in which, as in the strong verb, the *perfect* and *participle* have the same form (§ 50. 2), the following are the only examples: מָת he is dead, fem. מֵתָה, 2nd masc. מָתָה (cf. § 44 g; § 66 h); 1st sing. מָתִי, נָמְתִי (even in *pause*, Gn 19¹⁹); plur. מָתוּ, 1st pers. מָתָנוּ, in *pause* מָתָנוּ בָּשׁ he was ashamed, בָּשָׁתָה, בָּשָׁנִי, בָּשָׁנוּ, בָּשָׁנוּ, בָּשָׁנוּ; אָוֹר it has shone, plur. אָוֹרוּ; אָוֹר to be good, לָבוּ. Participle מָת a dead man (plur. מָתִים); מָתִי ashamed, Ez 32²⁰. For נָךְ Is 27¹¹ read נָךְ, or, with LXX, עָךְ.

0. Isolated anomalies in the *perfect* are: וְשָׁכַחְתָּ (with the original ending of the fem. for וְשָׁכַחְתָּ) Ez 46¹⁷ (see § 44 f); וְצָקִין Is 26¹⁶ (see § 44 i).—In בָּנוּ 1 S 25⁸ (for בָּאָנוּ from בָּאָה) the N has been dropped contrary to custom. In בָּאָה Jer 27¹⁸ (instead of בָּאָה) the Masora seems to point to the *imperfect* יִבְאֵה which is what would be expected; as *Yôdh* precedes, it is perhaps simply a scribal error.

p. The form קָם occurs (cf. § 9 b) with N in the *perfect*, קָם Ho 10¹⁴, also in the *participles* לָאֵם softly, Ju 4²¹, רָאֵשׁ poor, 2 S 12¹⁴, Pr 10⁴, plur. 13²³; שָׁאֵם doing despite unto (unless שָׁאֵם is to be read, from a stem שָׁאָה whence שָׁאֵם Ez 25¹⁶, 36⁵), Ez 28^{24, 25}; fem. 16²⁷; also in Ze 14¹⁰ רָאֵם is to be read with Ben-Naphtali for רָאֵם. On the analogy of participles of verbs *middle e* (like בּוֹשֵׁם, see above) קָם occurs for קָם 2 K 16⁷ and even with a transitive meaning לוֹט occultans, Is 25⁷; בּוֹסִים Ze 10⁵.—Participle passive, מְקַטֵּל circumcised; but סוֹב a backslider, Pr 14¹⁴, and סוֹרָה put aside, Is 49²¹ (cf. Jer 17¹³ Q^{re}), are verbal adjectives of the form *qāṭūl* (§ 50 f), not passive participles. For חָשִׁים hastening, Nu 32¹⁷, read חָשִׁים as in Ex 13¹⁸; for שָׁבִי Mi 2⁸ read שָׁבִי.

q. 2. Imperfects in *u* almost always have the corresponding *imperative* and *infinitive* construct in *u*, as יָקֻם, *imperative* and *infinitive* קָם (also defectively written יָקֻם, יָקֻם); but יָדִישׁ he threshes (*inf.* יָדִישׁ), has *imperative* דִּישׁ (*fem.*), Mi 4¹³; יָמוֹט it slippeth, *infinitive* מוֹט (ψ 38¹⁷, 46³); cf. נֹחַ (also נֹחַ) Nu 11²⁵ and נֹעַ Is 7² (elsewhere נֹעַ) with the *imperfects* יָנִיחַ and יָנִיעַ; יָנִיעַ Is 30²; שׁוֹב Jos 2¹⁶; רֹם Ez 10¹⁷ (verse 16 רֹם).

3. Where the *imperfect* (always intransitive in meaning) has *o* the *imperative* and *infinitive* also have it; thus *imperfect* יָבֹא (*inf.* יָבֹא), *imper.* and *imper.* בּוֹא or בָּא 2 S 2³², אָוֹר, אָוֹר; בּוֹשׁ, &c.—יָקֻם Jb 34¹⁴ (if it be a verb at all and not rather a substantive) is formed on the analogy of verbs ע"ע,

¹ In 1 K 14¹² (בָּבֶא before a genitive), the text is evidently corrupt: read with Klostermann after the LXX בָּבֶאֱךָ.

since the *imperfect* of קָוַם appears as קָוַם in ψ 95¹⁰. On the other hand יִקְשֶׁן (as if from קָשַׁן, on the analogy of יָבוֹא, &c.) occurs as *imperfect* of קָשַׁן (פ"י). The *imperfect* יָדוֹן, with δ , Gn 6³, probably in the sense of *to rule*, has no corresponding *perfect*, and is perhaps intentionally differentiated from the common verb יָדִין *to judge* (from יָדִין, ע"י). Or can יָדוֹן be a *jussive* after לֹא (cf. § 109 d)? Similarly לֹא תִחַם עֵינִי (עֵינִי) might be taken as a case of a *jussive* after לֹא, with irregular *scriptio plena* (as in Ju 16³⁰), in Dt 7¹⁶, 13⁹, 19^{13,21}, 25¹², Ez 5¹¹, 7^{4,9}, 8¹⁸, 9¹⁰. But perhaps in all these cases לֹא תִחַם was originally intended, as in Is 13¹⁸, Jer 21⁷, while cases like יָחַם ψ 72¹³ are to be explained as in § 109 k.—The *infinitive absolute* always has δ , e.g. יִקְוֹמוּ קוֹם Jer 44²⁹.

3. In the *imperative* with affirmatives (קָמִי, קָמוּ) the tone is on the stem δ syllable (cf., however, עֲרִי Ju 5¹³ intentionally varied from עָרִי; also עֲרִי Zc 13⁷ and Is 51⁹ beside בְּיָמֵי, עֲרִי Zc 9⁹; צָרִי Is 21², ψ 116⁷, likewise for rhetorical reasons). So also the lengthened form, as שָׁבָה Jer 3¹², ψ 7⁸, and עָרָה verse 7. But if an \aleph follows in close connexion, the lengthened *imperative* usually has the form קִימָה, &c.,¹ in order to avoid a hiatus, e.g. Ju 4¹⁸, ψ S2⁸; hence also before יִתְּנָה Q^re *perpetuum* אֲדָנִי (§ 17 c), e.g. ψ 3⁸, 7⁷ קִימָה (cf., however, in the same verse עָרָה and in Jer 40⁵, שָׁבָה before \aleph), and so even before ψ 43¹, 74²², &c. (רִיבָה).

4. In the *jussive*, besides the form יָקָם (see above, f), יָקוּם also occurs *t* (as subjunctive, Ec 12⁴; ψ 80¹⁹ may also, with Delitzsch, be regarded as a voluntative), incorrectly written *plene*, and יָקָם (Gn 27³¹; cf. Ju 6¹⁸, Pr 9^{4,16}), which, however, is only orthographically different from יָקָם (cf. Jer 46⁹). In the *imperfect consecutive* (יָקָם, in pause יָקָם, see above, f) if there be a guttural or \aleph in the last syllable, δ often takes the place of ϵ , e.g. וַיִּנָּח and he rested; וַיִּנָּע and it was moved; וַיִּסָּר and he turned aside, Ju 4¹⁸, Ru 4¹ (distinguished only by the sense from וַיִּסָּר and he removed, Gn 8¹³); וַיִּצָּר Ex 21⁴, 2 K 5²³, 17⁵ (but also וַיִּנָּר from both נָוַר to sojourn, and נָוַר to fear); וַיַּעַף (to be distinguished from וַיַּעַף and he flew, Is 6⁶) and he was weary, Ju 4²¹, 1 S 14^{28,31}, 2 S 21¹⁵, but probably in all these cases וַיַּעַף for וַיַּעַף from וַיַּעַף is intended. For וַחֲלוּשׁ 2 S 13⁸ K^{eth}, the Q^re rightly requires וַחֲלוּשׁ. On the other hand, in an open syllable always וַיִּקְוֹמוּ, וַיִּסָּדִי, &c. On וַאֲקָם (וַאֲקָם), see § 49 e.

Examples of the full plural ending וִן with the tone (see above, i) are וַתִּמְתָּנִן Gn 3^{3,4}; וַיִּנָּחֵן ψ 104⁷; וַיִּרְצִין Jo 24^{7,9}.

II. On Niphal.

5. The form of the 1st *sing. perf.* נִקְוַמְתִּי, which frequently occurs (נִסְמַחְתִּי, *נִפְגַּחְתִּי*, cf. also the *ptcp. plur.* נִבְּרַחִים Ex 14³), serves as a model for the 2nd *sing.* נִקְוַמְתָּ, נִקְוַמְתָּ, and the 1st *plur.* נִקְוַמְנוּ given in the paradigm, although no instances of these forms are found; but of the 2nd *plur.* the

¹ Cf. Delitzsch's commentary on ψ 3⁸.

only examples found have *š* (not *š*), viz. **נִפְּצוּתֶם** *ye have been scattered*, Ez 11¹⁷, 20^{34,41}, and **וּנְקַמְתֶּם** *and ye shall loathe yourselves*, Ez 20⁴³, 36³¹.—To the *i* (instead of *š*) of the preformative may be traced the *perfect* **זָעַר** Ze 2¹⁷ (analogous to the *perfect* and *participle* **נָפַל**, see below, *ee*), *imperfect* **יַעֲרֶה** for *yi'ēr*.—The *infinitive construct* **הָרֹשׁ** occurs in Is 25¹⁰; in **לְאֹר** Jb 33³⁰, the Masora assumes the elision of the *h* (for **לְהָאֹר**); but probably **לְאֹר** (*Qal*) is intended (see § 51 *i*).—**נָמוּגֹה** Is 14³¹, **נָכוֹן** Is 59¹³ are to be regarded as *infinitives absolute*.

III. On *Hiph'āl*, *Hoph'al*, and *Pi'ēl*.

6. Examples of the *perfect* without a separating vowel (see above, *k*) are: **הִבְּאֵת**, &c. (see further, § 76 *g*); **הִמְתֵּה** (from **מִוֵּת**) for *hemāth-tū* (cf. § 20 *a*); **הִכְנִי** 1st plur. *perfect* *Hiph'āl* from **כִּין** 2 Ch 29¹⁹, even **הִמְתֵּם** (§ 27 *s*) Nu 17⁶, &c.; cf. 2 S 13²⁸, also **וְהִמְתֵּן** Ex 1¹⁶, and **וְהִמְתִּיהָ** Ho 2⁶; but elsewhere, with *wāw* consecutive **וְהִמְתִּי** Is 14³⁰; cf. **וְהִטְלִיתִי** Jer 16¹³, and **וְהִנְפַּתִּי** Ex 29²⁴, &c.—In these cases the *ē* of the first syllable is retained in the secondary tone; elsewhere in the second syllable before the tone it becomes *ī* (1 Ch 15¹², &c.) or more frequently *ī*, and in the syllable before the antepenultima it is necessarily *ī* (e.g. **וְהִקְמִיתִי** Gn 6¹⁸). Before a suffix in the 3rd sing. masc. (except Gn 40¹³) and *fem.*, and in the 3rd plur., the vowel of the initial syllable is *Haṭeph-Seghōl*, in the other persons always *Haṭeph-Pathah* (König); on **הִקְמַתוּ** 2 K 9², ψ 89⁴⁴, cf. Ex 15²³, Nu 31²³, Dt 4³⁰, 22², 27², 30¹, Ez 34⁴, and above, *i*. The 3rd fem. perf. *Hiph.* **הִסְתֵּה** 1 K 21²⁵ is quite abnormal for **הִסְתִּיהָ** from **סִית** or **סִיתָ**.

As in verbs **עָע** with *h* for their first radical (§ 67 *w*), all the forms of **עָרַר** Ex 19²³ (where against the rule given under *i* we find **הָעָרָתָה** with *ē* instead of *i*), Dt 8¹⁹, Neh 9²⁴, Jer 42¹⁹, and **עָרַר** Is 41²⁵, 45¹³, take *Pathah* in these conjugations instead of *ī*. The irregular **וְהִשְׁבִּיתִים** Ze 10⁶ has evidently arisen from a combination of two different readings, viz. **וְהִשְׁבִּיתִים** (from **יָשַׁב**) and **וְהִשְׁבִּיתִים** (from **שָׁבַב**): the latter is to be preferred.—On **הִבְּשִׁי** and **הִוְבִּישׁ** as a (metaplastic) *perfect* *Hiph'āl* of **בוֹשַׁשׁ**, cf. § 78 *b*.

7. In the *imperative*, besides the short form **הִקֵּם** (on **הִשָּׁב** Is 42²² with *Silluq*, cf. § 29 *q*; but in Ez 21²⁵ for **הִשָּׁב** read the *infinitive* **הִשָּׁב**) the lengthened form **הִקְיִמְנִי** is also found. With suffix **הִקְיִמְנִי**, &c. The *imperative* **הִבְיֵא** Jer 17¹⁸ is irregular (for **הִבֵּא** Gn 43¹⁶); perhaps **הִבְיֵא** (as in 1 S 20⁴⁰; cf. 2 K 8⁶) is intended, or it was originally **הִבְיֵא**.

In the *infinitive*, elision of the *h* occurs in **לְבִיא** Jer 39⁷, 2 Ch 31¹⁰ (for **לְהִבִּיא**); *fem.* is added in **לְהִנְפֶּה** Is 30²³; cf. Est 2¹⁸ and the analogous *infinitive* *Haph'el* in biblical Aramaic, Dn 5²⁰.—As *infinitive absolute* **הִקֵּן** occurs in Ez 7¹⁴ (perh. also Jos 4³, Jer 10²³).—The *participles* have *ē*, on the analogy of the *perfect*, as the vowel of the preformative, like verbs **עָע** (§ 67 *i*). On **מָבִי** 2 S 5², &c. (in *Kethibh*), see § 74 *k*.

On the shortened forms of the *imperfect* **יָקַם**, **יָקַם**, but always **יָקַם**; in the *jussive* also with retraction of the tone **אֶל-הִשָּׁב** 1 K 2²⁰ see above, *f*. With a guttural or *h* the last syllable generally has *Pathah* (as in *Qal*), e.g. **וְיָסַר** and he testified, 2 K 17¹³; **יָרַח** let him smell, 1 S 26¹⁹; **וְיָרַח** Gn 8²¹; **וְיָסַר**

and he took away, Gn 8¹³. The 1st sing. of the *imperfect consecutive* commonly has the form וְאָשִׁיב Neh 2²⁰, or, more often, defectively וְאָשִׁיב 1 K 2⁴², less frequently the form וְאָשִׁיב Jos 14⁷.—For אָסַף Zp 1² (after אָסַף) and in verse 3, read אָסַף from אָסַף, on the analogy of אָמַר § 68 g: similarly in Jer 8¹³ אָסַף instead of אָסַף.

In the *imperfect Pötel* the tone is moved backwards before a following tone-syllable, but without a shortening of the vowel of the final syllable; e.g. וְיִתְבַּנְּנוּ Pr 14³⁴; וְיִתְבַּנְּנוּ לוֹ Jb 35¹⁴; cf. Pr 25²³, and acc. to Baer וְיִתְבַּנְּנוּ בִּי Jb 30²⁰ (ed. Mant., Ginsb. וְיִתְבַּנְּנוּ בִּי), always in principal pause; on the *Metheg* with Sere, cf. § 16 f. γ.—As Pötel cf. יִרְעַע Is 16¹⁰.

As *participle Hoph'al* הַפְּעֻל occurs in close connexion, Gn 43¹²; cf. § 65 d.

Peculiar contracted forms of *Pötel* (unless they are transitives in *Qal*) are CC וְיִכְנְנֵנִי Jb 31¹⁵, וְיִכְנְנֵנִי 4¹², וְיִכְנְנֵנִי Is 64⁶ for וְיִכְנְנֵנִי, &c. [but read וְיִכְנְנֵנִי (§ 58 h) or וְיִכְנְנֵנִי, and וְיִכְנְנֵנִי]; also הִרְמַם Jb 17⁴, for הִרְמַם.—In Is 15⁵ יַעֲרֵי appears to have arisen from the *Püpel* יַעֲרֵי, the *ä* after the loss of the *ṛ* having been lengthened to *ä*, which has then been obscured to *ö*.—For the strange form בְּתִקְוִמָּךְ ψ 139²¹, which cannot (according to § 52 s) be explained as a *participle* with the *ṛ* omitted, read בְּתִקְוָךְ.

IV. In General.

8. The verbs ע"ו are primarily related to the verbs ע"ע (§ 67), which were dd also originally biliteral, so that it is especially necessary in analysing them to pay attention to the differences between the inflexion of the two classes. Several forms are exactly the same in both, e.g. *imperfect Qal* and *Hiph'il* with *wāw consecutive*, the whole of *Hoph'al*, the *Pötel* of verbs ע"ע, and the *Pöel* of verbs ע"ע; see § 67 z. Owing to this close relation, verbs ע"ע sometimes have forms which follow the analogy of verbs ע"ע, e.g. *perfect Qal* בָּזָה he has despised (from בָּזָה, as if from בָּזָה) Ze 4¹⁰; *perfect Niph'al* נִבְזָה Jer 48¹¹ (for נִבְזָה, as if from נִבְזָה). The same explanation equally applies to נִקְטָה Jb 10¹ for נִקְטָה (cf. § 67 dd) = נִקְטָה from קָטָה, and נִקְטָה Ez 6⁹ (for נִקְטָה); יָרָפוּ Ez 10¹⁷ and יָרָפוּ verse 15; הִרְפוּ (*imperative*) Nu 17¹⁰; יָפַן Mi 2⁶; *Hiph'il perfect* הִתָּו Is 18⁶ הִתָּו (cf. § 29 g), which is for הִתָּו from הִתָּו. On the other hand the *imperfects* יָמַר Ex 48¹⁴ (unless it be intended for יָמַר, cf. ψ 15⁴) and יָפַח Hb 2³, are to be regarded according to § 109 i, simply as rhythmically shortened forms of יָמַר and יָפַח.

9. In common with verbs ע"ע (§ 67 g) verbs ע"ע sometimes have in *Niph'al* ee and *Hiph'il* the quasi-Aramaic formation, by which, instead of the long vowel under the preformative, they take a short vowel with *Dageš forte* in the following consonant; this variety is frequently found even along with the ordinary form, e.g. הִסִּית *to incite*, *imperfect* הִסִּית (also הִסִּית); הִסִּיג, *imperfect* הִסִּיג *to remove* (from הִסִּיג), also *Hoph'al* הִסִּיג Is 59¹⁴ (on הִסִּיג cf. § 29 g); sometimes with a difference of meaning, as הִנִּיחַ *to cause to rest*,¹ but הִנִּיחַ (*imperfect* הִנִּיחַ, *consecutive* הִנִּיחַ Gn 39¹⁶; *imperative* הִנִּיחַ, *plur.* הִנִּיחוּ) *to set down*; for הִנִּיחַ (Baer, Ginsburg וְהִנִּיחַ) Ze 5¹¹ (which at any rate could only be explained as an isolated passive of *Hiph'il* on the analogy of the biblical Aramaic הִקִּימַת Dn 7⁴) we should probably read הִנִּיחַ with

¹ As the passive of this *Hiph'il* we should expect the *Hoph'al* הִנִּיחַ, which is, no doubt, to be read for הִנִּיחַ in La 5⁵.

Klostermann after the LXX. In Dn 8¹¹ the *Kethibh* הרים is intended for a perfect *Hiph'il*. There is also a distinction in meaning between יָלִין *to spend the night, to remain*, and יָלִין Ex 16⁷ *Q'rē* (*Kethibh* תָּלַן; conversely, verse 2 *Kethibh* יָלִינוּ, *Q'rē* יָלִינוּ), participle מָלִין Ex 16⁸, Nu 14²⁷, 17²⁰, *to be stubborn, obstinate*: in the latter sense from the form יָלִין only יָלִין is found, Ex 17³. Other examples are *Niph'al* נִפְּלוּ he was circumcised, Gn 17^{26 f.}; participle 34²² (from מָוַל, not נָמַל); נָעוּר he is waked up, Zc 2¹⁷ (see above, v); *Hiph'il* הִיָּלִינָה La 1⁸; יָלִינוּ Pr 4²¹.

ff Perhaps the same explanation applies to some forms of verbs *first guttural* with *Dageš forte implicitum*, which others derive differently or would emend, e. g. וַתַּחַשׁ and she hastened (from חָשׂ) Jb 31⁵; וַיַּעַט (another reading is וַיַּעַט) 1 S 15¹⁹, 25¹⁴ (14⁸² *Q'rē*) from עָיַט or עָיַט *to fly at anything*. Both, as far as the form is concerned, would be correct *apocopated imperfects* from חָשׂה and עָטָה (ל"ה), but these stems only occur with a wholly different meaning.

g 10. Verbs with a consonantal *Wāw* for their second radical, are inflected throughout like the strong form, provided the first or third radical is not a weak letter, e. g. חָוַר, *imperfect* יַחְוֹר *to be white*; נָוַע, *imperfect* יִנְוַע *to expire*; רָוַח *to be wide*; צָוַח *to cry*; *Pi'el* עָוַל, *imperfect* יַעְוֹל *to act wickedly*; עָנַח *to bend*, *Hithpa'el* הִתְעַנַּח *to bend oneself*; and this is especially the case with verbs which are at the same time ל"ה, e. g. צָוָה, *Pi'el* צִוָּה *to command*, קָנַח *to wait*, רָוַח *to drink*, *Pi'el* רָוַח (on צָרָוָה Is 16⁹, see § 75 dd) and *Hiph'il* הִרְוָה *to give to drink*, &c.

§ 73. Verbs middle *i* (vulgo ע"י), e. g. בִּין *to discern*.

Paradigm N.

- a 1. These verbs agree, as regards their structure, exactly with verbs ע"י, and in contrast to them may be termed ע"י, or more correctly, *ayin-i* verbs, from the characteristic vowel of the *impf.*, *imper.*, and *infm. constr.* This distinction is justified in so far as it refers to a difference in the pronunciation of the *imperfect* and its kindred forms, the *imperative* and *infm. constr.*—the ע"י verbs having *i* lengthened from original *ā* and ע"י having *i* lengthened from original *i*. In other respects verbs ע"י simply belong to the class of really monosyllabic stems, which, by a strengthening of their *vocalic* element, have been assimilated to the trilateral form¹ (§ 67 a). In the *perfect Qal* the monosyllabic stem, as in ע"י, has *ā* lengthened from *ā*, thus: שָׁח he has set; *infinitive absolute* שָׁח, *imperative* שָׁח, *imperfect* יִשָּׁח, *jussive* יִשָּׁח (§ 48 g), *imperfect consecutive* וַיִּשָּׁח.—The *perfect Qal* of some verbs

¹ That verbs ע"י and ע"י are developed from biliteral roots at a period before the differentiation of the Semitic languages is admitted even by Nöldeke (*Beiträge zur sem. Sprachwiss.*, Strassburg, 1904, p. 34 ff.), although he contests the view that בִּינָתִי and רִיבֹתִי are to be referred to *Hiph'il* with the preformative dropped.

used to be treated as having a double set of forms, a regular series, and others like *Hiph'il* without the preformative, e.g. בָּיַת Dn 10¹; בִּיטָה Dn 9², also בָּנִיתָ ψ 139²; רִיבֹתָ thou strivest, Jb 33¹³, also רִבֵּיתָ La 3⁵⁸. The above *perfects* (בָּיַת, רִיב, &c.) might no doubt be taken as forms *middle ē* (properly *ē*), the *ē* of which has been lengthened to *î* (like the *ū* lengthened to *û* in the *imperfect Qal* of קָיַם). It is more probable, however, that they are really shortened forms of *Hiph'il*. This is supported by the fact that, especially in the case of בָּיַת, the shortened forms are few and probably all late, while the corresponding unshortened forms with the same meaning are very numerous, e.g. *perfect* הָבִין (but בָּין only in Dn 10¹), הִבְיֹתָם, *infinitive* הָבִין (but *infinitive abs.* בָּין only in Pr 23¹), *imperative* הָבִין (only in Dn 9²³ בָּיַן immediately before וְהָבִין, also בָּיַן three times, and בָּיַת ψ 5²), *participle* מְבִיֵּן.¹ Elsewhere *Hiph'il*-forms are in use along with actual *Qal*-forms with the same meaning, thus: מָרִיב (also מָרִיב), מִשִּׁים placing (but only in Jb 4⁴⁰, which, with the critically untenable מִשִּׁי Ez 21²¹, is the only instance of שִׁים in *Hiph'il*), מָרִיב breaking forth Ju 20³³, with *infinitive Qal* מָרִיבָה they rushed forth Ju 20³⁷, with מָרִיבָה glancing, also in *perfect* מָרִיבָה he spat out, with *imperative Qal* מָרִיב. As *passives* we find a few apparent *imperfects Hoph'al*, which are really (according to § 53 u) *imperfects passive* of *Qal*, e.g. יוּחַל Is 66⁸ from הָיַל to turn round, יוּשָׁר from שָׁר to sing, יוּשַׁת from שִׁית to set.

2. The above-mentioned *Hiph'il*-forms might equally well be derived *b* from verbs ע"י; and the influence of the analogy of verbs ע"י is distinctly seen in the *Niph'al* נָבִין (ground-form *nabān*), *Pōlēl* בּוֹלֵן, and *Hihpōlēl* הִתְבּוֹלֵן. The very close relation existing between verbs ע"י and ע"י is evident also from the fact that from some stems both forms occur side by side in *Qal*, thus from הָיַל to turn round, *imperative* also הָיַל Mi 4¹⁰; שִׁים to place, *infinitive construct* commonly שִׁים (2 S 14⁷ שִׁים *Qere*), *imperfect* יִשֵּׁם, but Ex 4¹¹ יִשֵּׁם. In other verbs one form is, at any rate, the more common, e.g. הָיַל to exult (הָיַל only Pr 23²⁴ *Kethibh*); from לָלַי (perhaps denominative from לָלַי) to spend the night, לָלַי occurs six times as *infinitive construct*, לָלַי only in Gn 24²³; but the *imperative* is always לָלַי, &c.—Of verbs ע"י the most common are שִׁית to set, רִיב to strive, דִּין to judge, שִׁישׁ to rejoice; cf. also *perfect* מְבִיֵּן (*middle*

¹ Since בָּנִיתָ ψ 139² might be intended for בָּנִיתָ, there remains really no form of בָּין which must necessarily be explained as a *Qal*, except the *plur.* בָּיִים Jer 49⁷. Nevertheless it is highly probable that all the above instances of *Hiph'il*-forms, parallel with *Qal*-forms of the same meaning, are merely due to a secondary formation from the *imperfects Qal* יִבִּין, יִשֵּׁם, &c., which were wrongly regarded as *imperfects Hiph'il*: so Barth, ZDMG. xliii. p. 190 f., and *Nominalbildung*, p. 119 f.

Yôdh in Arabic) to comprehend, to measure, Is 40¹²; עָיַם (as in Arabic and Syriac) to rush upon, and the denominative perfect קָיַן (from קָיַן) to pass the summer, Is 18⁶. On the other hand, וְיִדְּלוּ and they shall fish them, Jer 16¹⁶, generally explained as perfect *Qal*, denominative from יָדַל fish, probably represents a denominative *Pi'el*, וְיִדְּלוּ.

c Corresponding to verbs properly עָו, mentioned in § 72 gg, there are certain verbs עָו with consonantal *Yôdh*, as אָבַח to hate, עָוַה to faint, הָיָה to become, to be, הָיָה to live.

d Rem. 1. In the perfect *Qal* 3rd fem. sing. וָלָכָה occurs once, Zc 5⁴, for וָלָכָה, with the weakening of the toneless *ā* to *ē* (as in the fem. participle וָלָכָה Is 59⁵); cf. the analogous examples in § 48 l and § 80 i.—2nd sing. masc. שָׁתָה ψ 90⁶, *Q're* (before ע; cf. § 72 s); 1st sing. once שָׁתִּי ψ 73²⁸, *mil'ra'*, without any apparent reason; 1st plur. וָלָכָה Ju 19¹³ for *lān-nū*. The lengthened imperative has the tone on the ultima before gutturals, וָלָכָה יְהוָה, see further, § 72 a.—Examples of the infinitive absolute are: רָב רָב *litigando*, Ju 11²⁸, Jb 40²; שָׁם Jer 42¹⁵; שָׁת *ponendo*, Is 22⁷. On the other hand, רָב רָב (for רָב) Jer 50³⁴, בֵּין בֵּין Pr 23¹, חוּל חוּל Ex 30¹⁶ *Keth.*, are irregular and perhaps due to incorrect *scriptio plena*; for the last the *Q're* requires חוּל חוּל, but read חוּל; cf. § 113 x.

e 2. The shortened imperfect usually has the form יָשַׁע, יָשַׁע; more rarely, with the tone moved back, e.g. לֹא יָרָב Ju 6³¹, cf. Ex 23¹, אֶל-תָּשֶׁת 1 S 9²⁰. So with *wāw* consecutive וַיִּשַׁע and he placed, וַיִּבֶן and he perceived; with a middle guttural וַיַּעַם בָּהֶם 1 S 25¹⁴ (see § 72 ee); with ר as 3rd radical, וַיִּתְּרַר Ju 1¹. As jussive of לָיַן, תִּלָּן is found in Ju 19²⁰ (in pause) and Jb 17², for תִּלָּן.—For וַיִּתְּרַב Pr 3³⁰ *Keth.* (*Q're* תִּתְּרַב) read תִּתְּרַב.

f 3. As participle active *Qal* לֹא spending the night, occurs once, Neh 13²¹; participle passive שִׁים Nu 24²¹, 1 S 9²⁴, Ob 4; feminine שֹׂמֶה 2 S 13³², in the *Q're*, even according to the reading of the Oriental schools (see p. 38, note 2); the *Kethibh* has שֹׂמֶה. A passive of *Qal* (cf. above, § 52 e and s, and § 53 u) from שִׁים may perhaps be seen in וַיִּשַׁם Gn 50²⁶ (also Gn 24³³ *Kethibh* וַיִּשַׁם, *Q're* וַיִּשַׁם; the Samaritan in both places has וַיִּשַׁם), and also in וַיִּסַּךְ Ex 30³², Samaritan וַיִּסַּךְ. Against the explanation of וַיִּסַּךְ as a *Hoph'al*-form from סָךְ, Barth (*Jubelschrift . . . Hildesheimer*, Berlin, 1890, p. 151) rightly urges that the only example of a *Hiph'il* of סָךְ is the doubtful וַיִּסַּךְ, which is probably an *ē*-imperfect of *Qal*.—The explanation of וַיִּשַׁם, &c., as a passive of *Qal* arising from *yisam*, &c. = *yuisam* (so Barth, *ibid.*, note 1), is certainly also unconvincing, so that the correctness of the traditional reading is open to question.

* * * * *

g 4. In verbs עָו the *N* always retains its consonantal value; these stems are, therefore, to be regarded as verbs middle Gutural (§ 64). An exception is נָחַץ Ec 12⁵ if it be imperfect *Hiph'il* of נָחַץ (for נָחַץ); but if the form has really been correctly transmitted, it should rather be referred to נָחַץ, and regarded as incorrectly written for נָחַץ. On נָחַץ (from נָחַץ), which was formerly treated here as עָו, see now § 75 x.

§ 74. Verbs נ"ל, e.g. נָצַץ to find. Paradigm O.

The נ in these verbs, as in verbs נ"ד, is treated in some cases as *a* a consonant, i.e. as a guttural, in others as having no consonantal value (as a quiescent or vowel letter), viz.:

1. In those forms which terminate with the נ, the final syllable always has the regular vowels, if long, e.g. נָצַץ, נָצַץ, נָצַץ, נָצַץ, i.e. the נ simply quiesces in the long vowel, without the latter suffering any change whatever. It is just possible that after the altogether heterogeneous vowel *ā* the נ may originally have preserved a certain consonantal value. On the other hand, if the final נ quiesces in a preceding *ā* (as in the *perfect*, *imperfect*, and *imperative Qal*, in the *perfect Niph'al*, and in *Pu'al* and *Hoph'al*) this *ā* is necessarily lengthened to *ā*, by § 27 g, as standing in an open syllable; e.g. נָצַץ, נָצַץ, &c.

The *imperfect* and *imperative Qal* invariably have *ā* in the final syllable, on *b* the analogy of verbs *tertiæ gutturalis*; cf., however, § 76 e.—In the *imperfect Hithpa'el* *ā* occurs in the final syllable not only (according to § 54 k) in the principal pause (Nu 31¹³), or immediately before it (Jb 10¹⁶), or with the lesser disjunctives (Lv 21¹⁻⁴, Nu 19^{13,20}), but even out of pause with *Mer'kha*, Nu 6⁷, and even before *Maqqeph* in Nu 19¹².

2. When נ stands at the end of a syllable before an affirmative *c* beginning with a consonant (ח, נ), it likewise quiesces with the preceding vowel; thus in the *perfect Qal* (and *Hoph'al*, see below) quiescing with *ā* it regularly becomes *Qames* (נָצַץ for נָצַץ, &c.); but in the *perfect* of all the other active and reflexive conjugations, so far as they occur, it is preceded by *Sere* (נָצַץ, &c.), and in the *imperative* and *imperfect* by *S'ghol*, נָצַץ, נָצַץ.

(a) The *S'ghol* of these forms of the imperfect and imperative might be *d* considered as a modification, and at the same time a lengthening of an original *ā* (see § 8 a). In the same way the *ē* of the *perfect* forms in *Pu'el*, *Hithpa'el*, and *Hiph'il* might be traced to an original *ī* (as in other cases the *ē* and *ī* in the final syllable of the 3rd sing. masc. *perfect* of these conjugations), although this *ī* may have only been attenuated from an original *ā*. According to another, and probably the correct explanation, however, both the *Sere* and the *S'ghol* are due to the analogy of verbs ל"ה (§ 75 f) in consequence of the close relation between the two classes, cf. § 75 nm.—No form of this kind occurs in *Pu'al*; in the *perfect Hoph'al* only the 2nd masc. sing. נָצַץ Ez 40⁴, lengthened according to rule.

(b) Before suffixes attached by a connecting vowel (e.g. יִקְרָאֵנִי) the נ *e* retains its consonantal value; so before ה and כּ, e.g. יִקְרָאֵנִי Ct 8¹; יִקְרָאֵנִי Ez 28¹³ (cf. § 65 h), not יִקְרָאֵנִי, &c., since these suffixes, by § 58 f, are likewise attached to the verb-form by a connecting vowel in the form of *S'ed mobile*.—As *infinitive Qal* with suffix notice יִקְרָאֵנִי Ez 25⁶; *participle* with suffix יִקְרָאֵנִי Is 43¹; *infinitive Pu'el* יִקְרָאֵנִי.—The doubly anomalous form יִקְרָאֵנִי Jer 23⁶ (for יִקְרָאֵנִי or יִקְרָאֵנִי) is perhaps a *forma mixta* combining the readings יִקְרָאֵנִי and יִקְרָאֵנִי.

f 3. When א begins a syllable (consequently before affirmatives which consist of or begin with a vowel, as well as before suffixes) it is necessarily a firm consonant, and the form then follows the analogy of the strong verb, e.g. מַצָּאֵה *māṣṣ'ā*, מַצָּאֵי, &c. (in *paruse* מַצָּאֵי, מַצָּאֵי).

REMARKS.

g 1. Verbs *middle e*, like מִלֵּא *to be full*, retain the *Sere* also in the other persons of the *perfect*, e.g. מִלֵּאתִי (מִלֵּאתִי Est 7⁵ has ־ owing to its transitive use; for יִרְאֶתֶם Jos 4²⁴ read with Ewald יִרְאֶתֶם). Instead of מַצָּאֵה the form קָרְאתָ *she names*, on the analogy of the ל"ה-forms noticed in § 75 m, occurs in Is 7¹⁴ (from קָרְאתָ, cf. § 44 f), and with a different meaning (*it befalls*) in Dt 31²⁹, Jer 44²³, in both places before א, and hence, probably, to avoid a hiatus (on the other hand, וְהִטָּאתָ Ex 5¹⁶, could only be the 2nd *sing. masc.*; the text which is evidently corrupt should probably be emended to וְהִטָּאתָ with the LXX); in *Niph'al* נִפְלֵאתָ ψ 118²³; in *Hoph'al* הִבָּאתָ Gn 33¹¹.—The 2nd *fem. sing.* is written קָרְאתָ by Baer, Gen 16¹¹, &c., according to early MSS.

h 2. The *infinitive Qal* occurs sometimes on the analogy of verbs ל"ה (נָלוּת, &c., see § 75 nn) in the feminine form; so always מִלֵּאת *to fill* (as distinguished from מִלֵּא *fullness*), Lv 8³³, 12^{4,6}, 25³⁰, Jer 29¹⁰, Ez 5², also written מִלֵּאוֹת *fullness*, Jer 25¹², Jb 20²², &c., and מִלֵּאוֹתָ Est 1⁵. Cf. further, קָרְאתָ Ju 8¹; עֲנֵאתָ Pr 8¹³; before suffixes, Ez 33¹², and likewise in *Niph.* זֶע 13⁴; also in *Piel* לְמִלֵּאתָ Ex 31⁵, 35³³, or לְמִלֵּאוֹת Dn 9², &c. *Kethibh*; with suffix 2 S 21².—On the (aramaizing) *infinitives* מִשָּׂא and מִשָּׂאוֹת, see § 45 e; on לְקִרְאתָ *obviam*, § 19 k.—בְּמִצָּאֵיכֶם *when ye find*, Gn 32²⁰, stands, according to § 93 q, for מִצָּאֵיכֶם. The tone of the lengthened *imperative* רַבֵּצָה Ps 41⁵ as *Mil'ra'* (before נִפְשִׁי) is to be explained on rhythmical grounds; cf. the analogous cases in § 72 s.—The 2nd *fem. plur. imperative* in Ru 1⁹ has, according to Qimhi, the form מִצָּאֵי, and in verse 20, קָרְאֵי; on the other hand, the Mantua edition and Ginsburg, on good authority, read מַצָּאֵי, קָרְאֵי.

i 3. The *participle fem.* is commonly contracted, e.g. מִצָּאתָ (for מִצָּאֵתָ) 2 S 18²², cf. Est 2¹⁵; so *Niph'al* נִפְלֵאתָ Dt 30¹¹, Ze 5⁷ (but נִשְׁתָּה Is 30²⁵), and *Hoph'al*, Gn 38²⁵; less frequent forms are מוֹצֵאתָ Ct 8¹⁰; נִשְׁתָּה 1 K 10²² (cf. § 76 b, שָׁתָה beside לָשָׂאתָ as *infinitive construct* from נִשָּׂא) and without א (see k) יוֹצֵתָ (from יוֹצֵתָ) Dt 28⁶⁷. In the forms הִטָּאתָ *sinning*, 1 S 14³³, cf. ψ 99⁶; הִטָּאתָ *feigning them*, Neh 6⁸, the א is elided, and is only retained orthographically (§ 23 c) after the retraction of its vowel; see the analogous cases in § 75 oo.—On the *plur. masc. ptp. Niph.* cf. § 93 oo.

k 4. Frequently an א which is quiescent is omitted in writing (§ 23 f):
(a) in the middle of the word, e.g. בָּנִי 1 S 25⁸; מִצָּתִי Nu 11¹¹, cf. Jb 1²¹; צִמְתִּי Ju 4¹⁹, cf. Jb 32¹⁸. In the *imperfect* תִּשְׁנֶה Jer 9¹⁷, Ze 5⁹, Ru 1¹⁴ (but the same form occurs with *Yôdh* pleonastic after the manner of verbs ל"ה in Ez 23⁴⁹, according to the common reading; cf. § 76 b and Jer 50²⁰); in *Piel* אֶחָפְנָה (after elision of the א, cf. § 75 oo) Gn 31³⁰; and also in *Niph'al* נִטְמַתָּ Lv 11⁴³; cf. Jos 2¹⁶. (b) at the end of the word; יוֹבִי 1 K 12¹² *Kethibh*; *Hiph'al* הִחְתִּי 2 K 13⁶, cf. Is 53¹⁰ (הִחְתִּי for הִחְתִּי *perfect Hiph'al* of חָתָה formed

after the manner of verbs ל"ה; in the *imperfect* *Hiph'il* יִשִּׁי ψ 55¹⁶ *K'ṯibh*; יִנִּי ψ 141⁵; אָרִי 1 K 21¹⁹, Mi 1¹⁵; in the *infinitive*, Jer 32³⁵; in the *participle*, 2 S 5², 1 K 21²¹, Jer 19¹⁵, 39⁶, all in *K'ṯibh* (מִכְּבִּי, always before ל, hence perhaps only a scribal error).

5. In the *jussive*, *imperfect consecutive*, and *imperative* *Hiph'il* a number of cases occur with *i* in the final syllable; cf. יִשֶּׂא Is 36¹⁴ (in the parallel passages 2 K 18²⁰, 2 Ch 32¹⁵ יִשֶּׂא); יִבְרִיא Neh 8² (before ע); יִבְרִיא 2 K 21¹¹ (cf. 1 K 16², 21²²); אִתְּחַבֵּא 2 K 6²⁰, יִתְּחַבֵּא Dt 4²⁰, 2 K 11¹², ψ 78¹⁶, 105⁴³; *imperative* יִבְרִיא Jer 17¹⁸; הוֹצִיא Is 43⁸ (in both cases before ע). If the tradition be correct (which at least in the defectively written forms appears very doubtful) the retention of the *i* is to be attributed to the open syllable; while in the closed syllable of the 3rd *sing. masc. and fem.*, and the 2nd *sing. masc.* after *i* consecutive, the *i* is always reduced to *e*. In the examples before ע considerations of euphony may also have had some influence (cf. § 75 *hh*).—In Ez 40³, Baer reads with the Western school יִבְרִיא, while the Orientals read in the *K'ṯibh* וִיבְרִיא, and in the *Qere* וִיבְרִיא.

On the transition of verbs ל"ה to forms of ה"ה see § 75 *nn*.

§ 75. Verbs ל"ה, e. g. הִלֵּךְ to reveal. Paradigm P.

Brockelmann, *Semit. Sprachwiss.*, p. 149 ff.; *Grundriss*, p. 618 ff.—G. R. Berry, 'Original Waw in ה"ה verbs' in *AJSL* xx. 256 f.

These verbs, like the verbs פ"י (§§ 69, 70), belong to two different *a* classes, viz. those originally ל"ה and those originally ל"י,¹ which in Arabic, and even more in Ethiopic, are still clearly distinguished. In Hebrew, instead of the original ו or י at the end of the word, a ה always appears (except in the *ptcp. pass. Qal*) as a purely orthographic indication of a final vowel (§ 23 *k*); hence both classes are called ל"ה, e. g. הִלֵּךְ for הִלִּי he has revealed; שָׁכַח for שָׁחִי he has rested. By far the greater number of these verbs are, however, treated as originally ל"י; only isolated forms occur of verbs ל"ה.

שָׁכַח to be at rest may be recognized as originally ל"י, in the forms in which ה the *Wāw* appears as a strong consonant, cf. 1st *sing. perfect Qal* שָׁכַחְתִּי Jb 3²⁶, the *participle* שָׁכֹחַ and the derivative שָׁכַח rest; on the other hand the *imperfect* is יִשְׁכָּח (with *Yōdh*). In עָנָה (Arab. عَنِ to answer, and עָנָה (Arab. عَنِ) to be afflicted, are to be seen two verbs originally distinct, which have been assimilated in Hebrew (see the *Lexicon*, s. v. עָנָה).

¹ According to Wellhausen, 'Ueber einige Arten schwacher Verba' in his *Skizzen*, vi. p. 255 ff., the ה"ה verbs, apart from some true ל"ה and some probable ל"י, are to be regarded as originally biliteral. To compensate for their arrested development they lengthened the vowel after the 2nd radical, as the ל"י verbs did after the 1st radical. But although there is much to be said for this view, it fails to explain pausal forms like הִלֵּךְ (see *u*). It seems impossible that these should all be late formations.

² In the Mē'a inscription, line 5, וִיעֲנוּ and he oppressed occurs as 3rd *sing. masc. imperfect P'el*, and in line 6, אֶעֱנוּ I will oppress as 1st *sing.*

Of quite a different class are those verbs of which the third radical is a *consonantal* ה (distinguished by *Mappiq*). These are inflected throughout like verbs *tertiæ gutturalis*. Cf. § 65 note on the heading.

c The grammatical structure of verbs ה"ל (see Paradigm P) is based on the following laws:—

1. In all forms in which the original *Yôdh* or *Wāw* would stand at the end of the word, it is dropped (cf. § 24 g) and ה takes its place as an orthographic indication of the preceding long vowel. Such an indication would have been indispensable, on practical grounds, in the still unvocalized consonantal text. But even after the addition of the vowel signs, the orthographic rule remained, with insignificant exceptions (see § 8 k, and *ā* in הָיָה, &c.), that a final vowel must be indicated by a vowel letter. In verbs ה"ל the ה which is here employed as a vowel letter is preceded by the same vowel in the same part of the verb throughout all the conjugations. Thus the endings are—

ה־ in all perfects, הָלָה, הִנָּלָה, הֵנָּלָה, &c.

ה־ in all imperfects and participles, הִנָּלִי, הֵנָּלִי, &c.

ה־ in all imperatives, הִנָּלְהוּ, הֵנָּלְהוּ, &c.

ה־ in the infinitive absolute (הִנָּלְהוּ, &c.), except in *Hiph'el*, *Hoph'al*, and generally also *Pi'el*, see *aa* and *ff*.

The *participle passive* *Qal* alone forms an exception, the original ' (or ו, see *v*) reappearing at the end, הָלִי; and so also some derived nouns (§ 84^a, c, e, &c.).

The *infinitive construct* always has the ending הו (with ה *feminine*); *Qal* הָלוּת, *Pi'el* הָלוּת, &c.; for exceptions, see *n* and *y*.

d These forms may be explained as follows:—in the *perfect Qal* הָלָה stands, according to the above, for (')הָלָה, and, similarly, in *Niph'al*, *Pu'al*, and *Hoph'al*. The *Pi'el* and *Hithpa'el* may be based on the forms הָלַל, הִתְהַלַּל (§ 52 l; and § 54 k), and *Hiph'el* on the form הִתְהַלֵּל, on the analogy of the *ā* in the second syllable of the Arabic *'aqtālā* (§ 53 a). Perhaps, however, the final *ā* of these conjugations simply follows the analogy of the other conjugations.

e The explanation of the final tone-bearing ה־ of the *imperfect* is still a matter of dispute. As to the various treatments of it, see Barth, *Nominalbildung*, i. p. xxx ff, with § 136. Rem., and ZDMG. xlv. 695 f., against Philipp's objections in the *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie*, 1890, p. 356 f.; also ZDMG. lvi. 244, where Barth appeals to the rule that, in the period before the differentiation of the North Semitic dialects, final *iy* becomes ה־ (*constr.* ה־), not י; M. Lambert, *Journ. Asiat.* 1893, p. 285; Pratorius, ZDMG. lv. 365. The most probable explanation now seems to be, first, that the uniform pronunciation of all imperfects and participles with *S'ghöl* in the last syllable merely follows the analogy of the *impf. Qal*, and secondly, that the *S'ghöl* of the *impf. Qal* does perhaps ultimately represent a contraction of the original termination ' (=*ai*), although elsewhere (e.g. in the *imperative* of ה"ל) *ai* is usually contracted to *i*.

2. When the original *Yôdh* stands at the end of the syllable before *f* an affirmative beginning with a consonant (ת, נ) there arises (a) in the *perfects*, primarily the diphthong *ai* (אֵי). In the middle of the word this ought always to be contracted to *ê* (אֵ), but this *ê* is only found consistently in the passive conjugations, whilst regularly in *Qal*, and frequently in the other active and reflexive conjugations (especially in *Pêl*), it appears as *i* (cf. *x*, *z*, *ee*). This *i*, however, in the *perf.* *Qal* is not to be explained as a weakening of an original *ê*, but as the original vowel of the *intransitive* form. It then became usual also in the *transitive* forms of *Qal* (and in some other conjugations on this analogy), whereas e.g. in Syriac the two kinds of forms are still carefully distinguished.—(b) In the *imperfects* and *imperatives*, אֶ with the tone always appears before the affirmative ת. On the most probable explanation of this אֶ, see above, e.

Summary. Accordingly before affirmatives beginning with a consonant the principal vowel is—

In the perfect *Qal* *i*, e.g. תִּלִּית;

In the perfects of the other active and reflexive conjugations, sometimes *ê*, sometimes *i*, תִּלִּית and תִּלִּית; נִלִּית and נִלִּית;

In the perfects passive always *ê*, e.g. תִּלִּית;

In the imperfects and imperatives always אֶ, e.g. תִּלִּית, תִּלִּית.

The diphthongal forms have been systematically retained in Arabic and Ethiopic; only as an exception and in the popular language is the diphthong contracted. In Aramaic the contracted forms predominate, yet the Syriac, for example, has in *Qal* 2nd pers. sing. *gâlayt* (but 1st pers. sing. תִּלִּית), and so too the Western Aramaic תִּלִּית, but also תִּלִּית.

3. Before the vocalic affirmatives (י, אֶ, ת) the *Yôdh* is usually *h* dropped altogether, e.g. תִּלִּית (ground-form *gâlayâ*), תִּלִּית, *participle fem.* תִּלִּית, *plur. masc.* תִּלִּית; yet the old full forms also not infrequently occur, especially in *pause*, see *u*. The elision of the *Yôdh* takes place regularly before *suffixes*, e.g. תִּלִּית (see *ll*).

4. In the 3rd sing. fem. perfect, the original feminine ending תִּ— was appended to the stem; hence, after elision of the *Yôdh*, arose properly forms like תִּלִּית, with *ā* in the final syllable with the tone. This form, however, has been but rarely preserved (see below, *m*). The analogy of the other forms had so much influence, that the common ending תִּ— was added pleonastically to the ending תִּ—. Before the תִּ— the vowel of the ending תִּ—, which thus loses the tone, becomes *šewâ*, and thus there arise such forms as תִּלִּית, תִּלִּית, &c. (but in *pause* תִּלִּית, &c.).

For similar cases see § 70 d; § 91 m.

k 5. Finally, a strongly-marked peculiarity of verbs $\text{ל}^{\text{ל}}$ is the rejection of the ending $\text{ן}^{\text{ן}}$ in forming the *jussive* and the *imperfect consecutive*. This shortening occurs in all the conjunctions, and sometimes also involves further changes in the vocalization (see *o*, *y*, *bb*, *gg*). Similarly, in some conjugations a *shortened imperative* (cf. § 48 *k*) is formed by *apocope* of the final $\text{ן}^{\text{ן}}$ (see *cc*, *gg*).

l 6. The ordinary form of the *imperfect* with the ending $\text{ן}^{\text{ן}}$ serves in verbs $\text{ל}^{\text{ל}}$ to express the cohortative also (§ 48 *c*); cf. Gn 1²⁶, 2¹⁸, 2 Ch 25¹⁷, &c. With a final $\text{ן}^{\text{ן}}$ there occur only: in *Qal*, שָׁעָה ψ 119¹⁷, $\text{אָהַבְתִּי$ (with the *i* retained, see below, *u*) ψ 77⁴; and in *Hithpa'el* נִשְׁחַעַע Is 41²³ (with *Tiphha*, therefore in lesser pause).

REMARKS.

I. On *Qal*.

m 1. The older form of the *fem.* of the 3rd *sing. perf.* גָּלָה , mentioned above, under *i* (cf. § 74 *g*), is preserved in עָשָׂה (before *N*) Lv 25²¹ (cf. 2 K 9³⁷ *Kethibh*)¹; likewise in *Hiph'il* הִרְצָה (before *N*) Lv 26³⁴; הִלְאָה Ez 24¹²; and in *Hoph'al* הִלְלָה (before *i*) Jer 13¹⁹.—The 2nd *sing. fem.* is also written $\text{וְהָיִיתְ$; thus in the *textus receptus* וְהָיִיתְ 2 S 14², and always in Baer's editions (since 1872), as in most other verbs; וְהָיִיתְ and וְהָיִיתְ Is 57⁸; עָשִׂיתְ Jer 2²³, Ez 16⁴³, &c. (so וְהוֹצֵאתְ 1 K 17¹³ from וְהוֹצֵאתְ). In the 3rd *pers. plur.* the tone, instead of keeping its usual place (גָּלָה , &c.), is retracted in ψ 37²⁰, בָּלִי , both on account of the *pause* and also in *rhythmical antithesis* to the preceding בָּלִי ; also in Is 16⁸ קָעִי (according to Delitzsch for the sake of the assonance with קָעִי); and in Jb 24¹ הָיִיתְ .—On the tone of the *perfect consecutive* see § 49 *k*.

n 2. The *inf. absol.* frequently has י (probably a survival of the older orthography) for ה , e. g. הָיִי Gn 18¹⁸; עָשִׂי Jer 4¹⁸, &c., Ez 31¹¹; כָּנִי 2 S 24²⁴; רָאִי Gn 26²⁸, Is 6⁹ (cf. 1 S 6¹²), &c., beside רָאָה . The form שָׁתִיתִי Is 22¹³ (beside שָׁתִי in the same verse) appears to have been chosen on account of its similarity in sound to שָׁהַם ; so in Is 42²⁰ *Qere* and Ho 10⁴, אָלִיתִי (unless it is a substantive, *oaths*) and בָּרִיתִי ; cf. also עָרוֹת Hb 3¹³.—Conversely, instead of the *infinitive construct* גָּלֹה such forms are occasionally found as גָּלָה or גָּלוּ , cf. רָאָה Gn 48¹¹; כָּנָה Pr 16¹⁶; עָשָׂה Gn 50²⁰, ψ 101³, also עָשִׂי Gn 31²⁸ (cf. Pr 31⁴), and even with the *suffix* $\text{הוּ$ the very remarkable form עָשָׂהוּ Ex 18¹⁸.²—The feminine form רָאָה (for רָאִיתִי) Ez 28¹⁷, analogous to nouns like גָּאָה (cf. § 45 *d*), is strange, but הָיִיהָ as *inf.* Ez 21¹⁵ is quite inexplicable.—The forms הָרִי and הָרִי Is 59¹³ are perhaps to be regarded with Barth, *Nominalbildung*, § 51 *a*, as *infinitives absolute of the passive of Qal* (see above, § 53 *u*), not of *Pö'el*.—The 2nd *sing. masc. imperative* וְהָיִיתְ occurs in the principal pause in Pr 4⁴ and 7²; but

¹ In the Siloam inscription also (see above, § 2 *d*), line 3, הָיִית may be read הָיִית quite as well as הָיִית .

² All these infinitives construct in δ , in the Pentateuch, belong to the document called E; cf. § 69 *m*, second note.

probably these forms are simply to be attributed to a Masoretic school, which in general marked the difference between certain forms by the use of *ê* for *ē*, and conversely *ē* for *ê*; cf. the analogous examples in § 52 n, and especially § 75 hh, also Kautzsch, *Grammatik des Bibl.-Aram.*, § 17, 2, Rem. 1.—On the reading וְרָאִינָה Ct 3¹¹ (for וְרָאִינָה, on the analogy of the reading כְּרָאִינָה &c., § 74 h), see Baer's note on the passage.

3. The shortening of the imperfect (see above, k, and the note on hh) occasions *Q* in *Qal* the following changes:

(a) As a rule the first radical takes a helping *S^gghôl*, or, if the second radical is a guttural, a helping *Pathah* (according to § 28 e). Thus יִגְל for יָגַל; וִיבֹ and he despised, Gn 25³⁴; וִיבֵן and he built; יִשַׁע he looks; וִימַח and he destroyed, Gn 7²³.

(b) The *î* of the preformative is then sometimes lengthened to *ē*, e.g. יִרְא *p* he sees. This, however, mostly happens only after the preformative ת, whilst after ' the homogeneous *î* remains, e.g. וְיִכָּל (but וִיכֹל), וְיִתֵּן (but וִיטֵן), וְיִתְּרֵם (but וִיטְרֵם); with middle guttural וְיִתְּנֵה, וְיִתְּכֵה Jb 17⁷ (from וְיִתְּנֵה). The unusual position of the tone in יִתְּנֵה Ze 9⁵, יִתְּנֵה Mi 7¹⁰ (so Baer and Ginsb.; ed. Mant. יִתְּנֵה, יִתְּנֵה) is best explained (except in יִתְּנֵה Gn 41³³, before פ) on the analogy of קִימָה &c., § 72 s, as due to the following נ. But cf. also hh.

(c) The helping vowel is elsewhere not used under the circumstances mentioned in § 28 d; וִישַׁב Nu 21¹, Jer 41¹⁰, cf. וִיפֹת Jb 31²⁷; on the other hand, with *î* lengthened into *ē* (see p) וִישַׁתּוּ, וִיבִדּוּ, וִינִיחוּ. The form יִרְא he sees, occurs parallel with וִינֵר and he saw (but 3rd fem. always וִינֵרָה), the latter with the original *Pathah* on account of the following ר, and identical with the 3rd sing. masc. of the imperf. consec. *Hiph'il*, 2 K 11⁴.

(d) Examples of verbs *primae gutturalis* (§ 63), and at the same time ל"ה *g*, are וַיַּעַשׂ, in pause וַיַּעַשׂ and he made, from עָשָׂה; וַיַּעֲנֵן and he answered, from עָנָה (always identical with the corresponding forms in *Hiph'il*), וַיַּחֲצֵץ and he divided, from חָצַח. On some similar forms of נ"פ see § 76 d.—In the following cases the initial (hard) guttural does not affect the form: וַיִּתְּרֵם and he was wroth, וַיִּתְּנֵם and he encamped (3rd plur. וַיִּתְּנֵם), וַיִּתְּנֵה (with *Dageš lene* and *S^gghôl*) let it rejoice, Jb 3⁶; cf. Ex 16⁸.—On וַיִּנּוּ, וַיִּנּוּ, וַיִּנּוּ (ל"ה as well as נ"פ), &c., see § 76 b, c, f.

(e) The verbs וַיְחִי to be, and וַיֵּחִי to live, of which the shortened imperfects *S* ought to be *yihy* and *yihy*, change these forms to יְחִי and יְחִי, the second *Fôdh* being resolved into *î* at the end of the word; but in pause (§ 29 n) יְחִי, יְחִי, with the original *â* modified to *S^gghôl* with the tone (cf. also nouns like בָּכִי for *bakhy*, in pause בָּכִי; עָנִי for *ʿany*, &c., § 84^a c, and § 93 x). For וַיִּתְּשִׁי, however, in Dt 32¹⁸, since no verb וַיִּתְּשִׁי exists, we must read either וַיִּתְּשִׁי, or better וַיִּתְּשִׁי (Samaritan וַיִּתְּשִׁי), as imperfect *Qal* of וַיִּתְּשִׁי to forget.—Analogous to יְחִי from וַיְחִי, there occurs once, from וַיְחִי to be, the form יְחִי for יְחִי he will be, Ec 11³, but no doubt וַיְחִי is the right reading.

The full forms (without apocope of the ה, cf. § 49 c) not infrequently *t* occur after *wāw* consecutive, especially in the 1st pers. and in the later books, e.g. וַיִּרְאָה and I saw, twenty times, and Jos 7²¹ in *K^ethibh*, but never in the Pentateuch (וַיִּרְאָה fifteen times, of which three are in the Pent.); also in the

3rd pers. וַיַּעַשׂ Ez 18²⁸, Jb 42¹⁶ *Qere*; וַיַּעַשָּׂ and he made, four times (but וַיַּעַשׂ over 200 times); cf. also Ju 10² (וַתַּעֲשֶׂה); 1 K 10²⁹ (וַתַּעֲשֶׂה); Dt 1¹⁶ (וַיַּעֲצֶה), and Gn 24⁴⁸. So also occasionally for the *jussive*, cf. Gn 1⁹, 41²⁴, Jer 28⁶.—For the well attested, but meaningless הִירָאָה Jb 6²¹ (doubtless caused by the following וַתִּירָאָה), read הִירָאָה *ye see*, with Ginsburg.

4. The original *y* sometimes appears even before affirmatives beginning with a vowel (cf. above, *h* and *l*), especially in and before the *pause*, and before the full plural ending ׀, or where for any reason an emphasis rests on the word. Perfect חָסִרָה ׀ 51², חָסִרָה Dt 32³⁷, cf. ׀ 73² *Qere*; imperative בָּרִי׀ Is 21¹². Imperfect יֵאָחֵז Jb 16²², 30¹⁴ (without the *pause*, ׀ 68²²); יֵשְׁלֵי׀ 122⁶, Jb 12⁶, cf. ׀ 77⁴; יִרְבִּי׀ Dt 8¹³; ׀ 30⁹: more frequently like יִשְׁחַזֵּן ׀ 78⁴⁴; Is 17¹², 21¹², 26¹¹, 31⁸, 33⁷, 41⁵, ׀ 36⁸, 39⁷, 83⁸; before a suffix, Jb 3²⁶. Also in Pr 26⁷ הִלִּי׀, as *perf.* Qal from הָלַךְ, was perhaps originally intended, but hardly הִלִּי, since these full forms, though they may stand out of *pause*, do not begin sentences; הִלִּי probably points to הָלַךְ from הָלַךְ as the right reading, since the sense requires an intransitive verb. Cf. further, *v*, *x*, *ad*, *gg*.

5. The *participle active* (cf. Vollers, 'Das Qatil-Partizipium,' ZA. 1903, p. 312 ff., and on the participles of לָחַץ, *ibid.*, p. 316 ff.), besides feminine forms like עֹלָה Ju 20³¹, &c., רֹאָה Pr 20¹², has also a *feminine* which retains the 3rd radical *y*, viz. בּוֹכָהּ (= בָּכָה) weeping, La 1¹⁶; הִמְלִיָּה tumultuous, Is 22² (*plur.* Pr 1²¹); צוֹפִיָּה spying, Pr 31²⁷, פְּרִיָּה fruitful, ׀ 128⁸, *plur.* אֲתִיּוֹת the things that are to come, Is 41²⁸. With the ordinary strong inflexion *y* appears in עֹטִיָּה Ct 1⁷, but perhaps there also עֹטִיָּה was intended, unless it should be מְעִיָּה a wanderer. For רֹאָנִי Is 47¹⁰, רֹאָנִי is to be read.—On עֹשֶׂה 1 K 20⁴⁰ for עֹשֶׂה, cf. § 116 *g*, note.—In the *participle passive* the 3rd radical still sometimes appears as וּ (§ 24 *b*), cf. עֲשֹׂי made, Jb 41²⁵, צָפֹי Jb 15²², contracted from עֲשׂוּי, צָפֹי; and before a formative ending, it even has its consonantal sound, העֲשׂוּם (read העֲשׂוּם) 2 K 23⁴; עֲשׂוּת (read *asúwôth*) 1 S 25¹⁸ *Kethibh*, נִטּוּת (read *núwôth*) Is 3¹⁶ *Kethibh*. The shortening of the *u* in רִאיוֹת Est 2⁹ is irregular.

6. The defective writing is rare in such forms as וְהִיָּתָה 2 S 15³³; בָּנָתִי 1 K 8⁴⁴, cf. 1 K 9³; וְהָיָהָה Ex 21⁶ (cf. Jer 18²¹, 48⁶, 1 Ch 7¹³, Jb 17⁵, &c.), and the pronunciation הִתְרַאֲיָהּ Mi 7¹⁰, cf. הִתְרַאֲיָהּ Ju 5²⁹ (unless they are *sing.* with *sufl.* of the 3rd *sing. fem.*). Both cases are probably to be explained according to § 20 *i*.

II. On Niph'al.

7. Here the forms with *y* in the 1st and 2nd pers. *sing.* of the *perfect* predominate (*y* only in נִפְּיָה Gn 24⁹); on the other hand in the 1st *plur.* always *y*, as נִפְּיָנוּ 1 S 14⁸. No examples of the 2nd *plur.* occur.—With *y* retained in *pause* נִפְּיָי Nu 24⁶; once with an initial guttural נִפְּיָי Ct 1⁶ for נִפְּיָי, probably arising from the ordinary strong form *niphru*, but the harshness of פ immediately followed by ר is avoided by pronouncing the פ with *Haṭeph-Pathah*.—In the 3rd *sing. fem.* נִשְׁתָּהּ Pr 27¹⁵ (in *pause* for נִשְׁתָּהּ) וּ and ת may be transposed for euphonic reasons; but probably we should simply read נִשְׁתָּהּ.—Among Niph'al forms of לָחַץ must be classed, with Buxtorf and

others (cf. Nöldeke, *ZDMG.* xxx. 185), נִאֲוָה from נִאָוָה, not Pilel of נִאָו = נָאוּ; hence, according to § 23 d, נִאָוּ they are beautiful (for נִאֲוָו) Is 52⁷, Ct 1¹⁰; but in ψ 93⁵, where Baer requires נִאֲוָה, read נִאָוָה with ed. Mant., Ginsb.

8. The *apocope* of the *imperfect* causes no further changes beyond the rejection *y* of the ה, e.g. יָגֵל from יִגְלֶה; in one verb *middle guttural*, however, a form occurs with the *Qames* shortened to *Pathah*, viz. יָפַח (for יִפְחֶה) ψ 109¹³, as in verbs עָע but in *pause* תִּפְחֶה verse 14. Cf. *bb.*—The *infinitive absolute* נִגְלֹת emphasizing an *infinitive construct*, 2 S 6²⁰, is very extraordinary; probably it is a subsequent correction of an erroneous repetition of הַגְלֹת.—The *infm. constr.* לְחַרְאָה occurs in Ju 13²¹, 1 S 3²¹ for לְהִרְאָת; cf. above, *n.*—On the *infinitive Niph'al* with the ה elided, see § 51 l.—The irregular תַּעֲלִי Ez 36³ has probably arisen from a combination of the readings תַּעֲלִי (*Qal*) and תַּעֲלִי (*Niph'al*). Similarly the solecism בְּמִבְּרָה 1 S 15⁹ might be due to a combination of the *participle fem.* *Niph'al* (בְּמִבְּרָה, cf. נִבְרָה, cf. נִבְרָה) with the *Hoph'al* (בְּמִבְּרָה); but it is more correct, with Wellhausen, to explain the ב from a confusion with נָמַס and to read, in fact, בְּנִבְרָה וְנִמְאָסָת.

III. On *Pi'el*, *Pô'el*, *Pu'al*, and *Hithpa'el*.

9. In the 1st and 2nd persons of the *perfect Pi'el* the second syllable in *z* most of the instances has יָ on the analogy of *Qal* (see *f*), as קָיָתִי, דְּפִיָּתִי; always so in the first *plur.*, and before *suffixes*, e.g. דְּפִיָּתִי Gn 37²⁰, דְּפִיָּתִי ψ 44²⁰. The form with יָ is found only in the 1st *sing.* (e.g. Jo 4²¹; Is 5⁴, 8¹⁷ along with the form with י). On the tone of the *perf. consec. Pi'el* of ל"ה, see § 49 k.—*Hithpa'el* has (besides יָ Jer 17¹⁶) as a rule יָ (Pr 24¹⁰, 1 K 2²⁶, Jer 50²⁴). On the other hand, *Pu'al* always has יָ, e.g. יָעִשְׂתִּי ψ 139¹⁵.—A 1st *sing. perfect Pô'el* (שׁוֹשִׁיָתִי = שׁוֹשִׁיָתִי) occurs in Is 10¹³.

10. The *infinitive absolute Pi'el* takes the form קָה, כָּה (like קָטַל, the more *aa* frequent form even in the strong verb, see § 52 o); with *o* only in ψ 40² קָה; with *ôth* Hb 3¹³ עָרִית (cf. above, *n*). On הוֹנֵה and הוֹרֵה, *infinitives absolute* of the passive of *Qal*, not of *Pô'el*, see above, *n.*—As *infinitive construct* חָבִי occurs in *Pi'el*, Ho 6⁹ (only orthographically different from חָבָה, if the text is correct); *Pô'el* Dn 9²⁴ (on the *s* see *rr*); עָרִיתִי 2 Ch 24¹⁰, 31¹, for which in 2 K 13^{17,19}, Ezr 9¹⁴ עָרִיתִי with *infm. abs.*; in *Pu'al* עָנֹת ψ 132¹.

11. The *apocopated imperfect* must (according to § 20 l) lose the *Dageš forte* *bb* of the second radical, hence וַיִּצַּח and he commanded, תַּעַר (for תַּעֲרָה = *te'arre*) ψ 141⁸; cf. Gn 24²⁰; even in the principal pause אֶל־תִּגְלֵל Pr 25⁹; *Hithpa'el* וַיִּתְּחַל and he uncovered himself, Gn 9²¹; תִּתְּרַע Pr 22²⁴; cf. ψ 37^{1,7,8}. With the lengthening of *Pathah* to *Qames*, וַיִּתֵּן and he made marks, 1 S 21¹⁴ (but read with Thenius וַיִּתֵּן, and instead of the meaningless וַיִּשְׁנֵן *ibid.* read וַיִּשָּׁן). In *Hithpa'el* אֶל־תִּתְּרַע, in close connexion, Dt 2^{9,19}; תִּשְׁתַּחֲוֶה Is 41¹⁰; according to Qimhi also יִתְּאָו ψ 45¹², Pr 23^{3,6}, 24¹, 1 Ch 11¹⁷, whilst Baer and Ginsburg read with the best authorities יִתְּאָו (but cf. König, *Lehrgebäude*, i. 597).¹—On יִתְּאָו Jb 15¹⁷ (for יִתְּאָו) cf. § 20 m; on יִתְּאָו Ex 33³, see § 27 q;

¹ In Nu 34^{7 f.}, according to verse 10, יִתְּאָו (= יִתְּאָו) is intended to be read for יִתְּאָו (*imperfect Pi'el* from יִתְּאָו).

on ירד Ju 5¹³, see § 69 g. Finally, on יָלִי, which is referred to *Pi'el* by some, as a supposed *imperative*, see above, u.

- cc 12. Examples of apocopated *imperatives* in *Pi'el* and *Hithpa'el* are: צו, also צִוָּה command thou, פָּל open thou, ψ 119^{18,22}; כֹּן prepare thou, ψ 61⁸; נִם for נִפָּה prove thou, Dn 11²; הִתְחַל feign thyself sick, 2 S 13⁵; cf. Dt 2²⁴.—On רָבָה Ju 9²⁰, cf. § 48 l.—In ψ 137⁷ עָרָה raise it, is found twice instead of עָרָה (for 'arrû) for rhythmical reasons (cf., however, וַיִּעָרָה in the *imperfect*, 2 Ch 24¹¹).
- dd 13. Examples of forms in which the *Yôdh* is retained are the *imperfects* הִתְחַלֵּי Is 40¹³, cf. verse 25 and 46⁵; יִכְסִימוּ they cover them, Ex 15⁵; *participle* פוֹאֵל מִבְּהֵמָה Is 25⁶; for אֲרִיָּה Is 16⁹ (from רָוָה) read with Margolis, אֲרִיָּה.

IV. On *Hiph'il* and *Hoph'al*.

- ee 14. The 3rd *sing. perfect* *Hiph'il* sometimes has *S^gghôl* in the first syllable instead of *i* (§ 53 p), especially in הִנֵּלָה (but *perfect consecutive* וְהִנֵּלָה 2 K 24¹⁴), הִרְאָה, הִלְאָה; also with *suffixes*, e. g. הִנֵּלָם 1 Ch 8⁷, הִלְאָנִי Jb 16⁷, הִרְפָּדָה Ex 21⁸. The *S^gghôl* also occurs in the 1st *sing.*, e. g. הִלְאָתִיךְ Mi 6³. On וְהִרְאִיתִי Na 3⁵, cf. § 53 p. The forms with *ê* in the second syllable (also written defectively, as וְהִרְפִּיתִי Jer 21⁹) are found throughout in the 1st *sing.* (except Pr 5¹³), rarely in the 2nd *sing. masc.*, and never in the 1st *plur.* In the other persons they are about equally common with *i*, except in the 2nd *plur.*, where *i* predominates. Before *suffixes* the forms with *i* predominate throughout; cf., however, *ê* in Ex 4¹², Mi 6³, Pr 4¹¹. On the tone of the *perf. consec. Hiph.* of לָוָה, see § 49 k. In *Hoph'al* only *i* occurs in the 2nd syllable.

- ff 15. In the *infinitive Hiph'il* of רָבָה to be abundant, besides the *construct* הִרְבֹּת we find the *absolute* הִרְבָּה taking the place of the common form הִרְבִּיה, which had come to be used invariably (but König calls attention to its use as *infinitive construct* in Ez 21²⁰) as an adverb, in the sense of *much*; in 2 S 14¹¹ the *Q^{re}* requires הִרְבֹּת for the *K^{ethibh}* הִרְבִּית, an evident scribal error for הִרְבֹּת. Cf. Gn 41⁴⁹, 22¹⁷, Dt 28⁶³; the pointing הִרְבָּה Jer 42² probably arises from regarding this form as a noun.—On הִרְבֹּת Jb 17² (with *Dageš f. dirimens*) see § 20 h.—In 2 K 3²⁴ הִבֹּת (before *א*) is probably *infinitive absolute*, used in order to avoid the hiatus, cf. § 113 x, and on a similar case in *Qal*, see above, n.—On the *infinitives* with elision of the ה, cf. § 53 g.

- gg 16. The *shortened imperfect Hiph'il* either takes no helping vowel, as יַפְתֵּה let him enlarge, Gn 9²⁷; יִרְדֵּה he shall subdue, Is 41²; וַיַּשְׁקֵה and he watered, Gn 29¹⁰, &c.; וַיִּרְאֵה and he showed, 2 K 11⁴ (see § 28 d): or else has a helping vowel, as יִנְלֵה (for יַנְלֵה, see § 27 r), e. g. 2 K 18¹¹; וַיִּפְרֵה ψ 105²⁴; וַיִּתְּמַר Ez 5⁵; וַיִּתְּעַ 2 Ch 33⁹; וַאֲרַב i. e. probably וַאֲרַבָּה Jos 24³ *K^{ethibh}* וַאֲרַבָּה (*Q^{re}*).—Examples of verbs *first guttural*: וַיַּעַל Nu 23², וַאֲעַל, &c., which can be distinguished as *Hiph'il* from the similar forms in *Qal* only by the sense.—The *apocopated imperative Hiph'il* always (except in verbs בִּפְנֵי, e. g. הָרָה, הָטָה, § 76 c) has a helping vowel, *S^gghôl* or *Pathah*, e. g. הִרְבֵּה increase thou (for *harb*, הִרְבָּה) ψ 51⁴ *Q^{re}*, also Ju 20³⁸; where, however, it cannot be explained the text stands; הִרְבֵּה let alone (for הִרְבָּה, הִרְבָּה Dt 9¹⁴, &c.; הִעֵל (for הִעֲלֵה) Ex 8¹, 33¹²; but for הִשְׁעַה ψ 39¹⁴, which could only be *imperative Hiph'il* of שָׁעַע (= smear over, as in Is 61⁰), read with Baethgen שְׁעָה look away.—The *imperfect Hiph'il* with *Yôdh* retained occurs only in וַיִּנְהֵי Jb 19², from יָנָה. Cf. u.

V. In General.

17. In Aramaic the *imperfect* and *participle* of all the conjugations terminate *hh* in $\text{נִּ$ or $\text{מִ$. The Hebrew *infinitives*, *imperatives*, and *imperfects* in $\text{נִ$, less frequently $\text{נִּ$ or $\text{מִ$, may be due to imitation of these forms. On the *infinitive construct* פִּיֵּל פִּיֵּל , see above, aa; *imperative* Qal הִנֵּן Jb 37⁶ (in the sense of *fall*); *imperfect* יִרְאֵה let him look out, Gn 41²³ (but see above, p); יַעֲשֶׂה he will do, Is 64³; אֶל-תִּהְיֶה Jer 17¹⁷; אֶל-תִּבְּנֵה consent thou not, Pr 1¹⁰; אֶל-תַּעֲשֶׂה do thou not, 2 S 13¹² (the same form in Gn 26²⁹, Jos 7⁹, Jer 40¹⁸ Qere); אֶהְיֶה (so Baer and Ginsburg, after cod. Hillel, &c.) I will be, Jer 31¹; וַיַּעֲשֶׂה Jos 9²⁴; תִּרְאֶה Dn 1¹³. Cf. also in *Niphal* יִפְּעֶה Lv 5⁹; תִּפְּנֶה (according to Qimhi) Nu 21²⁷; in *Piel* תִּפְּעֶה Lv 18^{7.8.12-17}, 20¹⁹, in each case לֹא תִפְּעֶה , beside תִּפְּעֶה with a minor distinctive; יִנְּקֶה (Baer יִנְּקֶה) Na 1³; אֶזְרָה Ez 5¹² (with *Zageph*; Baer אֶזְרָה). The fact, however, that a great number of these forms occur in *pause* and represent at the same time a *jussive* or *voluntative* (Jos 7⁹), suggests the view that the *Sere* is used merely to increase the emphasis of the pausal form, and at the same time to make a distinction in sound between the *jussive* or *voluntative* and the ordinary *imperfect*.¹ Elsewhere (Gn 26²⁹, Lv 5⁹, Jer 40¹⁸, Dn 1¹³; according to Baer also Mi 7¹⁰, Zc 9⁹) the pronunciation with *é* is probably intended to soften the hiatus caused by a following נִ or מִ ; cf. the analogous cases above, § 74 l.

The ending נִ appears to stand for $\text{נִּ$ in the *imperfect* Qal in וַתִּנְּשֵׂם ii and there hath she played the harlot, Jer 3⁶; perhaps, however, the 2nd sing. fem. is intended, or it may have been introduced into the text of Jeremiah from Ez 16¹⁵, &c. Still more strange is it in the *imperfect* *Hiph'il* אֶל-תִּמְחִי Jer 15²³; but the *Mil'el*-tone probably points to תִּמְחֵה as the correct reading (cf. Neh 13¹⁴). The נִ stands for $\text{נִּ$ in the *perfect* *Hiph'il* הִחֲלִי he made sick, Is 53¹⁰, which is probably for הִחֲלִי from חָלַה , a secondary form of חָלָה ; see rr. The *plur.* הִמְסִי (Baer הִמְסִי) they made to melt, Jos 14⁸, is a purely Aramaic form.

18. In two verbs the rare conjugation *Pa'el* or its reflexive (§ 55 d) occurs: *kk* מִטְּחִי archers, Gn 21¹⁶ (from מָחָה); but most frequently in שָׂהָה to bend, *Pa'el* שָׂהָה not in use, whence reflexive הִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה to bow oneself, to prostrate oneself, 2nd pers. in יָתֵה and 1st pers. in יִתֵּה , *imperfect* יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה , consecutive 3rd sing. masc. וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוֶה for וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוֶה (analogous to the noun-forms, like שָׁחַו for שָׁחַו); 3rd plur. יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה .—Instead of the aramaizing *infinitive* with suffix $\text{בְּהִשְׁתַּחֲוִיתִי}$ 2 K 5¹⁸ read with König $\text{בְּהִשְׁתַּחֲוִיתִי}$; in Ez 8¹⁶ מִשְׁתַּחֲוִיתִים is still more certainly a scribal error for מִשְׁתַּחֲוִיתִים .

19. Before *suffixes* in all forms ending in ה , a connecting vowel is employed ll instead of the ה and the connecting vowel which precedes it (§ 58 f), e.g. נִחְיִי Gn 24²⁷; in *pause* עֲנִי 1 K 2³⁰, &c., even with lesser disjunctives, וְעִנִּי Pr 8²², or with a conjunctive accent, 1 S 28¹⁵ (but Baer עֲנִי), Jb 30¹⁹; cf. § 59 h; עֲנֶה , in *pause* עֲנֶה , Is 30¹⁹ (and even when not in *pause* Jer 23²⁷) or like נִכְדָּה Dt 32⁶; וַיִּפְּדֶה , וַיִּפְּדֶה Gn 28³; cf. also עֲנֶה , עֲנֶה , *imperfect* יַעֲנֶה , יַעֲנֶה , *Hiph'il* הִפְּנִי , הִפְּנִי .

Only very seldom does the *imperat.* or *impf.* end in נִ before suffixes, e.g. *mm*

¹ Possibly these examples (like the cases of *S^gghāl* in *pause*, see n) represent the view of a particular Masoretic school, which was intended to be consistently carried out.

אָפּאַהָם Dt 32²⁶; וְכַפֵּימִי ψ 140¹⁰ *Q^{re}*; הִכֵּינִי smite me, 1 K 20^{35,37}; cf. Hb 3², Is 38¹⁶. Even in these examples a return to the original ending *ay* might be assumed; but perhaps they are merely due to a less correct *plene* writing. In the 3rd *sing. perf. fem.* the older form נָלַת (see *i*) is always used before a suffix, e. g. בָּלַתָּהּ (for בָּלַתְהוּ) Ze 5⁴; in *pause* עֲשֵׂתִי Jb 33⁴; רָאִיתָ 42⁵.

VI. The Relation between Verbs ל"ה and ל"ה.

nn 20. The close relation existing between verbs ל"ה and ל"ה is shown in Hebrew by the fact that the verbs of one class often borrow forms from the other, especially in the later writers and the poets.

oo 21. Thus there are forms of verbs ל"ה—

(a) Which have adopted the vowels of verbs ל"ה, e. g. *perfect Qal* בָּלַתִּי I have refrained, ψ 119¹⁰¹; *participle* חוֹטֵא (חָטֵא) sinning, Ec 2²⁶, 8¹², 9^{2,18}; cf. Is 65²⁰; מוֹצֵא Ec 7²⁵; נוֹשֵׂא lending, 1 S 22²; *Pi'el perfect* מָלֵא he has filled, Jer 51²⁴; cf. 1 K 9¹¹, Am 4² (where, however, the *perfect Niph.* is perhaps intended), ψ 89¹¹, 143³; רָפֵאתִי I heal, 2 K 22¹; cf. Jer 51⁹; *imperfect* יִרְפֵּא Jb 39²⁴; *Niph'al perfect* נִפְלְאָתָהּ (like נִנְלְתָהּ) it was wonderful, 2 S 1²⁰; *Hiph'il perfect* הִפְלֵאָהּ Dt 28⁵⁹; הִתְהַלְאָתָהּ (not הִתְהַלְתָהּ—, cf. above, 2 S 1²⁰) she hid, Jos 6¹⁷. On the other hand, forms like חָטֵאִים 1 S 14³⁵, קָרָאִים ψ 99⁶, נִרְפָּאוּ Ez 47⁸, תִּרְפְּאוּנִי, according to the correct reading, Jb 19² (cf. Gn 31⁵⁰ אֶחָפְנֶה), and יִרְאֵי *imperative plur. masc.* from יִירָא Jos 24¹⁴, 1 S 12²⁴, ψ 34¹⁰, are due to the elision of the *א*, see § 74 *i*. On יִנְשֵׂאִי Jer 10⁵ and נִשְׂאוּ 139²⁰, see § 23 *i*.

pp (b) Forms in ה, but keeping their ל"ה vowels, e. g. *imperfect Qal* אֲרַפֶּה Jer 32²; *imperative* רַפֵּה heal thou, ψ 60⁴; *Niph'al* נִחַבְהָ Jer 49¹⁰ (which must evidently be a *perfect*; read with Ewald the *infinitive absolute* נִחַבְהָ as in verse 23), and הִחַבְהָ to hide oneself, 1 K 22²⁵, cf. Jer 19¹¹; *Pi'el imperfect* יִמְלֵא he will fill, Jb 8²¹.

qq (c) Forms entirely of a ל"ה character, e. g. *perfect Qal* וַצִּמְתָּ and when thou art athirst, Ru 2⁹, cf. 2 S 3⁸; כָּלוּ they shut up, 1 S 6¹⁰; cf. 25³³; מָלוּ they are full, Ez 28¹⁶, cf. 39²⁶; *infinitive* חָטוּ (see above, *n*) to sin, Gn 20⁶ (on מָלֵאת see above, § 74 *h*); *imperative sing. fem.* חֲבִי Is 26²⁰; *imperfect* יִכְלֶה (for יִכְלֵא) he will keep back, Gn 23⁶; תִּרְפְּינָהּ they heal, Jb 5¹⁸; *participle* בּוֹטֵה Pr 12¹⁸; *fem.* יָצָא Ec 10⁵; *plur.* צָלִיָּה Is 29⁷; *participle passive* נִשְׁנִי ψ 32¹; *Niph'al* נִרְפְּתָהּ Jer 51⁹; נִבִּיתָ thou hast prophesied, Jer 26⁹ (cf. ψ 139¹⁴, Jb 18³); *imperfect* יִנְרַבּוּ 2 K 22²³ (*infinitive* Jer 19¹¹); *Pi'el imperfect* יִוִּרְפּוּ Jer 8¹¹, cf. Gn 31³⁹; *Hiph'il participle* מִקְנֶה Ez 8³; *Hithpa'el* הִתְנַבְּיָהּ 1 S 10⁶; *infinitive* הִתְנַבּוּת 1 S 10¹³. For the *Kethibh* לְהִשְׁאוֹת 2 K 16²⁵, Jablonski and others require as *Q^{re}* the form לְהִשְׁאוֹת (so Is 37²⁶); the *Kethibh* would have to be read לְהִשְׁאוֹת, with elision of the *א* and retraction of the vowel.

rr 22. On the other hand, there are forms of verbs ל"ה, which wholly or in part follow the analogy of verbs ל"ה, e. g. in their consonants אָתָּא he comes, Is 21¹²; בָּרָא 2 S 12¹⁷ (*textus receptus* בָּרָה); וִרְצֵאתִי Ez 43²⁷; יִשְׁנֵא Jb 8¹¹; יִשְׁנֵא La 4¹; וַיִּחַלֵּא 2 Ch 16¹²; תִּקְרָאנָה Ex 1¹⁰, Lv 10¹⁹; תִּלְאִים Dt 28⁶⁶ (cf. Ho 11⁷); נִקְרָא (*infin. absol. Niph'al* beside נִקְרִיתִי) 2 S 1⁶; שָׁנָא 2 K 25²⁰; מִרְפָּא

Jer 38⁴; יִשְׁנָא Ec 8¹: in their vowels, אָתַנְנִי Jer 3²²; יָקְרָה Dn 10¹⁴; תִּכְלֶה לִירוֹא 1 K 17¹⁴: in both, יָקְרָא Gn 40¹; cf. 42⁴, Is 51¹⁹; הִלְאָאִים 2 S 21¹² *Qéré*; וִירָא הַמּוֹרָאִים 2 Ch 26¹⁵ (cf. וִירָא הַמּוֹרָאִים 2 S 11²⁴ *Kethibh*); מִרְאָה (*participle fem. Qal*) Zp 3¹; וִירָא Ho 13¹⁵; מִסְלָאִים La 4².—For פִּרְאוֹת (so Baer, Ez 17⁶, cf. 31⁸), which can only be intended for פִּרְאוֹת *participle fem. plur.* from פָּרָה = פָּרָה, read פִּירוֹת *branches*, according to Ez 31⁶; &c.

§ 76. Verbs Doubly Weak.

1. In a tolerably large number of verbs two radicals are weak *a* letters, and are consequently affected by one or other of the anomalies already described. In cases where two anomalies might occur, usage must teach whether one, or both, or neither of them, takes effect.

Thus e.g. from נָדַר *to flee*, the *imperfect* is יִדֹּר in Na 3⁷ and יָדַר in Gn 31⁴⁰ (on the analogy of verbs פִּיץ); *Hiph'il* הִדָּר (like a verb עָוַע), but the *imperfect Hoph'al* again יִדַּר (as פִּיץ).

2. The following are examples of difficult forms, which are derived *b* from doubly weak verbs:

(a) Verbs פִּיץ and לִיָּא (cf. § 66 and § 74), e.g. נָשָׂא *to bear*, imperative שֵׂא (*ψ* 10¹² נָשָׂא, of which נָשָׂא *ψ* 4⁷ is probably only an orthographic variation); *infinitive construct* שֵׂאֵת (for שֵׂאֵת; see the analogous noun-formations in § 93 t), also נָשָׂא Is 1¹⁴, 15³; Gn 4¹³ נָשָׂא; *ψ* 89¹⁰ שֵׂא (perhaps only a scribal error); after the *prefix* ל always לִשְׂאֵת (otherwise the contracted form only occurs in מִשְׁתֵּי Jb 41¹⁷, with rejection of the ל); *imperfect* תִּשְׂנֶה for תִּשְׁנֶה Ru 1¹⁴; wholly irregular are תִּשְׁאֵינָה Ez 23⁴⁹ (so Baer after Qimhi; *textus receptus*, and also the Mantua ed., and Ginsburg, תִּשְׁאֵינָה) and נִשְׂאָת 2 S 19⁴³ as *infinitive absolute Niph'al* (on the analogy of the *infinitive construct Qal*?); but most probably נָשָׂא is to be read, with Driver.

(b) Verbs פִּיץ and לִיָּא (cf. § 66 and § 75), as נָטָה *to bow, to incline*, נָטָה *C* smite. Hence *imperfect Qal* יָטָה, *apocopated* וָיַט (Gn 26²⁵ וָיַט) and he bowed; וָיַט (so, probably, also Is 63³ for וָיַט) 2 K 9³³ and he sprinkled (from נָטָה); *perfect Hiph'il* הִכָּה he smote, *imperfect* יִכָּה, *apocopated* יָכָה, יָכָה (even with *Athnah* 2 K 15¹⁶; but also ten times וָיַכָּה, וָיַכָּה Dt 2³³; so also וָיַכָּה Lv 8^{11,30}; וָיַכָּה 141⁴ (cf. Jb 23¹¹); *imperative* הִכָּה, *apocopated* הָכָה smite thou (like הִט incline, with הִטָּה), *infinitive* הִכּוֹת, *participle* מִכָּה; *Hoph'al* הִכָּה, *participle* מִכָּה.

(c) Verbs פִּיץ and לִיָּא (cf. § 68 and § 75), as אָכָה *to be willing*, אָכָה *to bake*, אָתָה *to come*. E.g. *imperfect Qal* יָאָכָה, יָאָכָה, *plur.* יֵאָכְּפוּ (cf. § 68 h) Dt 33²¹ for יֵאָכְּפוּ (= יֵאָכְּפוּ); *imperfect apocopated* וָיָאָח Is 41²⁵ for וָיָאָח; *imperative* אָתְּיִי Is 21¹², 56^{9,12} (cf. אָתְּיִי bake ye, Ex 16²³) for אָתְּיִי (§ 23 h; § 75 u); *Hiph'il* *perfect* הִתְּיִי הִתְּיִי (הִתְּיִי) Is 21¹⁴; *imperfect apocopated* וָיָאָל and he adjured, 1 S 14²⁴, properly יָאָלָה (יָאָלָה) from אָלָה, whence יָאָלָה, and, with the obscuring to *o*, יָאָלָה; instead of the simple *apocope* (יָאָל) the ל which had already become

quiescent, is made audible again by the helping *S^eghôl* (unless perhaps there is a confusion with the *imperfect consecutive Hiph'il* of יָאֵל).

c (d) Verbs פָּ"ו and לָ"א (cf. § 69, § 70, and § 74), as יָצָא to go forth, imperative יֵצֵא go forth, with הַ—paragogic יָצָאָה Ju 9²⁰ in principal pause for יָצָאָה; 2nd fem. plur. יָצָאָה Ct 3¹¹; infinitive יָצָאת; *Hiph'il* הוֹצִיא to bring forth.—יָרָא to fear, imperfect יִירָא and יִירָאָה (or יִירָאָה), imperative יִירָא; imperfect *Niph'al* יִירָאָה ψ 130^c, participle יֹרֵא.

f (e) Verbs פָּ"י and לָ"ה (cf. § 69, § 70, and § 75), e.g. יָרָה to throw, *Hiph'il* to confess, to praise, and יָרָה to throw (both properly verbs פָּ"י), and יָפָה to be beautiful. Infinitive יָרָה, יָרֹת; imperative יָרָה; imperfect consecutive יוֹרֵה Ez 31⁷ (cf. also יוֹרֵיפִי 16¹³); with suffixes וַיִּרְיָם we have shot at them (from יָרָה) Nu 21³⁰; perhaps, however, it should be read with the LXX וַיִּרְיָם and their race (also in the very corrupt passage ψ 74⁸ נִינִם is probably a substantive, and not the imperfect *Qal* with suffix from יָרָה); *Piel* וַיִּרְדּוּ וַיִּרְדּוּ (ψ 69 u). *Hiph'il* הוֹרָה, הוֹרָה; infinitive הוֹרָה (as infinitive absolute 2 Ch 7⁸); imperfect יוֹרָה, cf. אֶל־הַנָּהוּ Jer 22³; apocopated וַיִּירָה 2 K 13¹⁷.

sg (f) Verbs פָּ"ו and לָ"א, particularly בֹּא to come. Perfect בָּאָה, בָּאָה, or בָּאָה (Gn 16⁸, 2 S 14³, Mi 4¹⁰; cf. § 75 m), once בָּאָהוּ 1 S 25⁸; for בָּאוּ Jer 27¹⁸, which is apparently the perfect, read יָבֹאוּ. In the imperfect *Qal* the separating vowel occurs בָּאָהִי instead of the more common בָּאָהִי, cf. also בָּאָהִי Gn 30³⁸ only in Jer 9¹⁶, ψ 45¹⁶, and 1 S 10⁷ K^{thibh}.

h For וַתְּבֹאָהוּ 1 S 25³⁴ Q^{re} (the K^{thibh} ותבאתי evidently combines the two readings וַתְּבֹאָהוּ and וַתְּבֹאָה; cf. Nestle, ZAW. xiv. 319), read וַתְּבֹאָה; on the impossible forms Dt 33¹⁶ and Jb 22²¹ cf. § 48 d.—In the perfect *Hiph'il* הִבִּיאָה, הִבִּיאָה and (only before a suffix) הִבִּיאָהִי; the latter form is also certainly intended in Nu 14³¹, where the Masora requires וַהֲבִיאָהִי, cf. 2 K 9², 19²⁵, Is 43²³, Jer 25¹³, Ct 3⁴. Before suffixes the *e* of the first syllable in the 3rd sing. always becomes *Haṭeph-S^eghôl*, e.g. הִבִּיאָהִי, הִבִּיאָהִי; elsewhere invariably *Haṭeph-Patah*, e.g. הִבִּיאָהִי or הִבִּיאָהִי. On the other hand, *e* is retained in the secondary tone in the perfect consecutive when without suffixes, e.g. וַהֲבִיאָהִי. Cf. moreover, וַהֲקִיָּאָהוּ (וַהֲקִיָּאָהוּ in Opius and Hahn is altogether incorrect), Pr 25¹⁶, from קִיא; but קִיא spue ye, Jer 25²⁷ (perhaps only a mistake for קִיא), is not to be referred to קִיא but to a secondary stem קִיא. In the imperfect וַתְּקִיא is found once, Lv 18²⁵, besides וַתְּקִיא (analogous to וַתְּקִיא).—On אָבִי (for אָבִיא) (יָנִי, מִבִּי, אָבִי), see § 74 k.

i (g) The form הָיִי to live, in the perfect *Qal*, besides the ordinary development to הָיָה (fem. הָיָה), is also treated as a verb פָּ"ע, and then becomes הָיִי in the 3rd pers. perfect, in pause הָיִי, and with *wāw* consecutive וַהֲיִי Gn 3²², and frequently. In Lv 25³⁸ the contracted form הָיִי is perhaps st. constr. of הָיִי life, but in any case read וַהֲיִי perfect consecutive as in verse 35. The form הָיִי occurs in Ex 1¹⁸ in pause for הָיָה (3rd fem.) with *Dageš* omitted in the ' on account of the pausal lengthening of *ä* to *ā*.

§ 77. *Relation of the Weak Verbs to one another.*

The close relation which exists between some classes of the weak *a* verbs (e.g. between פ"ו and פ"י, ל"ה and ל"ה, ע"ע and ע"י, ע"ה and ע"ה) appears not only in their similarity or identity of inflexion, or their mutual interchange of certain forms, but especially from the fact that frequently the same root (*radix bilittera*, see § 30 g) recurs in various weak stems of similar meaning. The meaning accordingly is inherent in the two constant root-consonants, while the third consonant, which is weak (and the particular class of weak verbs with it), does not establish any difference in the meaning. Thus from the root נך there occur with the same meaning נָכַח, דָּכָא, דִּיחַ, to *strike, to crush*; and from the root נר there are נִיר, נָרַר, נָרַה to *flee*.

In this manner the following classes are related in form and *b* meaning:

1. Verbs ע"י and ע"ע in which the first and third consonants are the same in both, as being essential to the meaning; e.g. מָוַךְ and מָכַךְ to *become poor*; מָשַׁשׁ and מָשַׁשׁ to *feel*; נָרַר and נָרַר to *flee*.
2. Verbs פ"י and פ"י; e.g. יָצַב and יָצַב to *place*, יָקַשׁ and יָקַשׁ (*yāqōš*) to *lay snares*. Moreover, stems belonging to the classes mentioned in 1 (especially ע"י) are frequently related also to verbs פ"י and פ"י, e.g. יָרַח and יָרַח to *fear*; יָטַב and יָטַב to *be good*; נָפַח and נָפַח to *blow*; נָפַץ and נָפַץ to *dash to pieces*. Verbs פ"ה are less frequently connected with these classes, e.g. אָדַשׁ and אָדַשׁ to *thresh*, &c.
3. Verbs ל"ה and ל"ה (in which the first two consonants form the real *d* body of the stem) are sometimes related to each other, and sometimes to the above classes. To each other, in דָּכָא and דָּכָה to *crush*, קָרַא and קָרַה to *meet* (cf. § 75 *nm*); to verbs of the other classes, in מָצַח and מָצַח to *suck*, דָּחַה and דָּחַח to *thrust*, &c.
4. Verbs ע"ה and ל"ה, on which cf. Grimm, *Journal of Bibl. Lit.*, 1903, p. 196; e.g. אָנַח and אָנַח to *sigh*, דָּמַח and דָּמַח to *be quiet*, הָנַח and הָנַח to *incline*, בָּלַח and בָּלַח to *end*, קָלַח and קָלַח to *despise*, שָׁנַח and שָׁנַח to *err*, שָׁחַח and שָׁחַח to *bend down*, שָׁסַח and שָׁסַח to *plunder*.
5. Verbs ע"י and ע"ה; e.g. מָחַל and מָחַל (New Hebrew; in O. T. only מָחַל *f* Is 1²²) to *circumcise*, מָחַר and מָחַר to *exchange*, נָחַר (in מְנוּחָה a *light*) and נָחַר to *shine*; cf. also לְהַחֲסִים *secret arts*, Ex 7¹¹ with לָחַח *secret*, from לָחַח.

§ 78. *Verba Defectiva.*

It often happens, when two kindred weak verbs are in use with *a* the same meaning, that both are *defective*, i.e. do not occur in all the forms. Since, however, those tenses and forms which are not in use in the one verb are generally supplied by the other, they mutually complete one another, and thus form together, as it were, an entire

verb, as in Greek *ἐρχομαι*, aor. *ἦλθον*, fut. *ἐλεύσομαι*, and in Latin *fero*, *tuli*, *latum*, *ferre*, &c., but with this difference, that in Hebrew the roots of these verbs are almost always closely related.

b The most common verbs of this kind are—

בשׁ *to be ashamed*. *Hiph'il* **הִבִּישׁ** (inferred from **הִבִּישׁוֹתָ**), but also **הִבִּישׁ**, **הוֹבִישׁ**, as if from **יִבֵּשׁ**, on the analogy of verbs **פָּזַע**; also in Is 30⁵ the *Q'el* requires **הִבִּישׁ**, where the *Kethibh* has **הִבְאִישׁ** from **בָּאֵשׁ**.

טוב *to be good*. Perfect **טוֹב**; but *imperfect* **יִטַּב** and *Hiph'il* **הִיטִיב** from **יָטַב** (but cf. **הִטִּיבְתָּ** 2 K 10³⁰).

יָנַח *to be afraid*. *Imperfect* **יִנָּח** (from **נָח**).

יָקַץ *to awake*, only in the *imperf.* **יִקַּץ**; for the *perfect*, the *Hiph'il* **הִקְיִץ** is used (from **קָץ**).

נָפַץ *to break in pieces*. *Imperfect* **יִפְּץ** (from **פָּץ**). *Imperative* **פֹּצֵץ**. *Niph'al* **נִפְּץ**. *P'el* **נִפְּץ** (from **פָּץ**). *P'el* **פֹּצֵץ** (from **פָּץ**). *Reflexive* **הִתְפֹּצֵץ**. *Hiph'il* **הִפְּץ**. Also **פִּצְּץ** Jb 16¹².

נָצַב (*Qal* in post-biblical Hebrew, in Aramaic and Arabic) *to place*, whence (possibly) *Niph'al* **נִצַּב** and *Hiph'il* **הִצִּיב** (see above, § 71); but *Hithpa'el* **הִתְנַצַּב**. **שָׁתָה** *to drink*, used in *Qal*; but in *Hiph.* **הִשְׁתָּה** *to give to drink*, from a *Qal* **שָׁתָה** which is not used in Hebrew.

On **הָלַךְ** *to go*, see above, § 69 x.

c Rem. 1. To the same category belong also, to a certain extent, those cases where the *tenses* or *moods* not in use in one conjugation, are supplied by forms having the same meaning in other conjugations of the same verb. Thus:

יָסַף *to add*. The *infinitive* (but cf. § 69 h, note) and *imperfect*, unused in *Qal*, are supplied by the *Hiph'il* **הוֹסִיף**, **הוֹסִיפָה** (on **יִסְּף** as *imperfect indicative*, see § 109 d, cf. also § 109 i).

כָּשַׁל *to stumble*. Perfect from *Qal*, *imperfect* from *Niph'al*.

נָגַשׁ *to approach*, unused in *perf.* *Qal*, instead of which *Niph'al* **נִגַּשׁ** is used; but *imperfect* **יִגַּשׁ**, *imperative* **נִגַּשׁ**, and *infinitive* **נִגְשָׁתָה** from *Qal* only are in use.

נָחָה *to lead*. Perfect usually **נָחָה** in *Qal*, so *imperative* **נָחָה**, but *imperfect* and *infinitive* always in *Hiph'il*.

נָתַךְ *to be poured out*. Perfect *Niph'al* **נִתְּךְ** with *imperfect* *Qal* **יִתְּךְ**, but the *perfect* *Qal* and *imperfect* *Niph'al* are not in use.

2. The early grammarians often speak of *mixed forms* (*formae mixtae*), i. e. forms which unite the supposed character and meaning of two different tenses, genders, or conjugations. Most of the examples adduced are at once set aside by accurate grammatical analysis; some others appear to have arisen from misapprehension and inaccuracy, especially from erroneous views of unusual *plene* forms. Others, again, are either merely wrong readings or represent an intentional conflation of two different readings.

CHAPTER III

THE NOUN

§ 79. General View.

For the literature, see De Lagarde, *Uebersicht über die im Aram., Arab. und Hebr. übliche Bildung der Nomina*, Göttingen, 1889; Index and Additions, 1891; J. Barth, *Die Nominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen*, first half, *Simple nouns*, Leipzig, 1889; second half, *Nouns with external additions*, 1891; second edition, with indices of words and subjects, 1894; E. König, *Historisch-kritisches Lehrgebäude*, &c., ii. 1, Leipzig, 1895, see above, § 3 f.—Of these three important works the first two especially have given rise to various articles. In support of De Lagarde: Hommel in *ZDMG.* xliv, p. 535 ff. (against De Lagarde and Hommel: Barth, *ibid.*, p. 679 ff.), and dealing with the Index, *ZDMG.* xlv, p. 340 ff.—Against Barth (though with many points of agreement): Philippi in the *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie*, 1890, p. 344 ff. (answered by Barth in *ZDMG.* xlv, p. 692 ff.), and *ZDMG.* xlv, p. 149 ff. (answered again by Barth, *ibid.*, xlviii, p. 10 ff.), also in the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, ii (1892), p. 359 ff. 'Die semitische Verbal- und Nominalbildung,' and lastly, in *ZDMG.* xlix, p. 187 ff.—Cf. also A. Müller, 'Semitische Nomina. Bemerkungen zu de Lagarde und Barth,' *ZDMG.* xlv, p. 221 ff.—The main points at issue in the works of De Lagarde and Barth are indicated below, § 83 d.—Brockelmann, *Semit. Sprachwiss.*, p. 104 ff.; *Grundriss*, p. 329 ff.

1. Since, according to § 30 a, most word-stems are developed into *a* verbal stems as well as into noun-stems, it has become customary (especially in the Lexicon) to refer the noun to the most simple ground-form of the verbal formation, viz. the 3rd pers. sing. perfect *Qal*, and, as it were, to derive it from that form. This is usual, not only in those noun-stems which can be directly connected with a corresponding verbal stem (*Nomina verbalia* or *derivativa*, § 83 f.), but also with *Nomina primitiva*, i. e. those of which no verbal stem is now found in Hebrew (see § 82), as well as finally with *Nomina denominativa*, which have evidently been derived from other nouns (§ 86).

The adjective agrees in form entirely with the substantive. On the formation of adjectival ideas by giving to abstracts a concrete sense, see § 83 c.

2. A special inflexion of the noun to express the various cases does *b* not exist in Hebrew; only a few ancient and almost extinct traces of case-endings have survived (§ 90). The syntactical relation of a noun can therefore in general only be inferred from its position in the sentence, or from its being joined to prepositions. In either case, the form of the noun undergoes no change (except for the *construct*

state, § 89), and the representation of case-relations belongs therefore almost exclusively to the syntax (§ 117 ff.). The comparative and superlative of adjectives also can be expressed only by a syntactical combination (§ 133). On the other hand, several changes in the forms of nouns are occasioned by the additions of the plural, dual, and feminine terminations, as well as of the pronominal suffixes, and also by the close connexion of two nouns, by means of the *construct state*.¹

§ 80. The Indication of Gender in Nouns.

Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, p. 404 ff.; 'Ueber die Femininendung *at, ah, ā*' in *Semit. Sprachwiss.*, p. 106 f.; *Grundriss*, pp. 105, 405 ff.; 'Die Femininendung *T* im Semit.' (*Sitzung d. orient.-sprachwiss. Sektion d. schlesischen Gesellschaft*, Feb. 26, 1903); against him J. Barth, *ZDMG.* 1903, p. 628 ff.; Brockelmann's reply, *ibid.*, p. 795 ff.; and Barth again, *ibid.*, p. 798 ff.

a 1. The Hebrew, like all Semitic languages, recognizes only two genders in the noun, a *masculine* and a *feminine*. Inanimate objects and abstract ideas, which other languages sometimes indicate by the *neuter*, are regarded in Hebrew either as masculine or feminine, more often the latter (see the Syntax, § 122 g).

b 2. The *masculine*, as being the more common and important gender, has no special indication.

Feminine nouns are also without an indication of gender when the meaning of the word naturally denotes a feminine, as אִמָּה *mother*, אֶתָּה *a she-ass*, יֵזָה *a she-goat*, רֵחַל *an ewe* (cf. § 122 b). As a rule, however, the *feminine* had originally the ending תָּ, as in the 3rd *sing. perfect* of verbs (§ 44 a). This תָּ, however, is regularly retained in Hebrew only in close connexion with a following genitive or suffix (cf. § 89 c and § 91 a), except where the form has arisen through the addition of a simple תָּ² (see below, d). Otherwise, the feminine ending of the independent form (the *absolute state*, § 89 a) is—

c (a) Most commonly a tone-bearing תָּ, e.g. סוּסִים *equus*, עֻקָּה *equa*. Of nouns ending in תָּ, like עֶבְרִי, the feminine (by § 24 b) is עֵבְרִיָּה, cf. § 86 h. As in the 3rd *sing. fem. perfect* (קָטְלָה, &c.), this תָּ seems to have arisen by the rejection of the final ת, and the lengthening of the *ā* in the open syllable, whereupon the ת was added as an orthographic indication of the final long vowel: cf. the exactly similar origin of such forms as נָלָה for נָלִי, § 75 c. It must, however, be

¹ To speak of these changes as a declension of the Hebrew noun, as is usually done, is accordingly incorrect.

² In Mal 1:14 מִשְׁחָתָהּ (so e.g. ed. Mant.) would stand for מִשְׁחָתָהּ, the ptep. fem. Hoph'al; but מִשְׁחָתָהּ (so Baer and Ginsb.) is also supported by good authority.

noticed that in Arabic (see *m* and note) the pausal form of *at* is *ah*, of which a trace may be preserved in the Hebrew אֵה .

(b) Simple ת with nouns ending in a vowel, e.g. יְהוּדִי *Jew*, יְהוּדִית *d Jewess*. The same ending ת is very frequently added to stems ending in a consonant, but only (except before suffixes) by means of a helping vowel, which, as a rule, is *Seghol*, but after gutturals *Pathah*, e.g. קָטַל , *fem.* קָטַלְתָּ , *killing*; before suffixes, e.g. קָטַלְתִּי , according to the rule given in § 69 c, cf. also § 84^a s; מוֹדַעַת *an acquaintance, fem.* מוֹדַעַת . The forms which arise in this way follow in every respect the analogy of the *segholate* forms (§ 94 f). The forms which have been developed by means of a helping vowel are retained even in the connective form (*construct state*); except וְיָלְדָה (for וְיָלְדָה , which is used elsewhere) Gn 16¹¹, Ju 13^{5,7}; cf. Jer 22²³ and 51¹³ *Qerê*, also מְשַׁרְתָּ 1 K 1¹⁵, *participle fem.* *Pi'el*, properly *mēšāratt*= מְשַׁרְתָּת ; also מְבַעֲרָה (*participle fem.* *Pi'el* with suffix) arises from the form מְבַעֲרָה which was developed into מְבַעֲרָת .

Rem. 1. The fem. form in תְּ is in general less frequent, and occurs *el* almost exclusively when the form in תָּ is also in use. It is only in the participles and infinitives that it is the commoner, e.g. קָטַלְתָּ more common than קָטַלְתָּ , לָדַתְּ than לָדַתְּ .

2. Rarer feminine endings are—(a) תְּ with the tone, e.g. בְּרָקֶתְּ *emerald*, *f* Ez 28¹³ (also בְּרָקֶתְּ Ex 28¹⁷); שְׂפָעֶתְּ *a company*, 2 K 9¹⁷, unless the reading is wrong; more frequently in proper names, especially of places among the Canaanites or Phoenicians (in whose language תְּ was the usual fem. ending, § 2 d) and other neighbouring tribes,¹ e.g. צָרְפָתְּ *Zarephath*,¹ גִּבְעָתְּ *Gibeath*, קִרְיָתְּ *Kiriath*, אֵילָת *Greek Ailana* in Idumea; אֶחָזְתְּ Gn 26²⁶: on the reading גִּלְיָתְּ cf. g. Cf., moreover, נְגִינָתְּ ψ 61¹ (prob. originally נְגִינָתְּ); חַיִּיתְּ (LXX חַיִּית) 74^{19a}; פִּנְגָתְּ La 2¹⁸; [רַבָּתְּ *much*, in ψ 65¹⁰, 120⁶, 123⁴, 129^{1,2}, is a form borrowed from the Aramaic (Syriac *rabbath*) in which the original *t* of the fem. is often retained to form adverbs, see Wright, *Comparative Grammar*, p. 135.]

(b) תְּ , which likewise occurs in some names of places, e.g. בְּעֵלְתְּ , הֶלְקֶתְּ , *g* as well as in the masc. proper name גִּלְיָתְּ 1 S 17⁴, &c. (in 17²³, and 21¹⁰, ed. Mant. has גִּלְיָתְּ), and in the fem. proper name שְׂמִיעָתְּ ; otherwise, almost only in poetry, viz. וְמִרְתְּ Ex 15², Is 12², ψ 118¹⁴ (really for וְמִרְתִּי *my song*; the absorption of the *i*, however, can scarcely have 'taken place in the Aramaic manner', as suggested by Duhm on Is 12², nor is it due merely to the following *Yôdh*, but is intended 'to facilitate the absorption of יָהּ '; so Geiger, *Urschrift*, p. 277 f.); נַחֲלָתְּ *heritage*, ψ 16⁶ (either again for נַחֲלָתִי *my heritage*, or for נַחֲלָתָהּ , cf. § 90 g, as probably also עֲזָרָתְּ *help*, ψ 60¹³, 108¹³ for עֲזָרָתָהּ). These forms are possibly

¹ In the list of Palestinian towns taken by Pharaoh Shoshenq, the feminine town-names all end in *t*. Cf. also the Mēša' inscription, line 3, הַבְּמָתָה זֹאת *this high place*; line 26, הַמַּסְלָה *the highway* [see also Driver, *Tenses*, § 181, note].

survivals from a period when even final vowels were not supported by a vowel-letter. Cf. also פֶּרֶת *fecunda* (a fruitful tree) Gn 49²²; יְתֵרֶת *abundance*, Jer 45³⁶ (before *u*; but in Is 15⁷ יְתֵרָה); שָׁנֶת *sleep* (for שָׁנָה) ψ 132⁴; and (unless the ה is radical) in prose קָצַת *pelican* (which reading is also preferable, in Is 34¹¹, to the form קָצַת), also מָחָרֶת *the morrow*, but in *construct state* always מִמָּחָרֶת. — הַתְּלִיָּה Jer 45²⁵ *Qeri* is no doubt intended to indicate the reading הַתְּלִיָּה, parallel to מְשֻׁשִׁי; cf. above, on וְמָרָה, &c.

h (c) הָ, the Aramaic orthography for הֶ, chiefly in the later writers; לֹאֲחִי *loathing*, Nu 11²⁰; חֲזָא *a terror*, Is 19¹⁷; שָׁנָא *sleep*, ψ 127²; לִבְיָא *a lioness*, Ez 16² (unless לִבְיָא is intended); מַסְרָא *a mark*, La 3¹²; cf. also דִּשְׁרָא *threshing* (participle *Qal* from דָּשָׁן) Jer 50¹¹; מָרָא *bitter*, Ru 1²⁰. On the other hand, according to the western Masora, קָרְחָא *baldness* is to be read in Ez 27³¹; see Baer on the passage.

i (d) הֶ, an obtuse form of הָ (§ 27 *u*), only in הַיְיִרָה for הַיְיִרָה Is 59⁵ (unless it is again a *forma mixta* combining the active *ptcp. masc.* הַיְיִרָה and the passive *ptcp. fem.* הַיְיִרָה); cf. לָנָה for לָנָה Ze 5⁴; אָנָה I K 2^{36 42} (§ 90 *i*, and § 48 *d*).

k (e) הֶ, without the tone, e.g. רִחֵמָה Dt 14¹⁷ [Lv 11¹⁸ רָחַם]; בִּעֲרָה *an oven heated*, Ho 7⁴; cf. Ez. 40¹⁹, 2 K 15²⁹, 16¹⁸. In all these examples the usual tone-bearing הָ is perhaps intended, but the Punctuators, who considered the feminine ending inappropriate, produced a kind of *locative* form (see § 90 *c*) by the retraction of the tone. [In 2 K 16¹⁸, Is 24¹⁹, Ez 21³¹ (note in each case the following הֶ), and in Jb 42¹⁸, Ho 7⁴, the text is probably in error.]

l (f) הֶ, as an old feminine termination, preserved also in Syriac (*ai*; see examples in Nöldeke's *Syrische Gram.*, § 83), in Arabic and (contracted to *ē*) in Ethiopic, very probably occurs in the proper name שָׂרָי *Sarat*, cf. Nöldeke, ZDMG. xl. 183, and xlii. 484; also עֶשְׂרָה *ten* (*fem.*) undoubtedly arises from an original 'esray; so Wright, *Comparative Grammar*, p. 138; König, *Lehrgebäude*, ii. 427.

m 3. It is wholly incorrect to regard the vowel-ending הֶ² as the original termination of the feminine, and the consonantal ending הֶ as derived from it. The Ethiopic still has the ה throughout, so too the Assyrian (*at, it*); in Phoenician also the feminines end for the most part in ה, which is pronounced *at* in the words found in Greek and Latin authors; less frequently in נ (see Gesenius, *Monum. Phoen.*, pp. 439, 440; Schröder, *Phön. Sprache*, p. 169 ff.). The ancient Arabic has the obtuse ending (*ah*) almost exclusively in *pause*; in modern Arabic the relation between the two endings is very much as in Hebrew.

¹ In I S 2c²⁷ also, where the Masora (see Baer on Jos 5¹¹) for some unknown reason requires מִמָּחָרֶת, read with ed. Mant., Jablonski, Opatius, and Ginsburg, מִמָּחָרֶת.

² In this ending the ה *h* can only be considered consonantal in the sense that the ה was originally aspirated, and afterwards 'the mute ה was dropped before *h*, just as the old Persian *mīthra* became in modern Persian *mīhr*'; so Socin, who also points to the Arabic pausal form in *ah*, and observes that among some of the modern Beduin an *h* is still heard as a *fem. ending*, cf. Socin, *Divan aus Centralarabien*, iii. 98, ed. by H. Stumme, Lpz. 1901. In Hebrew this consonantal termination was entirely abandoned, at any rate in later times.

§ 81. Derivation of Nouns.

Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, p. 329 ff.

Nouns are by their derivation either *primitive*, i. e. cannot be *a* referred to any verbal stem at present extant (see § 82), such as אב *father*, אם *mother* (but see both words in the Lexicon; according to Stade and others אב, אם, &c., are children's words and terms of endearment, and so really primitive nouns), or *derivative*, i. e. either *Derivativa verbalia* (§§ 83-5), e. g. רם *high*, רמה *high place*, מרומ *height*, from רם *to be high*, or less frequently *Derivativa denominativa* (§ 86), e. g. מרגלות *the place at the feet*, from רגל *foot*.

Rem. 1. The earlier grammarians consider the verb alone as stem, and *b* therefore all nouns as verbals, dividing them into (a) *Formae nudae*, i. e. such as have only the *three* (or *two*) radicals, and (b) *Formae auctae*, such as have formative letters or syllables added at the beginning or end, e. g. מלכות, מלכות. The formative letters used for this purpose are ה א מ נ ת י ו (האמנותי),¹ and the treatment of nouns formerly followed this order.

According to the view of *roots* and *stems* presented in § 30 *d*, nouns (other *c* than *denominatives*) are derived not from the verbal stem, but either from the (abstract) root or from the still undefined stem. In the following pages, however, the arrangement according to the verbal stem is retained as being simpler for the beginner. Cf. § 79 *a*.

2. Compound nouns as *appellatives* are very rare in Hebrew, e. g. בליעל *worthlessness, baseness*. On the other hand, they very frequently occur as proper names, e. g. גבריאל (man of God), יהוים (Yahwe raises up), יהונתן (Yahwe gave), &c.²

§ 82. Primitive Nouns.

The number of *primitive* nouns in the sense used in § 81 is small, since nouns, which in other languages are represented as independent noun-stems, can easily be traced back in Hebrew to the verbal idea, e. g. names of animals and natural objects, as שעיר *he-goat* (prop. *shaggy*, from שער, שערה *barley* (prop. *prickly*, also from שער), חסידה *stork* (prop. *pia*, sc. *avis*), זהב *gold* (from זהב = צהב *to shine, to be yellow*). Thus there remain only a few nouns, e. g. several names of members of the body in men or beasts, to which a corresponding verbal stem cannot be assigned at all, or at any rate only indirectly (from other Semitic dialects), as קרן *horn*, עין *eye*.

¹ From this *vox memorialis* the *nomina aucta* are also called by the older grammarians *nomina heemantica*.

² G. Rammelt (*Über die zusammengesetzten Nomina im Hebr.*, Halle, 1883, and Leipzig, 1884) recognizes as appellatives only צפרדע (cf. below, § 85 *w*) and צלמית (the latter certainly incorrectly [see, however, Nöldeke, *ZATW.* 1897, p. 183 ff.]). In p. 8 ff. the author gives a list of 'logical compounds', i. e. new terms formed by composition with the negatives לא, בלי, מבלי.

§ 83. *Verbal Nouns in General.*

- a* 1. In Hebrew, as in Greek and Latin, the *verbal nouns* are connected in form and meaning primarily with certain forms of the verb, especially the participles and infinitives, which are themselves, even in their ordinary form, frequently used precisely like nouns, e.g. *אֹיֵב* *enemy*, *יָדַעַתְּ* *to know, knowledge*. Still oftener, however, certain forms of the infinitive and participle, which are seldom or never found as such in the strong verb, though in use in the weak verb and in the kindred dialects, came to be commonly used for the verbal noun; e.g. the participial form *קָטַל*, the infinitives of the (Aramaic) form *קָטַל* (as a *noun* also *קָטַל*), further *קָטַלָה*, *קָטַלָה*, *קָטַלָה* (§ 45 *d*), &c. Others (as the Arabic shows) are properly intensive forms of the participle.
- b* 2. As regards their meaning, it follows from the nature of the case that nouns which have the form of the infinitive regularly denote the *action* or *state*, with other closely related ideas, and are therefore mostly *abstract*; while the participial nouns, on the contrary, denote for the most part the *subject* of the action or state, and are therefore *concrete*. Moreover, it is to be noticed, that a particular meaning is attached to many of the special forms of derivative nouns, although it does not appear equally in them all.
- c* Rem. It need not appear strange, when we consider the analogy of other languages, that a noun which in form is properly *abstract* afterwards acquired a *concrete* sense, and vice versa. So in English, we say *his acquaintance*, for the *persons* with whom he is *acquainted*; the *Godhead* for *God* himself; in Hebrew *אֲכִיָּא* *acquaintance* and an *acquaintance*.
- d* The inner connexion in thought between Semitic noun-forms and the corresponding verbal forms is investigated in the works of De Lagarde and Barth (see the titles at the head of § 79) on very different lines, but with many points of agreement. De Lagarde starts from the fact that language consists of sentences. A sentence which consists of only *one* word is called a verb, and anything which serves as a complement to it is a noun. The oldest form of the sentence is the imperative. Closely related to it are three kinds of sentences of the nature of verbal forms, differing according as the property of the particular object of sense is to be represented as invariable (form *qatula*), or as liable to change (form *qatila*), or, finally, as a circumstance which takes place before our eyes (form *qatala*). Like the imperative, these three forms of sentences have also been transformed into nouns, by means of certain phonetic changes,—especially by the omission of the final vowels and the addition of different terminations to the last consonant of the stem. But just as the forms of the verbal sentence undergo numerous modifications (in the tenses, moods, and conjugations), so also do the nouns, sometimes by assimilation of the unessential to the characteristic vowel (*qatul*, *qitil*), sometimes by the lengthening of the characteristic vowel (*qatūl*, *qatīl*, *qatūl*), or else through the displacement of the accent and the consequent reduction of the noun to a monosyllabic form (*qatīl*, *qul*, *qitl*), or, finally, by their being formed from the derived stems (or conjugations), e.g. *qatal*, *qatāl*; *qitil*, *qitāl*, &c. Further modifications arise from the use of the various imperfect

and infinitive forms, and also from the employment of the prefix *m*. Lastly, *denominalia* are formed from *deverbatia* by appending certain suffixes.

De Lagarde does not, however, claim to be able to show in the case of each particular noun the sense it conveyed in primitive times; the origin of a number of nouns can now no longer be detected. In those, however, which are clearly derived from verbs, the original meaning is chiefly determined by the characteristic vowel.

Barth's system is based on the thesis that 'all Semitic nouns, adjectives, and participles are derived from either the perfect or the imperfect stem'.

Thus, e. g. קָטַל is the infinitive of the perfect stem, קָטַל the infinitive of the imperfect stem, שָׁכַב infinitive of יָשַׁב, &c. In dissyllabic noun-forms the second vowel is always alone characteristic and essential, the first vowel unessential, and therefore variable. Further modifications of the simple form are effected by strengthening (sharpening) the second or third consonant, by lengthening the characteristic vowel (instead of which, however, the feminine termination may also be used), or by 'metaplasm', i. e. by the use of noun-forms derived from one of the two intransitive stems for the other, e. g. *qatl* for *qill*, and vice versa.

In nouns of the perfect stem, the vowels *i* and *u* indicate intransitive formations, the vowel *a* a transitive sense. In nouns of the imperfect stem on the contrary, *u* and *i*, being characteristic vowels, indicate a transitive and *a* an intransitive sense: for *yagʿilū* is imperfect of the transitive perfect *qatala*, and *yagʿilū* imperfect of the intransitive perfects *qatila* and *qatula*, &c. This explains how nouns, apparently identical in form, may yet in sense belong to different classes: a *qatl*-form from a *u*-imperfect has a transitive meaning, but the same form from a *u*-perfect has an intransitive meaning. This double system of perfect and imperfect forms runs through the whole scheme of noun-formation, not only the forms connected with the conjugations, but also the forms with prefixes and suffixes.

Against the whole theory it has been urged that it postulates for the development of the language a much too abstract mechanism, and further, that the meanings of words as we find them may in many cases be due to a modification of the original sense. But though many of the details (e. g. the alleged unessential character of the vowel of the first syllable) remain doubtful, yet the agreement between the characteristic vowel of certain noun formations and that of the perfect or imperfect stem, is supported by such a number of incontestable instances, that there can be no doubt as to a systematic, intimate connexion between the two. At the same time it must be admitted that De Lagarde has put forward many important and suggestive points, and both scholars agree in laying stress on *one* characteristic vowel as indicative of the meaning.

§ 84^a. Nouns derived from the Simple Stem.

Preliminary remark.—From the statement made above, § 83 *d*, it follows that *a* an external similarity between forms is no proof of their similar origin, and, vice versa, external difference does not exclude the possibility of their being closely related both in origin and meaning.

I. Nouns with One Vowel, originally Short.

R. Růžicka, 'Beiträge zur Erklärung der nomina segolata,' in *Sitz.-ber. d. böhmischen Ges. d. Wiss.*, Prag, 1904.

1. Nouns with one of the three short vowels after the first radical: *present* ground-form *qāl*, *qīl*, *qūl*.

The supposition of *monosyllabic* ground-forms appeared to be required by the character of forms now existing in Hebrew, as well as in Arabic, &c. But there are strong reasons for believing that at least a large proportion of these forms go back to original dissyllabic bases with a short vowel in each syllable. When formative additions were made, the vowel of the 2nd syllable

was dropped, i.e. before case-endings in Assyrian and early Arabic, and before pronominal suffixes in Hebrew. From the forms thus produced, the bases *gaṭl*, *qūl*, *quṭl* have been assumed, although they never appear in Hebrew except in the singular and then in connexion with suffixes.

In support of this view of a large number of original dissyllabic bases, we must not, however, appeal to the *Seghōl* or *Pathah* under the 2nd consonant of the existing developed forms, *בָּרַע*, *בָּרַע*, &c. These are in no sense survivals or modifications of an original full vowel in the 2nd syllable, but are mere helping-vowels (§ 28 e) to make the monosyllabic forms pronounceable,¹ and consequently disappear when no longer needed. Under certain circumstances even (e.g. in *קִשְׁטָן*) they are not used at all. Actual proofs of such original toneless full vowels in the 2nd syllable of existing *Segholates* are—

1. Forms like Arab. *mālik*, for which rarely *malik*, corresponding to the Hebrew ground-form; cf. De Lagarde, *Uebersicht*, p. 72 ff.

2. In Hebrew *בָּרַע*, *בָּרַע*, *בָּרַע*, the connective forms of *בָּרַע*, *בָּרַע*, &c., which latter can only come from ground-forms *gāḏir*, *yāḏir*, *kāḏir*, *kūṭir*.

3. The forms treated under e, which are in many ways related to the *Segholates* proper, in so far as they are to be referred to original dissyllabic bases.

4. The plurals of Hebrew *Segholates*, since, with very rare exceptions, they take *Qameṣ* under the 2nd radical before the termination *ים*, fem. *ות*,

of the *absolute state*, as *מְלָכִים*, *מְלָכֹת*, *הַכְּרִים*, &c. This *Qameṣ* (see note 1 on § 26 e) can only be due to a lengthening of an original short vowel in the 2nd syllable, and hence it would seem as though the vowel were always *ā*. This is impossible from what has been said, especially under 1 and 2. Hence the explanation of the consistent occurrence of *Qameṣ* in the plurals of *all Segholates* can only be that the regularly formed plurals (i.e. from singulars with original *ā* in the 2nd syllable) became the models for all the others, and ultimately even for some really monosyllabic forms.²

(a) From the strong stem the above three ground-forms are further developed to *קָטַל*, *קָטַל*, *קָטַל* (cf. § 27 r and in § 93 the explanations of Paradigm I, a-c); without a helping vowel (§ 28 d) *קִשְׁטָן* *truth*. If the second

¹ According to Delitzsch (*Assyr. Gram.*, p. 157 f.) the same is true in Assyrian of the corresponding *gaṭl*-forms. Without case-endings they are *kalab*, *šamas*, *aban* (= *בָּלַב*, *שָׁמַשׁ*, *אָבָן*), with case-endings *kalbu*, *šamsu*, *abnu*. On the other hand, acc. to Sievers, *Metrik*, i. 261, Hebrew ground-forms probably have a twofold origin: they are shortened according to Hebrew rules partly from old absolute forms like *kāḏbu*, *sifru*, *quḏṣu*, and partly from old construct-forms like the Assyrian types *kalab*, *sifr*, *quḏṣ*.

² On the other hand, Ungnad, *ZA*. 1903, p. 333 ff., rejecting all previous explanations, maintains that the *a* in *m^lākḥīm*, *m^lākḥōth* is inserted merely to facilitate the pronunciation. From *gaṭlīm* arose *gaṭ^līm*, then *gaṭalīm* and finally *q^lālīm*. See, however, Nöldeke, 'Zur semit. Pluralendung,' *ZA*. 1904, p. 68 ff., who points out that the Semitic nouns *fa'l*, *fī'l*, *fu'l* with their corresponding feminines *fa'la*, &c., on assuming the plural termination commonly take an *a* before the 3rd radical, but that no satisfactory account can be given for it. M. Margolis, 'The plural of Segolates' (*Proc. of the Philol. Assoc. of the Pacific Coast*, San Francisco, 1903, p. 4 ff.), and S. Brooks, *Vestiges of the broken plural in Hebrew*, Dublin, 1883, explain *m^lākḥīm* as a *pluralis fractus*.

³ It is worthy of notice that St. Jerome also (cf. Siegfried, *ZAW.* iv. 76) frequently represents the vowel of the first syllable by *a*, e.g. *gader*, *aben*, *ader*, *areb*, for *בָּרַע*, *אָבָן*, *אָדָר*, *חָרֵב*, but *cedem*, *secel*, *daber*, &c., for *קָדָם*, *שֶׁקֶל*, *דָּבָר*, &c.

or third radical be a guttural, a helping *Pathah* takes the place of the helping *Seghōl*, according to § 22 d, e.g. זֶרַע *seed*, עֶצֶם *eternity*, עֵצ *work*; but with middle ה or ח, note לֶחֶם *bread*, רֶחֶם (as well as רָחֵם) *womb*, אֶהָל *tent*, בֶּהֶן *thumb*; so with final א, פָּרָא *a wild ass*, &c.; with a middle guttural also the modification of the principal vowel *ā* to *è* does not occur, e.g. נָעַר, נָעָר, נָעֵר (exceptions, again, לָחֵם, רָחֵם). On the inflexion, cf. § 93, Paradigm I, a-f, and the explanations. In חַטָּא *sin*, the א has wholly lost its consonantal value.

Examples of feminines: מַלְכָּה (directly from the ground-form *malḵ, king*), בַּת־כֶּסֶף *a covering* (also כֶּסֶף), אֶבְיָה *food* (also אֶבֶל); with a middle guttural נְעִירָה *girl*, טְהוּרָה *purity* (also טוֹהָר). Cf. § 94, Paradigm I.

(b) From weak stems: (a) from stems ע"נ, e.g. אֶף *nose* (from 'anp, hence C with formative additions, e.g. אֶפֶי for 'anpī, my nose); עֵז *a she-goat* (ground-form 'inz); fem. חֶטֶה *wheat*; (β) from stems ע"ע (§ 93, Paradigm I, l-n); פֶּת *a morsel*, עַם *people* (so, when in close connexion with the next word; unconnected עָם; with article הָעָם, לָעָם, &c.); רַב in the sense of *much*, but רַב *great*, numerous (in close connexion also רַב־רַב); עָוִל *evil*, with the article in close connexion unconnected הָעָוִל; with the *ā* always lengthened to *ā*, יָם *sea*; fem. חַיָּה *life*, and with attenuation of the *ā* to *i*, מִדָּה *measure*; from the ground-form qūl, אִם *mother*; fem. גִּזָּה *a shearing*; from the ground-form qūl, חֶק *statute*, fem. חֶקֶה. (γ) from stems ע"י (Paradigm I, g and i); מוֹת *death* (from mā-ut, the u passing into the corresponding consonant, as in תוֹךְ *middle*) or contracted יוֹם *day*, שׁוֹט *whip*, שׁוֹר *a bull*; fem. עוֹלָה *perverseness* (also contracted עוֹלָה); from the ground-form qūl, צוֹר *a rock*; fem. סוֹפָה *a storm*. (δ) from stems ע"י (Paradigm I, h); נֵיִת *an olive-tree* (with a helping Hireq instead of a helping *Seghōl*) from zū-it, the i passing into the corresponding consonant; or contracted חֵיק *bosom*, חֵיל 2 K 18¹⁷ (elsewhere חֵיל) *host*; fem. שֵׁיבָה *grey hair*; from the ground-form qūl, דִּין *judgement*; fem. בִּינָה *understanding*. (ε) from stems ל"ה (Paradigm I, k); partly forms such as בָּכָה *weeping*, הִנָּה *murmuring*, נִגְדָה *a present*, קֶצֶה *the end*, partly such as אֶרִי, פֶּכִי *a lion* (ground-form bākū, 'āry); cf. also the forms from stems originally ל"י, שָׁחַז *swimming* (ground-form sāḥw); fem. שָׁחָה *rest*, נִצָּחָה *exaltation*; from stems ל"י, לֵאִיָּה *a fat tail*, and with attenuation of *ā* to *i* שִׁבְיָה *captivity*, also שִׁבִּית, formed no doubt directly from the masc. שָׁבִי with the fem. termination ית; from the ground-form qūl, חֲצִי (from ḥiṣy); fem. חֲרָה *joy*, עֲרִיָה and עֲרִיָה *nakedness*; from the ground-form qūl, בָּהוּ (from būw) *waste*, תְּרוֹה *emptiness*; דָּלִי, for דָּלִי, *bucket*; fem. שִׁנְיָה *a ship* (directly from אֲנִי *a fleet*).

The masculines as well as the feminines of these *segholate* forms may have *d* either an *abstract* or a *concrete* meaning. In the form קָנַל *the passive* or at any rate the *abstract* meaning is by far the more common (e.g. נָעַר *youthfulness*, abstract of נָעַר *boy*; אֶבֶל *food*, &c.).¹

¹ M. Lambert also (*REJ.* 1896, p. 18 ff.), from statistics of the *Segholates*, arrives at the conclusion that the *qūl*-form is especially used for concretes (in nouns without gutturals he reckons twenty concretes as against two abstracts), and the *qūl*-form, and less strictly the *qūl*, for abstracts.

c 2. Nouns with one of the three short vowels under the second radical (present ground-form *q^aāl, q^eāl, qⁱāl*), e. g. דְּבַשׁ *honey*, דִּי *sickness*, חֵת *terror*; and so always with middle N, בְּאֵר *a well*, זָאֵב *a wolf*, בֹּאֵשׁ *stench*. In reality these forms, like the segholates mentioned in No. 1 (see above, a), are, probably, for the most part to be referred to original *dissyllabic* forms, but the tone has been shifted from its original place (the penultima) on to the ultima. Thus *dibāš* (originally *dibāš*) as ground-form of דְּבַשׁ is supported both by the Hebrew דְּבַשְׁי (with suffix of the first person), and by the Arabic *dibs*, the principal form; *bī'ir* (according to Philippi with assimilation of the vowel of the second syllable to that of the first) as ground-form of בְּאֵר is attested by the Arabic *bī'r*; for בֹּאֵשׁ (Arabic *bu's*) similarly a ground-form *bu'ūš* may be inferred, just as a ground-form *qūtāl* underlies the infinitives of the form קָטַל.¹

II. Nouns with an original Short Vowel in both Syllables.

f 3. The ground-form *qūtāl*, fem. *qūtālāt*, developed in Hebrew to קָטַל (§ 93, Paradigm II, a, b) and קָטְלָה (§§ 94, 95, Paradigm II, a, b), mostly forms intransitive adjectives, as חָכָם *wise*, חָדָשׁ *new*, יָשָׁר *upright*; but also substantives, as דָּבָר *a word*, and even abstracts, as אָשָׁם *guilt*, רָעָב *hunger*, שָׂבֹעַ *satiety*; in the fem. frequently abstract, as צִדְקָה *righteousness*; with an initial guttural אֶרֶץ *earth*.—Of the same formation from verbs עָדָר *alone*, עָנָן *cloud*; passive חָלַל *pierced*.—In verbs ל"ה a final *Yōdh* is almost always rejected, and the *ā* of the second syllable lengthened to *ē*. Thus שָׂדֵי *field*, after rejection of the ' and addition of ה as a vowel-letter, becomes שָׂדֶה (cf. § 93, Paradigm II, f); fem. e. g. שָׁנָה *year*; cf. § 95, Paradigm II, c. From a verb ל"י the strong form עָנָן *afflicted* occurs.

g 4. The ground-form *qūtāl*, fem. *qūtālāt*, developed to קָטַל (§ 93, Paradigm II, c-e) and קָטְלָה, is frequently used as participle of verbs middle e (§ 50 b), and hence mostly with an intransitive meaning; cf. זָקֵן *old*, an *old man*; כָּבֵד *heavy*; fem. בָּהֵמָה *cattle*, אֲפֵלָה and חֹשֶׁכָה *darkness*.—From verbs פ"י: irregularly, דִּלְיוֹתָיו *the branches of it*, Jer 11¹⁶, &c., generally referred to a *sing.* דְּלִיָּת (stem *דלל*), (דלל) Ho 14¹ *their women with child* (from הָרָה, *st. constr.* הָרָת, plur. *st. absol.* and *constr.* הָרֹת).—From a verb ל"י with consonantal Wāw: שָׁלֵי *at ease*, incorrectly written *plene* שָׁלִי Jb 21²⁸.

h 5. The ground-form *qūtāl*, developed to קָטַל (also written קָטוּל), generally forms adjectives, e. g. אִים *terrible*, פֶּדֶר *piebald*, מְתוּק *sweet*, נֶקֶד *speckled*, עֵבֶת *interwoven*, עֹל *round*, עֹמֵק *deep*, עֵבֶק *hilly*, צָהָב *golden*; קטן *small*, only in sing. masc., with a parallel form קָטָן of the class treated under f, fem. קָטְנָה, plur. קָטְנִים. These forms are not to be confounded with those in No. III, from

¹ On this theory cf. Stade, *Hebräische Grammatik*, § 199 b; De Lagarde, *Übersicht*, p. 57 f.; A. Müller, *ZDMG*. xlv, p. 226, and especially Philippi, *ZDMG*. xlix, p. 208.

² In St. Jerome's time these forms were still pronounced *sadaca* (צִדְקָה), *saaca* (צִעְקָה), *nabala* (נִבְלָה), &c., see Siegfried, *ZAW*. iv. 79. Moreover, the numerous abstracts of this form (e. g. even קִצְפָה *a splintering*, צִיחָה *a crying*, &c.) are undoubtedly to be regarded (with Barth, *Nominalbildung*, p. 87) as feminines of infinitives of the form *qūtāl*, the lengthening of the second syllable being balanced, as in other cases, by the addition of the feminine termination.

the ground-form *qāṭāl*.—Fem. *אִיפָה*, *כְּבוֹדָה* (*glorious*), *עֲבֻתָה*, *עֲנָנָה* (*delicate*), *עֲנִלָה*, *עֲמָקָה*, with sharpening of the third radical, in order to keep the original *ā* short, and similarly in the plurals *בְּרָדִים*, *נִקְדִּים*, *עֲנִלִּים*, *אֲסָפִים* *stores*, &c.

6. The ground-form *qāṭāl* develops to *קָטַל* (cf. § 93, Paradigm II, Rem. 1), i.e. g. *לֵבב* *heart*, *עֵנַב* *a bunch of grapes*, *שֶׁכֶר* *strong drink*; from a verb *לָחַל*, probably of this class is *רֵעָה*, generally contracted to *רֵעַ* *friend*, ground-form *ri'ay*: the full form is preserved in *רֵעֵהוּ* *his friend*, for *רֵעִיהוּ*.

III. *Nouns with an original Short Vowel in the First and a Long Vowel in the Second Syllable.*

7. The ground-form *qāṭāl* in Hebrew always develops to the form *קָטַל*, the *k* becoming an obscure *ō*. The fact that this form is also written *קָטַל* must not lead to the confusion of these forms with those mentioned in No. 5, from the ground-form *qāṭāl*.¹ Moreover the *qāṭāl*-class includes forms of various origin, and therefore of various meaning, as (a) intransitive adjectives like *גָּדוֹל* *great*, *קָדוֹשׁ* *holy*, fem. *קְדוּלָה*, the short vowel becoming *š^wā*, whereas in *קָדוֹל*, &c., before the tone it is lengthened to *ā*; (b) the infinitives absolute of the form *קָטַל* (§ 45 a) as representing the abstract idea of the verb, and abstract substantives like *כְּבוֹד* *honour*, *שָׁלוֹם* *peace* (Arab. *sālm*); (c) substantives and adjectives in an active sense, as *בֹּהֵן* *assayer* (of metals), *עֹשֶׁק* *an oppressor*, *חֲמוּץ* *oppressing*; in the feminine *בְּגוּדָה* *treacherous* Jer 3^{7,10}, the irregular retention of the *ā* in the third syllable from the end is no doubt to be explained, with Brockelmann, from Aramaic influence, the punctuator having in mind the Aramaic nomen agentis *qāṭōl*.

8. The ground-form *qāṭāl* develops to *קָטַל* (cf. § 93, Paradigm IV, a and b). *l* Here also forms of various origin and meaning are to be distinguished: (a) adjectives used substantivally with a passive meaning to denote duration in a state, as *אֲסִיר* *a prisoner*, *כֹּאֲשֵׁיחַ* *an anointed one*. These proper *qāṭāl*-forms are parallel to the purely passive *qāṭāl*-forms (see m), but others are due to a strengthening of original *qāṭāl*-forms. These are either (b) intransitive in meaning, as *צָעִיר* *small*, and, from *לָחַל* stems, *נָקִי* *pure*, *עָנִי* *poor* (see § 93 v), or (c) active, as *נְבִיא* *a speaker* (prophet), *פֶּקִיד* *an overseer*.—Of a different kind again (according to De Lagarde, infinitives) are (d) forms like *אֲסִיָּה* *the ingathering*, *בִּצְיָר* *vintage*, *קָרִישׁ* *ploughing time*, *קָצִיר* *harvest*. On *qāṭāl*-forms with a kindred meaning, cf. § 84^b f.

9. The ground-form *qāṭāl* develops to *קָטַל*. As in the *qāṭāl* and *qāṭāl*-forms *m* (see k and l), so here forms of various kinds are to be distinguished: (a) *qāṭāl*-forms proper, with passive meaning, especially all the passive participles of Qal; fem. e.g. *בְּרוּלָה* *virgin* (properly *secluded*). On the other hand, by strengthening an original *qāṭāl*-form we get (b) certain stative adjectives (§ 50 f)* as *אֲנִיָּה* *incurable*, *עָצוֹם* *strong*, *עָרוֹם* *subtil*, or even transitive, as *אֲחִיָּה* *holding*; (c) active substantives, as *יֹקֵשׁ* *a Fowler*. Further, some of the forms mentioned in § 84^b g belong to this class; see above, the remark on l.

10. The ground-form *qāṭāl* or *qāṭāl* ² in Hebrew changes the *i* to vocal *š^wā*, *n*

¹ In Na 1³ only the *Q^{re}* requires *נָדַל* (in the constr. state) for the *K^e* *thibh* *נָדַל*.

² On the *fu'āl*-forms (regarded by Wellhausen as original diminutives) see Nöldeke, *Beiträge* (Strassb. 1904), p. 30 ff. He includes among them *נִעְרָה* *toe*, and *חֲתָרִים* *hemorrhoids*.

and develops to קטל (cf. § 93, Paradigm IV, c) or קטול, with *á* obscured to *ó* (as above, *k*). Cf. שְׂאֵר remnant, יָקָר honour, בָּתָב book (Arab. *kitáb*), מָלָח war (the last three probably loan-words from the Aramaic); of the other form, חֲלוֹם a dream, חֲמֹר an ass (Arab. *himár*), אֱלֹהִים God (Arab. *'iláh*); with א prosthetic (§ 19 m), אֶזְרָע arm (twice: usually זְרָע); fem. בְּשׂוּרָה good news (Arab. *bishárát*); עֲבוּדָה service, כְּתָבֶת (Arab. *kiltábát*) tattooing.

- o 11. The ground-form *qítûl* seems to occur e. g. in Hebrew אֵוִיל foolish, אֵלִיל vanity, בְּרִיל lead, בָּסִיל a fool, חוּיר a swine (the prop. name חוּיר points to the ground-form *qítûl*, cf. Arab. *hinzir*).
- p 12. The ground-form *qítûl* or *qūtûl*, Hebr. קטול, e. g. גְּבִיל a boundary, לְבִישׁ a garment; fem. גְּבוּרָה strength, אֱמוּנָה faithfulness.
- q Rem. When the forms *qítûl* and *qūtûl* begin with א, they almost invariably take in the singular a *Sere* under the א instead of the ordinary *Hateph-Sêghôl*; cf. אֲבוֹם a crib, אֲמֹנָה thread, אֲמוּנָה faithful, אֲזוּב hyssop, אֲזוּר a waist-band, אֲסוּר a bond, אֲפֹד an 'ephod'; cf. § 23 h, and the analogous cases of *Sere* for *Hateph-Sêghôl* in verbal forms § 52 n, § 63 p, § 76 d.

IV. Nouns with a Long Vocal in the First Syllable and originally a Short Vowel in the Second Syllable.

- r 13. The ground-form *qátûl*, in Hebrew, always changes the *á* into an obscure *ó*, קוֹטֵל (קטל), e. g. עוֹלָם (§ 93, Paradigm III, a), Arab. *'álm*, eternity; חֹתָם (Arab. *hâtâm*) a seal (according to Barth a loan-word of Egyptian origin), fem. חֹתָמָה (from *hôtâm*); וּלְעַד worm (unless from a stem *lcl*, like חֹשֶׁב from חשב; see the analogous cases in § 85 b). On the participles *Qal* of verbs ל"ה (§ 93, Paradigm III, c), cf. § 75 e; on the feminines of the participles *Qal*, which are formed with the termination ת, see below, s.

Rem. Of a different kind (probably from a ground-form *qawtal*) are such forms as אֹפֶן (or אֹפֶן Ez 10⁹ in the same verse) a wheel; גּוֹזֵל a young bird, דוֹנֵב wax, &c.

- s 14. The ground-form *qátûl* also becomes in Hebrew almost invariably קוֹטֵל (קטל). Besides participles active masc. *Qal* this class includes also feminines of the form קוֹטֵלָת, if their ground-form *qótalt* (§ 69 c) goes back to an original *qátûl*. The substantives of this form, such as כֹּהֵן priest (Arab. *kāhîn*), were also originally participles *Qal*. The fem. of the substantives has *î* (lengthened from *i*) retained before the tone, e. g. יֹלְרָה a woman in travail (cf. also בְּנִדְרָה the treacherous woman, Jer 3⁸; הַלְלֵצָה her that halteth, Mi 4², Zp 3¹⁹; כֹּחֲלָה a buckler, ψ 91⁴); the participles as a rule have the form יֹלְרָה, &c., the original *i* having become *Sêwá*; however, the form with *Sere* occurs also in the latter, Is 26^{8, 34}, ψ 68²⁶, 118¹⁶ (all in principal pause; in subordinate pause 2 S 13²⁰, Is 33¹⁴; with a conjunctive accent, Ct 1⁶).

- t 15. The ground-form *qútûl*, Hebrew קוֹטֵל (as יֹבֵל river, Jer 17⁸) or קוֹטֵל e. g. עֲנָב a pipe, commonly עֲנָב, and to be so read, with Baer, also in ψ 15c⁴, not עֲנָב.

V. Nouns with a Long Vowel in each Syllable.

- u 16. קוֹטֵל, e. g. קוֹטֵל smoke. The few forms of this kind are probably derived from the ground-form *qútûl* (*qūtûl* ?), i. e. the original *á* has become an obscure *ó*.

§ 84^b. *Formation of Nouns from the Intensive Stem.*

This includes all forms which have arisen, either through the *a* doubling of the middle radical, or the repetition of one or of two consonants of the simple stem.

VI. *Nouns with the Middle Consonant sharpened.*

As in the corresponding verbal stems (cf. § 52 *f*), so also in some noun-formations of this class, the Dageš in the second radical expresses an intensification of the idea of the stem, either emphasizing the energy of the action or relation, or else indicating a longer continuance of the relation or state. Other nouns of this character are evidently only by-forms of the nouns derived from the simple stem, which were treated in the last section: cf. the instances adduced under *f* and *g*, and Barth, *Nominalbildung*, Introd., p. x.

17. The ground-form *qāṭṭāl* is mostly lengthened in Hebrew to קָטַל; cf. *b* אֵיל *a stag*, fem. אֵילָה, constr. st. אֵילֹת (from 'äyyālt); cf. also the fem. (originating from *Qal*) לָהֶבֶת *a flame* (according to § 27 *q* for lāhābhā), הָרֶבֶה *dry land* (for harrābhā), דִּבְרַת וְדָבָר *a burning fever*, יָבֵשׁ *dry land*, טַבַּעַת *a seal-ring*, שִׁחָה *consumption*. Adjectives of this class ('intensified participles of the active verb', Barth, *ibid.*, § 33) are חַטָּא *sinful*, נָחַר *went to gore*, קָנָא *jealous*, בָּהַשׁ (for kahhāš, by § 22 *c*) *lying*. *Nomina opificum* also, curiously enough, are so treated in Hebrew (at least in the constr. state of the sing.), although the corresponding Arabic form *qāṭṭāl* points to an original (unchangeable) *ā* in the second syllable; cf. גַּנָּב *a thief*, דִּין *a judge* (constr. st. דִּינִי ψ 68^o), מַבַּח *a cook*, חָרַשׁ (for harrāš) *artificer* (constr. st. חָרָשׁ, but plur. constr. חָרָשִׁי), פָּרָשׁ *horseman* (for parrāš), const. st. פָּרָשׁ Ez 26¹⁰.

18. The ground-form *qāṭṭāl* appears in צָהָה *dry*, נָאָה *haughty* (the *i* being *C* lengthened to *ē* according to § 22 *c*), if these forms go back to original *sihāy*, *gi'āy*. On the analogy, however, of the adjectives denoting defects (see *d* below), we should rather expect a ground-form *qāṭṭil*; moreover, 'ivcalt, ground-form of the fem. אֵלֶּל *foolishness*, goes back to an original *ivcalt*, see § 69 *c*.

19. The ground-form *qāṭṭāl* and *qāṭṭil*; cf. the fem. בִּסְמָת *spelt*, בִּרְתָּה *coat*.

20. The ground-form *qāṭṭil*; from the intensive stem, the infinitives *Pi'el* of *d* the form קָטַל.

21. The ground-form *qāṭṭil*, in Hebrew lengthened to קָטַל. Of this form are a considerable number of adjectives which denote a bodily or mental fault or defect. Cf. אֵמַר *disabled*, אֵלֶם *dumb*, גִּבָּן *hump-backed*, עֵוֶר *blind*, חֵרֶשׁ *deaf* (for hirrāš), פֶּפֶחַ *lame*, קָרַח *bald*, עָקָשׁ *perverse*; פֶּקַח *open-eyed* follows the same analogy.

22. The ground-form *qāṭṭāl*, cf. the remarks in *b* above, on the *nomina opificum*; moreover, to this class belong infinitives *Pi'el* of the Aramaic form בִּקְרַה *a searching out*; בִּקְשָׁה *a request*; with middle guttural (see § 22 *c*) נִאָּחַז *contumely*; but cf. also נִאָּחֲזִי Ez 35¹², with full lengthening of the original *ā* before *h*; נִחַמָּה *comfort*. From the attenuation of the *ā* of this form to *i*, arises undoubtedly:

23. The ground-form *qāṭṭāl*, e. g. אֶכָּר *husbandman* (Arab. 'akkār).

24. The ground-form *qāṭṭāl*, most probably only a variety of the form *qāṭṭāl* with the *ā* attenuated to *i* (as in No. 23), and the *ā* obscured to *ō* (as in *n* and

r); cf. **נְבוֹר** *hero* (Arab. *gābbār*), **צָבוֹר** *caviller*, **צִפּוֹר** (*piper* or *chirper*) a *bird*, **שָׁבוֹר** *drunkard*. On the other hand, **יָלוֹד** *born* probably arises from *yullōd*, an old *participle passive* of *Qal*, the *ü* being dissimilated in the sharpened syllable before *ō*: so Barth, *ibid.*, p. 41 f.

f 25. The ground-form *qāṭṭāl*, **קָטַל**, almost exclusively of persons, who possess some quality in an intensive manner, e.g. **אָבִיר** *strong*, **צָדִיק** *righteous*, **בָּרִיחַ** *fugitive* (for *barri^{ch}*), **עָרִיץ** *violent* (for *‘ārīṣ*).

That some of these are only by-forms of the *qāṭṭāl*-class (see above, remark on a), appears from the *constr. st.* **פָּרִיץ** *ravenous*, Is 35° (but **פָּרִיצִי**, **פָּרִיצִים** always), and according to Barth (*ibid.*, 35 a) also from the *constr. st.* **אָבִיר** (but also **אָבִיר** 1 S 21°) of **אָבִיר**. However, the form **אָבִיר**, as a name of God, may be intentionally differentiated from **אָבִיר**, a poetic term for the bull.

In the same way **אָסִיר** *prisoner*, **קָרִים** *eunuch* (*constr. st.* always **סָרִים**, plur. **קָרִים**, *constr. st.* **קָרִים** Gn 40^r, but in the book of Esther always **קָרִים**, with suffix **קָרִיםִי**, &c.), and **עָתִיק** *weaned*, may be regarded as by-forms of the *qāṭṭāl*-class with passive meaning, see § 84^a l.

g 26. The ground-form *qāṭṭāl*, **קָטַל**, e.g. **חַנּוּן** *gracious*, **רַחוּם** *compassionate* (with virtual strengthening of the ח), **חָרִץ** *diligent* (for *harrūs*), probably, again, to a large extent by-forms of the *qāṭṭāl*-class, § 84^a m. The same applies to substantives like **אָשֶׁר** a *step* (in **אֲשֶׁרִי**, as well as **אֲשֶׁרוֹ**, &c.), **עֶמּוּד** *pillar*; fem. **חֲבוּרָה** a *stripe* (also **חֲבֻרָה** *security*: cf. Barth, *ibid.*, § 84.

h 27. The ground-form *qāṭṭāl*, besides the infinitives absolute *Piel* of the form **קָטַל**, also **קָנָא** *jealous* (as well as **קָנָא**, an obscured form of *qāṭṭāl*, see e).

i 28. The ground-form *qāṭṭāl*, **קָטַל**, e.g. **צָפוּי** a *coating of metal*, **שָׁלוּם** *requital*, **עָזוּי** *drink*, **שָׁקִי** *detestable thing*; with concrete meaning **לָמוּד** a *disciple*, **עָזוּי** *strong*; frequently in the plural in an abstract sense, as **נִדְוָפִים** *reproach*, **מִלְאִים** *filling* (the induction of a priest), **נִחְמִים** *consolations, compassion*, **שְׁבָלִים** *bereavement*, **שְׁלָחִים** *dismissal*, **שְׁמָרִים** *observance*.

VII. Nouns with the Third Consonant repeated.

k 29. The ground-form *qāṭṭāl*, e.g. **שָׁאֲנָן** *quiet*, fem. **שָׁאֲנָנָה** (with sharpening of the second *Nūn*, in order to keep the preceding vowel short); **רֵעֵנָן** *green*, plur. **רֵעֵנִים**.

l 30. The ground-form *qāṭṭāl*, in Hebrew **קָטַל**; of this form are e.g. the infinitives *Piel* (prop. *Pa‘ēl*), cf. § 55 d.

m 31. The ground-form *qāṭṭāl*; so the plur. **גְּבָנִים** *ridges* (with sharpening of the *Nūn*, as in No. 29).

32. The ground-form *qāṭṭāl*, in **פָּרַחַח** a *brood*.

33. The ground-form *qāṭṭāl*, in **אֶמְלֵל** *faint*.

34. The ground-form *qāṭṭāl*, e.g. **עֲבָטִים** *plunder*, **כִּנְרִיר** *rain-storm*, **שְׁפָרִיר** *glittering tapestry*, Jer 43¹⁰ *Q^{re}*; with attenuation of the *ā* to *i* **כְּמִרְרִים** *all that maketh black*, Jb 3^b (but the better reading is **בְּמִרְרִי**).

35. The ground-form *qāṭṭāl*, e.g. **שְׁפָרָר** Jer 43¹⁰ *Kth*; **נִאֲפָפִים** *adulteries*.

VIII. Nouns with the Second and Third Consonants repeated.

n 36-39. *Qāṭṭāl*, *qāṭṭāl*, *qāṭṭāl*; *qāṭṭāl*, *qāṭṭāl* (in fem. and plur. often with the last consonant sharpened for the reason given in a above); cf. **הַפְּפָה**.

crooked, חֲלָקְלוֹת *slippery places*, עֲקָלְלוֹת *crooked (ways)*; פְּחִלְחִל *tortuous*; also words denoting colours, אֲדָמָה (Lv 13^{42,49} in pause) *reddish*, fem. אֲדָמָה, plur. אֲדָמָה; יִרְקֶק *greenish*, plur. fem. יִרְקֶק; יִפְיָה *very fair* (to be read in Jer 46²⁰ for יִפְהִיָּה); שְׁחִרְחִרָה (fem.) *blackish*; אֲסַפָּה *a rabble* (augmented from אָסַף *collected*). From a verb פִּי with aphaeresis of the initial syllable פִּי־אֲסַפָּה *offspring*. Moreover, of the same form, probably, is חֲצוּצָה *a trumpet* (for חֲצֻצָה, cf. § 55 e). Also in Is 2²⁰ לַחְפְּרוֹת is to be read instead of לַחְפֵּר (from the sing. חֲפְרָה *a digging or burrowing animal, perhaps the mole*). But פְּתִיחָה *opening*, Is 61¹ (ed. Mant., Baer, Ginsb. פְּתִיחָה), is an evident mistake due to dittography; read פֶּתַח as in 42⁷.

IX. *Nouns in which the Whole (Biliteral) Stem is repeated.*

Naturally this class includes only isolated forms of the stems ע"ע and ע"ו (on ע"פִּי see § 96 under פִּיָּה). Thus:—

40. גָּלָל *a wheel*, and, with attenuation of the first ā to ġ, גִּלְגָּל (from גָּלָל); fem. חֲלָלָה *anguish* (from חוּל or חֵיל); כֶּכֶר (for kirkar) *a talent*; cf. also כּוֹכַב *a star* (from kāwākāb, Arabic kaukāb, for כִּכְבָּב), טֹטְטָה *bands*, for טֹטְטָה; צִלְצִל probably *a whirring locust*.
 41. פִּלְפֵּל infin. *Filpāl* (prop. *Palpāl*) from פוּל; fem. מְלִטְלָה *a hurling* (from פּוּל טוּל).
 42. כֶּכֶר perhaps *a ruby* (for kādkūd), from כָּדָר.
 43. קִדְקִד *the crown of the head* (for qūdqud), from קָדָר; fem. גִּלְגִּלָּה *a skull* (for gūlgūl), from גָּלָל.
 44. גִּירָה *girded*, from וָרָה; בִּקְבֹּק *a bottle*, from בָּקָה; בִּרְבִּירִים *fattened birds* (?).

§ 85. *Nouns with Preformatives and Affirmatives.*

These include nouns which are directly derived from verbal forms *a* having preformatives (*Hiph'āl, Hoph'al, Hithpa'el, Niph'al, &c.*), as well as those which are formed with other preformatives (א, י, מ, נ, ת), and finally those which are formed with affirmatives. The quadriliterals and quinqueliterals also are taken in connexion with these formations, inasmuch as they arise almost always by the addition or insertion of one or two consonants to the triliteral stem.

X. *Nouns with Preformatives.*

45. Nouns with א prefixed. Cf. the substantives with א prosthetic (§ 19 m), *b* such as אֶרֶץ *arm* (Jer 32²¹, Jb 31²²; elsewhere always אֶרֶץ); אֶצֶב *a finger*, אֶרְבֶּה *a locust*, אֶרְוֶה *fist* (others *matlock*, or *clod*), אֶשְׁמְרָה or אֶשְׁמֶרֶת *a watch*. In these examples the א is a 'euphonic' prefix (Barth, *ibid.*, § 150 b); in other cases it is 'essential'; cf. especially the adjectives, אֶכְזֵב *deceitful*, אֶכָּר *cruel*, אֶתֵּן *perennial* (for 'aitun) [=the Arab. 'elative', used for expressing the compar. and superl. degrees]. The fem. אֶנְפָּרָה *fragrant part*¹ (of the meal-

¹ Or perhaps more correctly with Jacob, *ZAW.* 1897, p. 79, 'declaration,' i.e. the part of the meal-offering which 'announces the sacrifice and its object'.

offering) is a *nomen verbale* of *Hiph'il*, answering to the Aramaic infinitive of the causal stem ('*Aph'el*), hence with suff. *אִנְפִּירְתָּהּ* Lv 2², &c.

C 46. Nouns with ה prefixed. Besides the ordinary infinitives of *Hiph'il* *הִקְטִיל* and *הִקְטִיל*, of *Niph'al* *הִקְטִיל* (for *hinq.*), and of the conjugations formed with the prefix *הִתְ*, this class also includes some rare *nomina verbalia* derived from *Hiph'il* (cf. § 72 z), viz. *הִתְפַּרְהָ* *appearance* (from *נָפַר*, Is 3⁹; *הִתְנַחֵם* *a swiveling* (from *נָחַם*, [Is 30²⁸; *הִתְנַחֵם* *a rest-giving*, Est 2¹⁸]; *הִתְנַחֵם* *deliverance* (from *נָצַל*, [Est 4¹⁴ an Aram. form: cf. *הִתְנַחֵם* Dn 5²⁰]; perhaps also *הִתְנַחֵם* *palace*, from *הַיְכָל*, unless it is borrowed from the Assyrian; see the Lexicon.

d 47. Nouns with י prefixed, as *יָצָהָר* *oil*, *יָצָהָר* *wallet*, *יָצָהָר* *owl* (?); from verbs יָצָה, e. g. *יָצָהָר* *a living thing*, *יָצָהָר* *a range*; from a verb יָצָה, *יָצָהָר* *an adversary*. Of a different character are the many proper names which have simply adopted the imperfect form, as *יָצָהָר*, *יָצָהָר*, &c.

e 48. Nouns with מ prefixed. This *preformative Mēm*, which is no doubt connected with *מִי* *who*, and *מָה* *what* (see § 37 and § 52 c), appears in a very large number of nouns, and serves to express the most varied modifications of the idea of the stem: (1) *מ* *subjective*, when preformative of the participles *Pf'al*, *Hiph'il*, *Hithpa'el*, and other active conjugations. (2) *מ* *objective*, when preformative of the participles *Pu'al*, *Hoph'al*, and other passive conjugations, as well as of numerous nouns. (3) *מ* *instrumental*, as in *מִפְתִּיחַ* *a key*, &c. (4) *מ* *local*, as in *מִדְּבָר* *a drive for cattle*, &c.

f As regards the formation of these nouns, it is to be remarked that the preformative *מ* was originally in most cases followed by a short *ä*. This *ä*, however, in a closed syllable is frequently attenuated to *i*; in an open syllable before the tone it is lengthened to *ā* (so also the *i*, attenuated from *ä*, is lengthened to *ē*), and in *מִגֶּן* *shield* (with suff. *מִגֶּנִּי*) it even becomes unchangeable *ä*. But in an open syllable which does not stand before the tone, the *ä* necessarily becomes *Sewä*.

g The following forms are especially to be noticed: (a) ground-form *māqāl*, in Hebrew *מִקְאֵל*,¹ e. g. *מִקְאֵל* *food*; fem. *מִקְאֵלָה* *kingdom*, *מִקְאֵלָה* *a knife*, *מִקְאֵלָה* *a gift*; from verbs *מִקְאֵל*, *מִקְאֵל* *a going forth*, *מִקְאֵל* *a seat*; from verbs *מִקְאֵל*, *מִקְאֵל* *the best* (from *מִתְאֵל*); with י (or ו) assimilated, *מִקְאֵל* *a bed*; from verbs *מִקְאֵל*, *מִקְאֵל* *a screen*, and with the shortening of the *ä* under the preformative, *מִקְאֵל* *bitterness* (from *מִקְאֵל* developed to a segholate), fem. *מִקְאֵלָה* *desolation*; from a verb *מִקְאֵל*, probably of this class is *מִקְאֵל* *place*, the *ä* lengthened to *ā* and obscured to *ō* (Arabic *māqām*); from verbs *מִקְאֵל*, *מִקְאֵל* *appearance*, *מִקְאֵל* (for *מִקְאֵלָה*) *prop. intention*, only in *מִקְאֵל* *on account of*, *in order that*.

h (b) Ground-form *miqāl* (the usual form of the infin. *Qal* in Aramaic), Hebr. *מִקְאֵל*, e. g. *מִדְּבָר* (in Jer 2¹ also, where Baer requires *הַמִּדְּבָר*, read with ed. Mant., Ginsburg, &c. *הַמִּדְּבָר* *a cattle-drive*, fem. *מִדְּבָרָה* *war*, *מִדְּבָרָה* *a chariot* (with *S^ghöl* instead of *i*, but in constr. st. *מִדְּבָרָה* Gn 41⁴³; cf. *מִדְּבָרָה* *distance*), *מִשְׁמֶרֶת* *a watch*; from verbs *מִשְׁמֶרֶת*, e. g. *מִשְׁמֶרֶת* *surroundings* (from *mī-sāb*; *i* in the open syllable being lengthened to *ē*; but cf. also *מִשְׁמֶרֶת* Is 33⁴ as constr. *state* from *שָׁקַק* with sharpening of the first radical; cf. § 67 g); from verbs *מִשְׁמֶרֶת*, *מִשְׁמֶרֶת* *a possession*, fem. *מִשְׁמֶרֶתָהּ*.

¹ In *מִמְתָּקִים* Ct 5¹⁶, Neh 8¹⁰, the first syllable is artificially opened to avoid the cacophony; on the *ä* of the second syllable cf. § 93 ee.

(c) Ground-form *māqûl*, Hebr. מַקְטֵל, e.g. מַשְׁעֵן *a support* (fem. מַשְׁעָנָה), *i* מַסְגֵּר *a smith*, מַעֲשֵׂר *a tithe*; fem. מַבְשָׁלָה *a ruin*; from a verb פָּן מַנְפֵּחַ *an overthrow*, מַצְבֵּה *a pillar*; from verbs עָנַן מָגֵן *a shield*; fem. מַגִּלָּה *a roll* (from גָּלַל מַאֲרָה *a curse* (for *m^eirrä* from אָרַר); from a verb פָּו מוֹקֵשׁ *a snare* (from מִוֹקֵשׁ).

(d) Ground-form *miqûl*, Hebr. מִקְטֵל, e.g. מִסְפָּד mourning, מִזְבֵּחַ *an altar* *h* (place of sacrifice); from a verb עָנַן מִסָּב (מִסָּב?) *concessus*; (e) ground-form *māqûl*, Hebr. מַקְטֵל; fem. מַאֲכָלָה *food*, מַשְׂפָּרָה *wages*; from a verb עָנַן מַכְבֵּה *a covering* (from כָּבַה). Also from עָנַן, according to the Masora, מַעוֹן *a refuge*, with suffixes מַעוֹנִי and מַעוֹנִי, plur. מַעוֹנִים, but, very probably, most if not all of these forms are to be referred to the stem עָנַן *to flee for safety*, and therefore should be written מַעוֹנִי, &c. The form מַעוֹן, if derived from the stem עָנַן, would mean *stronghold*.—Cf. also מְרִירָה *faintness*, developed to a segholate, probably from מְרִירָה, for *mārūkh* from רָכַב, like מְחָם *soundness of body*, from חָמַם.

With a long vowel in the second syllable: (f) ground-form *maqûl*, with *ā* always obscured to *ō*, e.g. מְחֹסֵר *want*, מְלֻקָּח *booty*; from verbs עָנַן מִנּוּרָה *fear*, fem. מִנּוּרָה and מִנּוּרָה (with the *ō* depressed to *ū* in a toneless syllable; cf. § 27 n), מְחֹמֶה, &c., Is 22^b. (g) Ground-form *miqûl*, in Hebr. again מִקְטֵל, e.g. מְסַתֵּר *a covert*, מַבְשָׁל *a stumbling-block* (cf. above under *i*, *mākhšēlā*); fem. מַבְמָרָה *a fishing-net*; (h) the ground-forms *maqûl*, *miqûl* (cf. מִקְוִים) are found only in participles *Hiph'ûl*; the fem. מְבִלְיָנִית, *cheerfulness*, is a denominative formed from a participle *Hiph'ûl*; (i) ground-form *māqûl*, as מְלִבְיֵשׁ *a garment*.

Rem. On מ as preformative of the participles of all the conjugations except *III Qal* and *Niph'al*, cf. § 52 c. Many of these participles have become substantives, as מוֹפְרָה *snuffers*, מְשִׁחִית *destroyer, destruction*.

49. Nouns with נ prefixed. Besides the participles *Niph'al* (ground-form נִמְקֵל, still retained e.g. in נִמְלָד for *nāwlad*, but commonly attenuated to *nāqûl*, Hebr. נִמְקֵל) and the infinitive *Niph'al* of the form נִמְקֵל, the prefix נ is found in נִמְשָׁלִים *wrestlings*, Gn 3c⁸, which is also to be referred to *Niph'al*, and נִייד *boiled pottage* (stem נִייד).

50. With ש prefixed, e.g. שֶׁלֶהָבֶת *a flame*. On this *Šaph'el* formation, cf. § 55 i. O

51. Nouns with ת prefixed. Examples of this formation are numerous, especially from weak stems, for the purpose of strengthening them phonetically (see Barth, *ibid.*, p. 283), and notably from verbs פָּו פִּתּוּשׁ *a settler*; fem. תּוֹחָלָה *expectation*, תּוֹכַחַת (from the *Hiph'ûl* הוֹכִיחַ *correction*; from a verb פָּו תִּימֵן *the south*; from verbs פָּו and לָּה תְּנָדָה *thanksgiving*, and תְּנָדָה *law*, both from *Hiph'ûl*; from a verb פָּו and לָּה תּוֹצֵאוֹת *issues*; probably belonging to this class, from verbs עָנַן תְּבִלָּה *confusion*, and תִּמָּס *a melting away* (developed from תְּבִלָּה and תִּמָּס, from בָּלַל and מָסַם).

(b) *Tiqûl*, e.g. fem. תְּפָאָרָה and תְּפָאָרָה *glory*; from a verb לָּה תִּקְוָה *hope*; (c) *tāqûl*, e.g. תִּשְׁבִּין *chequer work*; fem. תְּרִמָּה *deep sleep* (probably from the *Niph'al* תִּרַּם); from a verb פָּו תִּכְחָה *correction* (from the *Hiph'ûl*-stem, like the constr. st. plur. תּוֹלָדוֹת *generations*); from verbs עָנַן תִּהַלָּה *praise*, תְּפִלָּה *prayer* (from the *P'el* of the stems הָלַל and פָּלַל).

- ^r With a long vowel in the second syllable: (d) *tīgāl*, as תִּהוֹם *the ocean*, the deep (for *t'hām*; in Assyrian the fem. *tiāmtu*, constr. st. *tiāmat*, is the usual word for sea), unless it is to be derived with Delitzsch, *Prolegomena*, p. 113, from the stem תהם; (e) *tāqūl* (in Arabic the usual form of the infinitive of conjugation II. which corresponds to the Hebrew *Pi'āl*), e.g. from a verb ל"ה, fem. תְּכִלִּית completeness; in Arabic *increase, usury*, with a parallel form מְרִבִּית; in a passive sense, תִּלְמִיד a disciple; (f) תִּקְטוֹל, e.g. תַּפּוּחַ an apple (for *tānpū'ah*); very frequently used to form abstracts, e.g. תִּנְמוּל a benefit (also תְּנוּל); from verbs ע"י תְּבוּסָה a treading down, תְּנוּפָה a waving (like תְּרוּמָה a lifting up, from the *Hiph'ūl* stem), תְּנוּנָה a longing, &c.; very frequently also as an abstract plural, e.g. תִּפְּסוּכּוֹת perverseness, תִּתְּבִלוֹת guidance, תִּמְרוּרִים bitterness, תִּנְחֻמִּים and תִּנְחֻמוֹת consolation; from a verb ע"י תִּנְחֻמִּים toil.

XI. Nouns with Affirmatives.

- ^s 52. Nouns with ל affixed. Perhaps חֲשֵׁמֶל *amber* (?), and probably בְּרִנֹּל *iron*, בְּרִמֶּל *garden-land* (*S^ghōl* in both cases is probably a modification of the original *ā* in the tone-syllable), גְּבֻעַל *bloom*, cf. § 30 g.—According to Prätorius, *ZDMG*. 1903, p. 530 ff., *al* is an affix of endearment in the proper names מִיכָל, תְּמוּנֶל (*little lizard* ?) אֲבִינֵל (also אֲבִינֵל).
- ^t 53. Nouns with ם affixed. With an original *ām* as affirmative, אֵלֶם *vestibule* (although the *ā* in the *sing.* remains unchangeable), plur. אֵלֶמִים; but in בָּנִם a swarm of gnats, the ם is radical. With original affirmative *ām*, עִרֹם (also עָרֹם) naked (from עור), plur. עִרְמִים Gn 3⁷, parallel form עָרוֹם, plur. עִרְמִים Gn 2²⁵.—To this class also belong the adverbs in *ām* and *ēm*, mentioned in § 100 g, and many proper names, as גִּרְשֻׁם, also גִּרְשֻׁם, and גִּרְשֻׁן (*patronymic* גִּרְשֻׁנִי מֶלֶכֶם, עֶמְרֹם, &c.; but for פְּדִיוֹם ransom (?), Nu 3⁴⁹, probably פְּדִיִּים is to be read.
- ^u 54. Nouns with ך affixed. The ך is added by means of a simple helping vowel in כְּנַעַן *Canaan*, and צַפֶּרֶן a finger nail; more frequently the addition is made by means of a tone-bearing *ā*, which in Hebrew is modified to *S^ghōl* (as אֵז *axe*) or lengthened to *ā* (but cf. also אֲחֻרָּית and אֲחֻרָּית; e.g. קִנְיָן a possession, שֻׁלְחָן a table, קָרְבָן an offering. From an original *ā* being changed into an obscure *ō* we may probably explain such forms as דָּאָבוֹן a pining away; דָּרְבוֹן (also דָּרְבָן) a goad; רָעָבוֹן hunger; from verbs ל"ה זָאוֹן pride, הָמוֹן noise, חֲזוֹן a vision; שִׁיָּבוֹן a coat of mail; from a verb פ"ן מִשְׁאָבוֹן guile (the only instance with both מ preformative and ם affirmative)¹; very frequently from the simple stem with an unorganic sharpening of the second radical, e.g. זְכָרִיֹן memorial, בְּלִיָּו destruction (constr. st. זְכָרִיֹן and בְּלִיָּו, &c.; cf. also הָרִיָּו pregnancy (for הָרִי) and § 93 u; קִלְקָלוֹן shame, for קָלְקָלוֹן. Proper names occur with the termination *ān*, as יִשְׂרָאֵל, § 86 g, and others.

¹ The plurals נִצְנִים flowers, Ct 2¹², and קִשְׁטִים thorns appear to be formed directly from the singulars נִצָּה (cf. נִצְהָה) and קִשְׁטָה with the insertion of *ān* (which in קִשְׁטָה is obscured to *ōn*). See Nöldeke, *Mand. Gr.*, p. 169, Rem. 3; similarly, according to Hoffmann, 'Einige phöniz. Inschriften,' p. 15 (*Abh. der Gött. Ges. der Wiss.*, xxxvi), עֲבֻבָּה wares, Ez 27^{14, 16} from עֲבֻבָּה = עֲבֻבָּה.

Rem. A large number of proper names now ending in ה־ or י־ used to be classed as nouns originally formed with the affix יָן־. The subsequent rejection of the final *Nûn* seemed to be confirmed by the form מְנַדֵּן, once used (Zc 12¹¹) for מְנַדֵּן (and conversely in Pr 27²⁰ *Kethibh* מְנַדֵּן, *Qere* מְנַדֵּן for מְנַדֵּן destruction), also by the fact that for שְׁלֹמֹה the LXX give the form Σολωμῶν or Σαλωμῶν, and especially that in patronymics and tribal names (§ 86 h) a *Nûn* appears before the termination י־, as גִּלְיָיִ Gilonite from גִּלְיָה and שִׁילְיָיִ from שִׁילָה (modern name *Sailûn*). Wetzstein, however (in Delitzsch's *Commentary on Job*, 1st ed., p. 599), explained the *Nûn* in מְנַדֵּן as a secondary addition to the common old-Palestinian termination δ (יִדְהוֹ), עֲבוֹ, רְפוּנוֹ, &c.), and Barth (*Nominalbildung*, § 224 b) has since shown the unsoundness of the prevailing view on other grounds: the rejection of the *Nûn* would be much more likely to occur in the numerous appellatives in *ôn* than in proper names, and גִּלְיָיִ and שִׁילְיָיִ are due to the necessity of avoiding, for euphonic reasons, such forms as *gilô-î*, *silô-î*, &c.; cf. also שִׁילְיָיִ from שִׁילָה.

On the affirmatives יָן־, יָן־, יָת־, see below, § 86 h-l.

XII. *Quadriliterals and Quinqueliterals.*

55. בָּלְמוֹר *barren*, חֶלְמִישׁ *a flint*, and the fem וְלֶעֱפָה *heat*, &c., have probably arisen from the insertion of a ל; חֶרְגֹּל *a locust*, קֶרֶם *an axe*, כַּרְעֶפֶה *a branch*, Ez 31⁵ (verses 6, 8 כַּרְעֶפֶה, שְׂרַעֲפִים (also שְׂעֲפִים) *anxious thoughts*, שֶׁטְרֵיט *sceptre*, from insertion of a ר, which is common in Aramaic. Cf., moreover, חֶרְמִישׁ *a sickle*, סְמוֹרֶת *vine-blossom*; with an initial ע, עֶטְמֶלֶךְ *a bat*, עֶבְרִישׁ *a spider*, עֶקְבָּר *a mouse*, עֶקְרֶב *a scorpion*,¹ &c.—Quinqueliteral, צִפְרִדָּע *a frog*.

§ 86. *Denominative Nouns.*

1. Such are all nouns formed *immediately* from another noun, *a* whether the latter be primitive or derived from a verb, e.g. קֶדְמוֹן *eastern*, immediately from קָדַם *the east* (verbal stem קָדַם *to be in front*).

2. Most of the forms which nouns of this class assume have already *b* been given in §§ 84 and 85, since the denominatives, as secondary (although in some cases very old) forms, invariably follow the analogy of the verbal derivatives. As, for instance, the verbals with a prefixed מ (*§ 85 e to m*) express the place, &c., of an action, so the denominatives with מ *local* represent the place where a thing is found or its neighbourhood (see *e*).

The most common forms of denominatives are—

1. Those like the *participle Qal* (§ 84^a s), e.g. שְׂעִיר *a porter*, from שָׁעַר *a gate*; בֹּקֵר *a herdsman*, from בָּקָר *a herd*; בֹּרֵךְ *a vinedresser*, from בָּרַךְ *a vineyard*.
2. Those like the form *gaffāl* (§ 84^b d), e.g. קֹשֶׁת *an archer*, from קָשָׁת *a bow*.

¹ Derenbourg (*REJ.*, 1883, p. 165) infers from the above examples and a comparison of the Arabic *usfûr*, *sparrow* (from *safara*, *to chirp*), that ע was especially employed to form quadriliteral names of animals.

Both these forms (*c* and *d*) indicate customary occupations, inhering in the subject, like Greek nouns in *της, τεύς*, e. g. *πολιτης, γραμματεύς*.

e 3. Nouns with *מ* prefixed, denoting the place where a thing is (cf. § 85 *e*), or its neighbourhood, e. g. *מַעְיָן* a place of fountains, from *עָיַן*; *מִרְגְּלוֹת* the place about the feet, *מִרְאֲשׁוֹת* the place about the head, from *רָגַל*; *רֹאשׁ*, *מִקְשָׁה* (for *מִקְשָׁה*) a cucumber field, from *קָשָׂא* cucumber. Cf. *ἀμπελῶν* from *ἀμπελος*.

f 4. Nouns with the termination *ן* or *וֹן* expressing adjectival ideas: *קֶדְמוֹן* eastern, from *קָדַם*; *אַחֲרוֹן* posterior, from *אַחַר*; *חַיצוֹן* exterior, from *חוּץ*; probably also *לְוִיָּהּ* coiled, hence coiled animal, serpent, from *לְוִיָּה* a winding; *נְחֹשֶׁת* brazen, from *נָחַשׁ* brass. Also abstracts, e. g. *עֵרָוֹן* blindness, from *עָרַו*. Cf. § 85 *u*.—With a double termination (*on* or *an* with *i*) *אֲדָמִי* reddish, *יָדְעִי* a knowing (spirit); *צִפְעִי* basilisk; *רַחֲמָנִית* merciful [fem. plur.].

g *אִישׁוֹן* appears to be used as a diminutive ending (cf. the Syriac *וִן*) *אִישׁוֹן* little man (in the eye), *אֵיִשׁ* apple of the eye, from *אֵיִשׁ*; on the other hand *שְׂפִיפָן* adder, which was formerly regarded as a diminutive, is properly an adjectival form from *שָׁפַף* to rub (hence, as it were, a rubbing creature); in the same way *יִשְׂרָאֵן* is a denominative from *יִשְׂרָאֵל* (= *יִשְׂרָאֵל*), properly upright (righteous people), and not a diminutive (pious little people, and the like); finally *שָׁחָרוֹן* is not lunula, but an artificial moon (used as an ornament), and *צִנְרָנִים* not little neck, but necklace (from *צָוָר* neck). Cf. Delitzsch on Ct 4^o.

h 5. Peculiar to denominatives is the termination *י*, which converts a substantive into an adjective, and is added especially to numerals and names of persons and countries, in order to form ordinals, patronymics, and tribal names; e. g. *רַגְלִי* footman, plur. *רַגְלִים*, from *רָגַל* foot; *אֲכֹרִי* cruel, *נֶכְרִי* strange, from *נֶכֶד* strangeness, *תַּחְתִּי* lower, from *תַּחַת* below, fem. *תַּחְתִּית* and *תַּחְתִּינָה*, plur. *תַּחְתִּיִּים*; *שֵׁשִׁי* the sixth, from *שֵׁשׁ* six; *מוֹאבִּי* Moabite, from *מוֹאָב*, plur. *מוֹאבִּים*, fem. *מוֹאבִּיָּה* and *מוֹאבִּית*, plur. *מוֹאבִּיּוֹת*; *עִבְרִי* Hebrew, plur. *עִבְרִים* and *עִבְרִיִּים*, fem. *עִבְרִיָּה*, plur. *עִבְרִיּוֹת*; *יִשְׂרָאֵלִי* Israelite, from *יִשְׂרָאֵל*. When the original substantive is a compound, it is resolved again into two words, e. g. *בְּנֵימִי* Benjamite, from *בְּנִימִין* (cf. on the use of the article in such cases, § 127 *d*).

i Instead of *י* we find in a few cases (*a*) the ending *יָ* (as in Aram.), e. g. *כִּלְיָ* (crafty, or, according to others, churlish) if it stands for *כִּלְיִי* and is not rather from a stem *כלא* or *כלה*; *חֹרְיָ* white cloth, Is 19^o in pause; perhaps also *נִבְיָ* a swarm of locusts, Am 7¹ (נִבְיָ Na 3¹⁷); hardly *נִינֹתִי* Is 38²⁰, Hb 3¹⁹; but certainly in proper names as *בָּרְזִלִי* (ferreus) Barzillai;² and (*b*) *הָ*,

[¹ Cf. Barth, § 212; König, ii. 1, 413. Diminutives in Semitic languages are, however, most commonly formed by inserting a *y* after the second radical, e. g. Aram. *עֵלְיָמָא*, Syr. *حَكَمَلَا*, Arab. *عَلَيْمٌ* a very young man, *kulaib*, a little dog, &c. Since Olshausen (§ 180) *זְעִיר* (Is 28^{10,13}, Jb 36²) has commonly been regarded as an example of the same form, to which others have added *שְׁבִיכִים* Is 3¹⁸ (as though a foreign dialectical form for *šumais*, little sun), and *אֲמִינוֹן* 2 S 13²⁰, as a contemptuous diminutive form of *אֲמִנוֹן*; cf. Ewald, § 167, W. Wright, *Arab. Gramm.* 2 i. § 269, De Lagarde, *Nominalbildung*, pp. 85–87, König, ii. 1, p. 143 f. The existence of the form in Hebrew is disputed by Barth, § 192 *d*.]

² On *יָ* as an old fem. ending, see above, § 80 *L*.

arising from *ay*, in אֶשָּׁה *belonging to fire* (אֵשׁ), i. e. *a sacrifice offered by fire*; לְבָנָה (prop. *milky*) the *storax-shrub*, Arabic *lubnay*.

6. *Abstract nouns formed from concretes* by the addition of וֹת, [ת, וֹת] k (§ 95 t), cf. our terminations *-dom, -hood, -ness*, e. g. יְלֻדוֹת *youth*, מְלֻכּוֹת *kingdom* (the omission of the *Dageš* in כ shows that the *Š^{wa}* is weakened from a full vowel; on *malik* as underlying the present form מַלְכָּה cf. § 84^a a); אֶמְנִיּוֹת *widowhood*, from אֶלְמָן *widower*, אֶלְמָנָה *widow*. In Aram. this fem. ending וֹת (or וֹ with rejection of the ת) is a common termination of the infinitive in the derived conjugations (cf., as substantival infinitives of this kind, הַשְׁעָעוֹת *the announcing*, Ez 24²⁵, and הַתְחַבְּרוֹת *the making of a league*, Dn 11²³); in Hebr. וֹת as a termination to express abstract ideas (including some which appear to be directly derived from the verbal stem, as כְּבֻלוֹת *folly*, רְפָאוֹת *a healing*¹) becomes more common only in the later books. It is affixed to adjectives ending in *i* (see above, h) in אֲכִירִיּוֹת *cruelty*, and קוֹמְמִיּוֹת *upright position* (Lv 26¹³, used adverbially).

The ending וֹת is found earlier, e. g. in שְׂאִירֵית *remainder*, רִאשִׁית *principium*, from רֹאשׁ = רֵאשׁ (head) *princeps*. The termination *ōth* seems to occur in חֲכָמוֹת *wisdom* (in Pr 1²⁰, 9¹, joined to a singular; so also חֲכָמוֹת Pr 14¹, where, probably, חֲכָמוֹת should likewise be read) and in הוֹלִלּוֹת Ec 1¹⁷, &c., with the parallel form הוֹלִלּוֹת Ec 10¹³.

§ 87. Of the Plural.

Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, i. 426 ff., and on the feminines, p. 441 ff.; M. Lambert, 'Remarques sur la formation du pluriel hébreu,' *REJ.* xxiv. 99 ff., and 'Les anomalies du pluriel des noms en Hébreu,' *REJ.* xliii. 206 ff.; P. Lajčiak, *Die Plural- u. Dualendungen im semit. Nomen*, Lpz. 1903; J. Barth, 'Beiträge zur Pluralbildung des Semit.,' *ZDMG.* 1904, p. 431 ff., i. 'the *ai* of the constr. st.'

1. The regular *plural* termination for the *masculine gender* is וֹת, *a* always with the tone, e. g. סוּסִים *horse*, plur. סוּסִים *horses*; but also very often written defectively סִים, especially when in the same word one of the vowel letters, ו or י, precedes, e. g. Gn 1²¹ מִצִּיגִים. Nouns in וֹת make their plural in וֹתִים, e. g. עֵבְרִי *a Hebrew*, plur. עֵבְרִיִּים (Ex 3¹⁸); but usually contraction takes place, e. g. עֵבְרִים; שָׁנִים *crimson garments*, from שָׁנִי.

Nouns in הֹת lose this termination when they take the plural *b* ending, e. g. הֹרִים *seer*, plur. הֹרִים (cf. § 75 h).—In regard to the loss of the tone from the וֹת in the two old plurals מַיִם *water* and שָׁמַיִם *heaven*, cf. § 88 d and § 96.

The termination וֹת is sometimes assumed also by feminines (cf. c נָשִׁים *women*, § 96 under אִשָּׁה; שָׁנִים *years*, from שָׁנָה; יָמִים *eves*, from יָמָה), so that an indication of gender is not necessarily implied in it (cf. also below, m-p).—On the use of this termination וֹת to express abstract, extensive, and intensive ideas, cf. § 124.

¹ [See a complete list of instances in König, *Lehrgelehrte*, ii. 1, p. 205 f.]

d The ending *im* is also common in Phoenician, e. g. צִדְנִים *Sidonii*; Assyrian has *āni* (acc. to P. Haupt originally *āmi*, cf. § 88 *d*); Aramaic has *in*; Arabic *ūna* (nominative) and *ina* (in the oblique cases, but in vulgar Arabic *in* is also used for the nominative); Ethiopic *ān*. Cf. also the verbal ending *in* in the 3rd plur. perf. (§ 44 *l*) and in the 3rd and 2nd plur. impf. (§ 47 *m*).¹

e Less frequent, or only apparent terminations of the plur. masc. are—

(*a*) *in*, as in Aramaic,² found almost exclusively in the later books of the O. T. (apart from the poetical use in some of the older and even the oldest portions, viz. מְלָכִין *kings*, Pr 31³, צָרִיכִין 1 K 11³³, רָצִין *the guard*, 2 K 11¹³, חֲמִין *wheat*, Ez 4³; defectively יָסִין *islands*, Ez 26¹⁸; יָמִין *days*, Dn 12¹³. Cf. also כִּרְמִין *carpets*, Ju 5¹⁰, in the North-Palestinian song of Deborah, which also has other linguistic peculiarities; עֵיִן *heaps*, Mi 3¹² (before *ת*; cf. § 44 *k*); מִלִּין *words* (from the really Aram. מִלְּיָהּ, Jb 4², and twelve other places in Job (beside מִלִּים, ten times in Job); further, חֲיִין Jb 24²², אֲחֵרִין 31¹⁰, and שׁוֹמְמִין La 1⁴, תַּנְיִן 4³.—The following forms are doubtful:

f (*b*) *in* (with the *ד* rejected, as, according to some, in the *dual* for יָרִים *יָרִים* Ez 13¹⁸, cf. § 88 *c*), e. g. מְכִין *stringed instruments*, ψ 45⁹ for כְּנִים (unless it is to be so written)³; עַמִּי *peoples*, ψ 144², and, probably, also La 3¹⁴ (in 2 S 22⁴⁴ it may be taken as עַמִּי *my people*; cf. in the parallel passage ψ 184⁴ עַם; also in Ct 8² the *י* of רַמְּנִי is better regarded as a *suffix*); see also 2 S 23⁸ as compared with 1 Ch 11¹¹, and on the whole question Gesenius, *Lehrgebäude*, p. 524 ff. More doubtful still is—

g (*c*) *in* (like the constr. state in Syriac), which is supposed to appear in e. g. שָׂרִין *princes*, Ju 5¹⁵ (perhaps *my princes* is intended: read either the constr. st. שָׂרִי, which also has good authority, or with LXX שָׂרִים); for חֲלוּנֵי וס' Jer 22¹⁴ (according to others *dual*, see § 88 *c*, or a loan word, cf. ZA. iii. 93) read חֲלוּנֵי כְּפוֹן. On חֲנוּרִי and חֲנוּרִי, which have also been so explained, see above, § 86 *i*.—חֲשׁוּפֵי Is 20⁴ (where the right reading is certainly חֲשׁוּפֵי) must be intended by the Masora either as a singular with the formative syllable *in* = *bareness* or, more probably, as a constr. st. with the original termination *ay* (cf. § 89 *d*) to avoid the harsh combination *ḥaššufē šāfē*⁴; in אֲרָנִי *the Lord* (prop. *my lord*, from the plur. *majestatis*, אֲרָנִים *lord*, the *ay* was originally a *suffix*, § 135 *q*).

h (*d*) *in* a supposed *plural* ending in כְּנִים = כְּנִים *gnats* (or *lice*), and כִּלְסִין *ladder* (supposed by some to be a plur. like our *stairs*); but cf. on the former, § 85 *t*.

i 2. The plural termination of the *feminine gender* is generally indicated by the termination וֹת (often written defectively ת'—, e. g. הַתְּהִלָּה *song of praise, psalm*, plur. תְּהִלוֹת (only in post-biblical Hebrew

¹ On the connexion between all these endings see Dietrich's *Abhandl. zur hebr. Gramm.*, Leipzig, 1846, p. 51 ff.; Halévy, *REJ.* 1888, p. 138 ff. [cf. also Driver, *Tenses*, § 6, Obs. 2].

² So also always in the Mešša' inscription, e. g. line 2 שְׁלֹשֶׁן *thirty*; line 4 מְלָכִין *kings*; line 5 יָמִין *many days*, &c.

³ According to some this *י* is simply due to a neglect of the point (§ 5 *m*), which in MSS. and elsewhere marked the abbreviation of the plur. ending.

⁴ Prätorius, *ZDMG.* 1903, p. 525, regards חֲשׁוּפֵי as an instance of the affix of endearment (cf. אֲהַבְתִּי, פְּלִיבִי) transferred to an appellative, but such an explanation is rendered unlikely by the meaning of this isolated instance.

תְּהִלָּים, as in the headings of the printed editions, as well as סֵפֶר תְּהִלֹּת (*the Book of Psalms*); אֶזְרָת *a letter*, plur. אֶזְרֹת; בְּאֵר *a well*, plur. בְּאֵרוֹת. Feminines in יָת־ form their plural in יָת־, e.g. מִצְרִיִּית *an Egyptian woman*, plur. מִצְרִיִּיֹת; and those in יֹת either make יָת־, as מְלִכְיָה *kingdom*, plur. מְלִכְיָוֹת, Dn 8²² (cf. תְּחִיֹּת *cells*, Jer 37¹⁶), or are inflected like עֲדוּתֹת *testimonies* (pronounced *edh'wōth* for *edh'wōth*).

It is only from a mistake or disregard of these feminine endings יָת־ and יֹת־ that some words ending with them form their plural by the addition of יָם or יֹת, e.g. הַנִּיָּת *spear*, plur. הַנִּיָּתֹת and הַנִּיָּתִים; הַנִּיָּתֹת *whoredom*, plur. הַנִּיָּתֹת (by the side of הַנִּיָּתִים); אֶלְמְנוּתֹת *widowhood*; וְנִיָּתֹת (by the side of וְנִיָּתִים); וְנִיָּתֹת *pits*, plur. וְנִיָּתֹת (if connected with Assy. *kāsu*, to bind), &c.

The termination *-ōth* stands primarily for *-āth* (which is the form it has in *l* Arab., Eth., in the constr. st. of Western Aramaic, in Eastern Syriac, and also in Assyrian; on the change of *ā* into an obscure *ō*, see § 9 g). On the other hand, it is doubtful whether this *āth* is to be regarded as a lengthened and stronger form of the singular fem. ending *āth* (cf. § 80 b).

How the changeable vowels of a noun are shortened or become *Šewā* in consequence of the addition of the plural endings is explained in §§ 92-5.

3. Words which in the singular are used both as masculine and *m* feminine (§ 122 d), often have in the plural parallel forms with the masculine and feminine terminations, e.g. עָבֹד *cloud*, plur. עָבֹדִים and עָבֹדֹת; and each form may be treated either as masculine or feminine, according to the usage of the particular word.—But even those words, of which the gender is invariable, sometimes have both plural forms, e.g. דֹּר masc. *a generation*, plur. דֹּרִים and דֹּרוֹת; שָׁנָה fem. *a year*, plur. שָׁנִים and שָׁנוֹת (see the Rem.). In these words the gender of both plural forms remains the same as in the singular, e.g. אֶרֶץ masc. *a lion*, plur. אֶרְצֵי masc., Zp 3³, דֹּרוֹת masc., Jb 42¹⁶.

Sometimes usage makes a distinction between the two plural forms of the *n* same word. Thus, יָמִים *days*, שָׁנִים *years* are the usual, but יָמֹת (only twice, in the constr. st. Dt 32⁷, ψ 90¹⁵) and שָׁנוֹת (also only in the constr. st. and before suffixes) are rarer poetic forms.

A difference of meaning appears in several names of members of the body, *o* the dual (see § 88) denoting the living members themselves, while the plur. in יָת expresses something like them, but without life (§ 122 u), e.g. יָדִים *hands*, יָדֹת *artificial hands*, also e.g. the *arms* of a throne; כַּפִּים *hands*, כַּפֹּת *handles* (Lat. *manubria*); רַגְלִים *feet*, רַגְלֹת *artificial feet* (of the ark), קַרְנִים *horns*, קַרְנוֹת *horns* (of the altar); עֵינִים *eyes*, עֵינוֹת *fountains*; cf. also אֶרְצֵי *lions*, אֶרְצֵי *figures of lions* on Solomon's throne, תַּמָּר *palm*, תַּמָּרָה *a palm-like column*, plur. תַּמָּרוֹת and תַּמָּרִים.

4. A considerable number of masculines form their plural in יָת, *p* while many feminines have a plural in יָם. The gender of the singular, however, is as a rule retained in the plural.

Undoubted instances of masculines with (masculine) plural in **ות** are : **אב** father, **באר** and **בור** cistern, **זנב** tail, **חלום** dream, **כפא** throne, **לב** and **לֵבב** heart, **לוח** tablet, **לַיְלָה** and **לַיְלָה** night, **מזבח** altar, **מקום** place, **נאר** skin-bottle, **נר** lamp, **עור** skin, **קול** voice, **שֻׁלְחָן** table, **שֵׁם** name, **שופר** trumpet.

q Feminines ending in **ה** which take in the plural the termination **ים** are **אֵלֶּה** terebinth, **אֵימָה** terror (but also **דְּבִלָה** a cake of figs, **חֲמֵה** wheat, **לִבְנָה** a brick, **מִלָּה** (only in poetry) a word, **מִצָּה** sea, a dry measure, **שְׁעוּרָה** barley, and the following names of animals **דְּבוּרָה** a bee and **יוֹנָה** a dove; also, for **בִּיצִים** fem. eggs, a singular **בִּיצָה** is to be assumed. **אֶלְמָה** sheaf and **שָׁנָה** year (see above, n) take both **ים** and **ות**; cf. finally **שִׁפְלָה** an ear of corn, plur. **שִׁפְלִים**, and without the fem. termination in the singular **פִּילָגֶשׁ** concubine, plur. **פִּילָגִשִׁים**.

5. A strict distinction in gender between the two plural endings is found, in fact, only in adjectives and participles, e.g. **טוֹבִים** boni, **טוֹבוֹת** bonae, **קָטָלִים** masc., **קָטָלוֹת** fem. So also in substantives of the same stem, where there is an express distinction of sex, as **בָּנִים** filii, **בָּנוֹת** filiae; **מְלָכִים** reges, **מְלָכוֹת** reginae.

8 Rem. 1. In some few words there is added to the plural ending **ות** a second (masculine) plural termination (in the form of the constr. st. **ים**, cf. § 89 c), or a dual ending **ים**, e.g. **בָּמָה** a high place, plur. **בָּמוֹת**, constr. st. **בָּמוֹתַי** (also **בָּמֹתַי** *bāmōthē*, Is 14¹⁴, Jb 9⁸, &c., sometimes as *Qérē* to the K^{ethibh} *בָּמוֹתַי*; see § 95 o); **מִרְאֲשֵׁי שָׁאוּל** from Saul's head, 1 S 26¹²; **חוֹמָה** wall, plur. **חוֹמוֹת** *moenia*, whence dual **חוֹמוֹתַי** double walls. This double indication of the plural appears also in the connexion of suffixes with the plural ending **ות** (§ 91 m).

t 2. Some nouns are only used in the singular (e.g. **אָדָם** man, and collectively men); a number of other nouns only in the plural, e.g. **מִזִּים** men (the old sing. **מִתּוֹ** is only preserved in proper names, see § 90 o; in Eth. the sing. is *mēt*, man); some of these have, moreover, a singular meaning (§ 124 a), as **פָּנִים** face. In such cases, however, the same form can also express plurality, e.g. **פָּנִים** means also faces, Gn 40⁷, Ez 1⁶; cf. **אֱלֹהִים** God, and also gods (the sing. **אֱלֹה**, a later formation from it, occurs only ten times, except in Job forty-one and in Daniel four times).

§ 88. Of the Dual.

Cf. the literature on the Semitic dual in Grünert, *Die Begriffs-Präponderanz und die Duale a potiori im Altarab.* (Wien, 1886), p. 21; Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, p. 455 ff.

a 1. The dual is a further indication of number, which originated in early times. In Hebrew, however, it is almost exclusively used to denote those objects which naturally occur in pairs (see e). The dual termination is never found in adjectives, verbs, or pronouns. In the noun it is indicated in both genders by the termination **ים**.

appended to the ground-form,¹ e.g. יָדַי *both hands*, יוֹמַי *two days*. In the feminine the dual termination is always added to the old ending *ath* (instead of תָּ), but necessarily with *ā* (since it is in an open syllable before the tone), thus יָמַי, e.g. שִׁפָּה *lip*, שִׁפָּתַי *both lips*. From a feminine with the ending תָּ, e.g. נְהִשְׁתָּ (from *n^ohušt*) the dual is formed like נְהִשְׁתַּי *double fetters*.

With nouns which in the singular have not a feminine ending, the *b* dual termination is likewise really added to the ground-form; but the latter generally undergoes certain changes in consequence of the shifting of the tone, e.g. כְּנָף *wing* (ground-form *kānāph*), dual כְּנָפַי, the first *ā* becoming *Š^wā*, since it no longer stands before the tone, and the second *ā* being lengthened before the new tone-syllable. In 1 K 16²⁴, 2 K 5^{23b} the form כְּנָפַי (which should be כְּנָפַי) evidently merely points to the *constr. st.* כְּנָפֵי, which would be expected before כְּנָפַי; cf. כְּנָפַי in 2 K 5^{23a}, and on the syntax see § 131 d. In the segholate forms (§ 84^a a) the dual ending is mostly added to the ground-form, e.g. רֶגֶל *foot* (ground-form *rāgl*), dual רַגְלַי; cf., however, קַרְנַי (only in the book of Daniel), as well as קַרְנַי from קַרְן *horn*, and לִחַי from לֶחֶי *cheek* (as if from the plurals קַרְנוֹת, קַרְחַי).—A feminine dual of an adjective used substantivally occurs in עֲצָלַתַּי *a sluggish pair* (of hands) Ec 10¹⁸ from the sing. עֲצָל.

Rem. 1. Certain place-names were formerly reckoned as dual-forms (so in *C* earlier editions of this Grammar, and still in König's *Lehrgebäude*, ii. 437), viz.—(a) those in תָּ, and תָּ, e.g. דִּתָּן Gn 37^{17a} (locative דִּתָּנָה, but in 17^b דִּתָּן), and דִּתָּן 2 K 6¹⁸; כְּרִיתָן Jos 21³², identical with קְרִיתָי in 1 Ch 6⁶¹ (cf. also the Moabite names of towns in the Mēša' inscription, line 10 קְרִיתָן = Hebrew קְרִיתָי; line 30 בַּת דְּבַלְתָּן = בַּת דְּבַלְתָּי Jer 48²²; lines 31, 32 חֲרוֹנִים = חֲרוֹנֵי Jos 15⁸⁴, &c.); (b) in תָּ, Jos 15⁸⁴ הָעֵינִים (= עֵינַי Gn 38²¹). The view that תָּ and תָּ arise from a contraction of the dual terminations תָּ and תָּ (as in Western Aramaic, cf. also nom. *āni*, accus. *aini*, of the dual in Arabic) and תָּ seemed to be supported by the Mēša' inscription, where we find (line 20) מֵאָתַי *two hundred* = מֵאָתַי, Hebrew מֵאָתַי. But in many of these supposed duals either a dual sense cannot be detected at all, or it does not agree at any rate with the nature of the Semitic dual, as found elsewhere. Hence it can hardly be doubted that תָּ and תָּ in these place-names only arise from a subsequent expansion of the terminations תָּ and תָּ: so Wellhausen, *Jahrbücher für Deutsche Theologie*, xxi. 433; Philipp, *ZDMG*. xxxii. 65 f.; Barth, *Nominalbildung*, p. 319, note 5; Strack, *Kommentar zur Genesis*, p. 135. The strongest argument in favour of this opinion is that we have a clear case of such an expansion in the *Q^ré perpetuum* (§ 17 c) יְרוּשָׁלַיִם for יְרוּשָׁלַיִם (so, according to Strack, even in old MSS. of the Mišna; cf. *Urusalim* in the Tel-el-Amarna tablets, and the Aramaic form יְרוּשָׁלַיִם: similarly in

¹ On dual endings appended to the plural see § 87 s and § 95 o at the beginning.

the Aramaic שְׁמֵרִין = שְׁמֵרִין for the Hebrew שְׁמֵרִין *Samaria*.—We may add to this list נַחְרִים, אֶפְרַיִם, the river country (in the Tel-el-Amarna letters *nārīma*, *na'rīma*), מִצְרַיִם *Egypt*, Phoenician מַצְרָם; also the words denoting time, צַהֲרַיִם *midday* (Mēša' inscription, line 15 צַהֲרָם), and perhaps עֶרְבַיִם *in the evening*, if the regular expression בֵּין-הָעֶרְבַיִם Ex 12⁶, 16¹², &c., is only due to mistaking עֶרְבַיִם for a dual: LXX πρὸς ἑσπέρην, τὸ δειλινόν, ὕψι, and only in Lv 23⁵ ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν ἑσπερινῶν. The Arabs also say *el 'iṣā'ān*, *the two evenings*, cf. Kuhn's *Literaturblatt*, iii. 48.

Instead of the supposed dual יָרִי Ex 13¹³ read יָרִים. On חַלּוֹנֵי (generally taken to be a *double window*) Jer 22¹⁴, see above, § 87 g.

d 2. Only apparently dual-forms (but really plural) are the words מַיִם *water* and שָׁמַיִם *heaven*. According to P. Haupt in *SBOT*. (critical notes on Isaiah, p. 157, line 18 ff.), they are to be derived from the old plural forms (found in Assyrian) *māmi*, *šamāmi*, whence the Hebr. מַיִם, שָׁמַיִם arose by inversion of the *i*, *māmi*, *māmi*, *māim*. It is simpler, however, to suppose that the primitive singulars *may* and *šamay*, when they took the plural of extension (§ 124 b), kept the tone on the *ay*, thus causing the *im* (which otherwise always has the tone, § 87 a) to be shortened to *im*. Cf. the analogous formations, Arab. *tarqāina*, 2nd fem. sing. imperf. of a verb تَرَقَّى, for *tarqay + ina*, corresponding to *taqtulīna* in the strong verb; also bibl.-Aram. בְּנִין the abs. st. plur. of the ptcip. Qal of בָּנָה (בָּנִי), which otherwise always ends in *in* with the tone, e.g. in the ptcip. Qal of the strong verb, דִּבְחִין *sacrificing*.

e 2. The use of the dual in Hebrew is confined, except in the numerals 2, 12, 200, &c. (see § 97), practically to those objects which are by nature or art always found in *pairs*, especially to the double members of the body (but not necessarily so, cf. וְרַעִים and וְרַעוֹת *arms*, never in the dual), e.g. יָדַיִם *both hands*, אָזְנוֹת *both ears*, שְׁנַיִם *teeth* (of both rows), also נְעָלַיִם *a pair of sandals*, מִאֲזֵנַיִם *a pair of scales*, Lat. *bilanx*, &c.; or things which are at least thought of as forming a pair, e.g. יוֹמִים *two* (successive) *days*, Lat. *biduum*; שָׁבָעַיִם *two weeks*; שְׁנַתַּיִם *two years* (in succession), Lat. *biennium*; אַמְתַּיִם *two cubits*.¹

f In the former case the dual may be used for a plural, either indefinite or defined by a numeral, where it is thought of in a double arrangement, e.g. אַרְבַּע רַגְלַיִם *four feet*, Lv 11²³; שֵׁשׁ כְּנָפַיִם *six wings* (i.e. three pairs), Is 6², Ez 1⁶; even שִׁבְעָה עֵינַיִם *seven eyes*, Zc 3⁹, כָּל-בְּרָכִיָּם *all knees*, Ez 7¹⁷; כָּל-יָדַיִם *all hands*, Ez 21¹²; מִצְלָתַיִם *cymbals*, Ezr 3¹⁰; שְׁפָתַיִם *double-hooks*, Ez 40⁴⁸.—To express a certain emphasis the numeral *two* is used with the dual, as in Ju 16²³, Am 3¹².—See some other remarks on the use of the dual in § 87 o and s.

g It is not impossible that Hebrew at an earlier period made a more extensive and freer use of the dual, and that the restrictions and limitations of its use, mentioned above, belong to a relatively later phase of development. The

¹ But for דְּרָכַיִם Pr 28¹⁸ (which the Masora takes as two roads leading from the cross-ways) דְּרָכַיִם is to be read.

Arabic literary language forms the dual in the noun, pronoun, and verb, almost as extensively as the Sanskrit or Greek; but in modern Arabic it has almost entirely disappeared in the verb, pronoun, and adjective. The Syriac has preserved it only in a few stereotyped forms, with which such duals as the Latin *duo*, *ambo*, *octo* may be compared. In the same way, the dual of the Sanskrit is lost in the modern Indian languages, and its full use in Old Slavonic has been restricted later, e.g. in Bohemian, just as in Hebrew, to *pairs*, such as hands, feet, eyes, ears. On the Germanic dual, see Grimm's *Gramm.*, 2nd ed., i. p. 814.

§ 89. The Genitive and the Construct State.

Philippi, *Wesen und Ursprung des Stat. Constr. im Hebr.* . . . , Weimar, 1871, p. 98 ff: on which cf. Nöldeke in the *Gött. Gel. Anzeigen*, 1871, p. 23.—Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, p. 459 ff.

1. The Hebrew language no longer makes a living use of *case-endings*,¹ but either has no external indication of case (this is so for the *nominative*, generally also for the *accusative*) or expresses the relation by means of prepositions (§ 119), while the *genitive* is mostly indicated by a close connexion (or interdependence) of the *Nomen regens* and the *Nomen rectum*. That is to say, the noun which as genitive serves to define more particularly an immediately preceding *Nomen regens*, remains entirely unchanged in its form. The close combination, however, of the governing with the governed noun causes the tone first of all to be forced on to the latter,² and the consequently weakened tone of the former word then usually involves further changes in it. These changes to some extent affect the consonants, but more especially the vocalization, since vowels which had been lengthened by their position *in* or *before* the tone-syllable necessarily become shortened, or are reduced to *Šwā* (cf. § 9 a, c, k; § 27 e-m); e.g. דָּבָר word, אֱלֹהִים דָּבָר word of God (a sort of compound, as with us in inverted order, *God's-word*, *housetop*, *landlord*); יָד hand, יָד הַמֶּלֶךְ the hand of the king; דְּבָרִים הָעָם דְּבָרִים the words of the people. Thus in Hebrew only the noun which stands *before* a genitive suffers a change, and in grammatical language is said to be dependent, or in the *construct state*, while a noun which has not a genitive after it is said to be in the *absolute state*. It is sufficiently evident from the above that the *construct state* is not strictly to be regarded as a *syntactical* and *logical* phenomenon, but rather as simply *phonetic* and *rhythmical*, depending on the circumstances of the tone.

¹ On some remains of obsolete case-endings see § 90.

² The same phenomenon of the tone may also be easily seen in other languages, when two words are closely connected in a similar way. Observe, for example, in German the natural stress on the last word in 'der Thron des Königs'; though here the other order of the words (inadmissible in Hebrew) 'des Königs Thron' exhibits the same peculiarity.

wise. It can hardly be doubted (but cf. *h*, Rem.) that the (locative) termination ןֿ is a survival of the old accusative termination α , and that יֿ in certain compound proper names is the old sign of the nominative. The explanation of the זֿ as an old genitive sign, which, as being no longer understood in Hebrew, was used for quite different purposes, and the view that יֿ is a form of the nominative termination יֿ , are open to grave doubts.

In Assyrian the rule is that u marks the nominative, i the genitive, and a the accusative,¹ 'in spite of the many and various exceptions to this rule which occur' (Delitzsch, *Assyrische Gramm.*, § 66). Similarly, the Arabic case-endings in the fully declined nouns (*Triptotes*) are: $-u$ for the nominative, $-i$ for the genitive, and $-a$ for the accusative; in the *Diptotes* the ending $-a$ represents the genitive also. In modern Arabic these endings have almost entirely disappeared, and if they are now and then used, as among the Beduin, it is done without regularity, and one is interchanged with another (Wallin, in *ZDMG.* v, p. 9, xii, p. 874; Wetzstein, *ibid.*, xxii, p. 113 f., and especially Spitta, *Gramm. des arab. Vulgärdialekts von Aegypten*, Lpz. 1880, p. 147 ff.). Even as early as the Sinaitic inscriptions, their regular use is not maintained (Beer, *Studia Asiatica*, iii. 1840, p. xviii; Tuch, *ZDMG.* iii. 139 f.). Ethiopic has preserved only the $-a$ (in proper names $-hā$), which is, however, still used for the whole range of the accusative, and also (the distinction of case being lost) as a termination of the *constr. st.* to connect it with a following genitive.

2. As remarked above, under a , the *accusative* form is preserved C in Hebrew most certainly and clearly in the (usually toneless) ending ןֿ , originally α , as in the old Arabic accusative. This is appended to the substantive:

(a) Most commonly to express *direction towards* an object, or *motion to a place*,² e.g. לָמָּה seaward, westward, לְמָרְמָה eastward, צָפוֹנָה northward, אֲשׁוּרָה to Assyria, בָּבֶלָה to Babylon, הָרָה (from הָר) to the mountain, Gn 14¹⁰, אֶרֶץ to the earth, בֵּיתָה to the house, תִּרְצָה to Tirzah (תִּרְצָה) 1 K 14¹⁷, &c., עֲזָתָה to Gaza (עֲזָה) Ju 16¹; with the article הָהָרָה to the mountain, הַבֵּיתָה into the house, הַחֲבֵרָה into the chamber, 1 K 15¹⁵; הָאֹהֶלָה ³ into the tent, Gn 18⁶, &c.; similarly with adverbs, as שָׁמָּה thither, אֲנִי whither?; even with the *constr. st.* before a genitive בֵּיתָה יוֹסֵף into Joseph's house, Gn 43^{17,24}; הַנָּגֶב אֶרֶץ toward the land of the south, Gn 20¹; מִצְרַיִם אֶרֶץ to the land of Egypt, Ex 4²⁰; דָּמָשֶׁק מִדְבַּרָה to the wilderness of Damascus, 1 K 19¹⁵; שָׁמֶשׁ מוֹרָתָה toward the sun-rising, Dt 4⁴¹; and even with the plural שְׁמַיִם לָמָּה to the Chaldeans, Ez 11²⁴; הַשָּׁמַיִם towards the heavens.

¹ This rule is almost always observed in the Tell-el-Amarna letters (see § 2 f); cf. the instances cited by Barth, l. c., p. 595, from Winckler's edition.

² On this meaning of the accusative see the Syntax, § 118 a, and cf. the Latin accusative of motion to a place, as in *Romam profectus est, domum reverti, rus ire*.

³ הָאֹהֶלָה in Baer's text, Gn 18⁶, is an error, according to his preface to Isaiah, p. v.

Rem. The above examples are mostly rendered definite by the article, or by a following genitive of definition, or are proper names. But cases like *הָרָה, הָרָה, הָרָה* show that the locative form of *itself* possessed a defining power.

d (b) In a somewhat weakened sense, indicating the place *where* something is or happens (cf. § 118 d), e.g. *מַחֲנֵימָה* in *Mahanaim*, 1 K 4¹⁴; *שָׁמָּה* *there* (usually *thither*, see c), Jer 18², cf. 2 K 23⁸, and the expression to *offer a sacrifice* *הַמִּזְבֵּחַ*, properly *towards the altar* for *on the altar*. On the other hand, *בָּבֶלְיָה* Jer 29¹⁵, and *בָּבֶלְיָה* Hb 3¹¹, are to be regarded as ordinary accusatives of direction, *to Babylon, into the habitation*; also expressions like *פָּאָת צָפוֹנָה* *the quarter towards the north*, Jos 15⁵ (at the beginning of the verse, *גְּבִיל מִזְמָה* *the border toward the east*), cf. 18^{15,20}, Ex 26¹⁸, Jer 23⁸.

e (c) The original force of the ending *ה־* is also disregarded when it is added to a substantive with a preposition prefixed (cf. also *ה־עַרְאֵל* *how long?*), and this not only after *לְ*, *אֶל*, or *עַד* (which are easily explained), e.g. *לְמַעַלָּה* *upwards*, *לְמַטָּה* *downwards*, *לְשֹׁאֵלָה* *to Sheol*, ψ 9¹⁸; *עַד־אַפְהֶקָה* *unto Aphek*, Jos 13⁴, *אֶל־הַצִּפוֹנָה* *toward the north*, Ez 8¹⁴, cf. Ju 20¹⁶; but also after *בְּ*, and even after *מִן*, e.g. *בְּצָפוֹנָה* *in the south*, Jos 15²¹, cf. Ju 14², 1 S 23^{15,19}, 31¹³, 2 S 20¹⁵, Jer 52¹⁰; *מִבְּבֶלְיָה* *from Babylon*, Jer 27¹⁶; cf. 1¹⁸, Jos 10³⁶, 15¹⁰, Ju 21¹⁹, Is 45⁶.

f Rem. Old locative forms (or original accusatives) are, according to the Masora, still to be found in

(a) *לַיְלָה*, in pause *לַיְלָה*, the usual word in prose for *night*, which is always construed as masculine. The nominative of this supposed old accusative¹ appeared to be preserved in the form *לַיְלָה*, only used in poetry, Is 16³, *constr. st. לַיְלָה* (even used for the *absol. st.* in pause Is 21¹¹). Most probably, however, *לַיְלָה* is to be referred, with Nöldeke and others, to a reduplicated form *לַיְלִי*; cf. especially the western Aramaic *לַיְלִיָּא*, Syr. *lilya*, &c.—Another instance is *מֵאֵימָה* *something*, probably from *מָאֵם*, *מָאֵם* *spot, point*, generally with a negative = *nothing*. Similarly *אֶרֶץ־הַצֶּהָר* Is 8²³ and (in pause) Jb 34¹³, *סוּפֶתֶתָה* Ho 8⁷, and the place-name *הַצֶּהָר* 1 Ch 6⁶³, might be explained as accusatives. Elsewhere, however, the toneless *ה־* can be regarded only as a meaningless appendage, or at the most as expressing poetic emphasis; thus *אֶרֶץ־הַצֶּהָר* (in pause) Jb 37¹²; *הַמָּוֶת* *death*, ψ 116¹⁵; *נְגִידֶה־נָּא* ψ 116^{14,18}; *נָחַלָה* *stream*, ψ 124⁴; *הַחֲשִׁמְלָה* *amber*, Ez 8² [in 1⁴ *הַחֲשִׁמְלָה*, cf. § 80 k], &c. In Jos 15¹² *הַצֶּהָר* is probably only a scribal error (dittography). In Ju 14¹⁸ instead of the quite unsuitable poetic word *הַחֲרִיָּה* (towards the sun??) read as in 15¹ *הַחֲרִיָּה* *to the bride-chamber*.

¹ Broekelmann, *Sem. Sprachwiss.*, p. 113, also takes it as such, *lāyālā* being properly *at night*, then *night* simply. Barth, however (*Sprachwiss. Abhandlungen*, p. 16, note 1), refers it to an original *לַיְלָה*, like *אָנָה* from *אָנָה*.

(b) In the termination הַֿ often used in poetry with feminines, viz. ג' *terror* (= אִימָה), Ex 15¹⁰; הַֿ *help* (= עֲזָרָה), ψ 44²⁷, 63⁸, 94¹⁷; יִשְׁעָתָה *salvation* (= יִשְׁעָה), ψ 3³, 80³, Jon 2¹⁰; עוֹלָתָה *unrighteousness* (= עוֹלָה), Ez 28¹⁵, Ho 10¹³, ψ 125⁵; עֲלֵתָה ψ 92¹⁶ *Keth.* Jb 5¹⁶; צָרָתָה ψ 120¹; עִיפָתָה *darkness*, Jb 10²²; הַֿמוֹפְתָה Jer 11¹⁵ is corrupt, see the LXX and Commentaries. These cases are not to be taken as double feminine endings, since the loss of the tone on the final syllable could then hardly be explained, but they are further instances of an old accusative of direction or intention. In examples like עֲזָרָתָה *for help* (ψ 44²⁷) this is still quite apparent, but elsewhere it has become meaningless and is used merely for the sake of poetical emphasis.¹

This termination הַֿ usually has reference to *place* (hence called הַֿ *locale*²); sometimes, however, its use is extended to time, as in יָמִימָה *from year to year*. Its use in הָלֵילָה, properly *ad profanum*! = *absit!* is peculiar.

As the termination הַֿ is almost always toneless (except in מוֹרָתָה *constr. st. i* Dt 4⁴¹; גָּתָה and עָתָה Jos 19¹³) it generally, as the above examples show, exercises no influence whatever upon the vowels of the word; in the *constr. st.* מוֹרָתָה Jos 18¹², 1 K 19¹⁵, and in the proper names מוֹרָתָה 1 K 2⁴⁰, דָּגָה 2 S 24⁶ (so Baer; ed. Mant. and Ginsb. דָּגָה, צָפָתָה 2 Ch 14⁹, צָרָפָתָה 1 K 17⁹, צָרָתָה 1 K 4¹², an *ä* is retained even in an open tone-syllable (cf., however, הָרָה Gn 14¹⁰, בְּרָתָה Gn 28² from בָּרָה, with modification of the *a* to *è*; also בְּרָתָה 1 S 25⁵ from בָּרָה). In segholate forms, as a general rule, the הַֿ *local* is joined to the already developed form of the *absol. st.*, except that the helping-vowel before הַֿ naturally becomes *šewā*, e.g. בְּרִיתָה, הָלֵילָה Gn 18⁸, &c.; הַֿעֲרָה Jos 17¹⁵, הַֿעֲרָה³ Ju 20¹⁶, &c., but also נָחָלָה Nu 34⁵ (*constr. st.*; likewise to be read in the *absolute* in Ez 47¹⁹, 48²⁸) and שְׁעָרָה Is 28⁶ (with *Sillug*); cf. נָבָה Ez 47¹⁹ and גָּרָה (Baer, incorrectly, גָּרָה) Mi 4¹² (both in *pause*).—In the case of feminines ending in הַֿ the הַֿ *local* is added to the original feminine ending הַֿ (§ 80 b), the *ä* of which (since it then stands in an open tone-syllable) is lengthened to *ā*, e.g. תִּרְצָתָה.—Moreover the termination הַֿ is even weakened to הַֿ in נָבָה *to Nob*, 1 S 21², 22⁹; אָנָה *whither*, 1 K 2^{36, 42} and דִּדְנָה *to Dedan*, Ez 25¹⁸.

3. Of the three other terminations י may still be regarded as a *local* survival of the old nominative ending. It occurs only in the middle

[¹ The form clings also to a few place-names, as גִּדְרָה Dt 10⁷; שְׁלֵשָׁה 1 S 6⁴, 2 K 4⁴²; קֹהֲלָתָה Nu 33^{22 f.}; יִטְבָּתָה verse 33 f.; תַּמְנָתָה Jos 19⁴³, &c.; אֶפְרָתָה Mi 5¹, &c.]

² Cf. Sarauw, 'Der hebr. Lokativ,' ZA. 1907, p. 183 ff. He derives the הַֿ from the adverbs שָׁמָּה, אָנָה and holds that it has nothing whatever to do with the old accusative.

³ So Qimhi, and the Mant. ed. (Baer הַֿעֲרָה), i.e. locative from שָׁעַר (Is 7²⁰). The reading הַֿעֲרָה (Opit., Ginsb.) implies a feminine in הַֿ.

of a few (often undoubtedly very old) proper names,¹ viz. אֲחִימֶלֶךְ (if compounded of אָחִי and מֶלֶךְ, *king*, for which in Jer 52¹ *Keth.* אֲחִימֶלֶךְ), מְתוֹשֶׁלַח and מְתוֹשֶׁלַח (otherwise in Hebrew only in the plur. מְתוֹשֶׁלַח *men*; to מְתוֹשֶׁלַח corresponds most probably בְּתוֹשֶׁלַח in בְּתוֹשֶׁלַח Gn 32³¹ (but in ver. 32 בְּתוֹשֶׁלַח *face of God* (otherwise only in the plur. בְּתוֹשֶׁלַח *faces* constr. st. בְּתוֹשֶׁלַח).²—שָׂמֹנִי Neh 6⁶ (elsewhere שָׂמֹנִי), is the name of an Arab, cf. 6¹. On the other hand the terminations םִ— and םִ are most probably to be regarded (with Barth, l. c., p. 597) as having originated on Hebrew soil in order to emphasize the constr. st., on the analogy of the constr. st. of terms expressing relationship.

In view of the analogies in other languages (see b) there is nothing impossible in the view formerly taken here that the *litterae compaginis* םִ— and םִ are obsolete (and hence no longer understood) case-endings, םִ being the old genitive and םִ for the nominative sign *u*. Barth objects that the םִ and םִ almost invariably have the tone, whereas the accusative םִ— is toneless, and that they are long, where the Arab. םִ and םִ are short. Both these objections, however, lose their force if we consider the special laws of the tone and syllable in Hebrew. The language does not admit a final םִ or םִ, and the necessarily lengthened vowel might easily attract the tone to itself. On the other hand a strong argument for Barth's theory is the fact that these *litterae compaginis* are almost exclusively used to emphasize the close connexion of one noun with another, hence especially in the constr. st. Consequently it seems in the highest degree probable that all these uses are based upon forms in which the constr. st. is expressly emphasized by a special termination, i. e. the constr. st. of terms of relationship, אָבִי, אִמִּי, אֲחִי, אֵלִי from אָב *father*, אִמָּה *mother*, brother, אֲמִי *father-in-law* (cf. § 96). The instances given under l and m followed this analogy.

Like םִ, םִ is also used only to emphasize the constr. st. (see n), and must therefore have a similar origin, but its exact explanation is difficult. According to Barth, this םִ corresponds to a primitive Semitic *ā* (cf. § 9 q) and is traceable to 'abā, 'ahā, the accusatives of terms of relationship in the constr. st., which have *ā* only before a genitive. Against this explanation it may be objected that there is no trace of the supposed Hebrew accusatives אָבִי, אִמִּי, אֲחִי, אֵלִי, and only of the analogous בְּנִי. It is also remarkable that so archaic a form should have been preserved (except in בְּנִי) only in two words and those in quite late passages. However we have no better explanation to offer in place of Barth's.

Finally we cannot deny the possibility, in some cases, of Barth's explanation of the םִ in compound proper names like בְּתוֹשֶׁלַח, &c. (see above), as due to the analogy of terms of relationship with nominative in םִ. But this in no way militates against the view expressed above, that in some very old names, like בְּתוֹשֶׁלַח, בְּתוֹשֶׁלַח, &c., the original common nominative sign has simply been preserved.

¹ Cf. the list in L. Kaila, *Zur Syntax des in verbaler Abhängigkeit stehenden Nomens im alttest. Hebr.*, Helsingfors, 1906, p. 54.

² The name שְׂמֹנִי formerly regarded as a compound of שָׂמֹנִי = שָׂמֹנִי *name* and אֵל, is better explained with Prätorius, *ZDMG.* 1903, p. 777, as a name of affection, for אֵל = שְׂמֹנִי [but see Driver on I S 1²⁰]; similarly, according to Prätorius, בְּתוֹשֶׁלַח = בְּתוֹשֶׁלַח and many others.

The instances found are:

(a) Of the ending '—: עֲזָבִי הָצֹאן *h's ass's colt*, Gn 49¹¹; that leaveth the flock, Zc 11¹⁷ (cf. the preceding רָעִי הָאֵלִיל *the dweller in the bush*, Dt 33¹⁶ (on שְׁכֵנִי cf. below Jer 49^{16a}, Ob³); appended to the feminine יוֹם יִגְבְּתִי לַיְלָה *whether stolen by day or stolen by night*, Gn 31²⁹ (in prose, but in very emphatic speech); מְלֶאכֶת מִלְּאֲחֵי מִשְׁפָּט *plena iustitiae*, Is 1²¹; רַבְתִּי עַם *full of people*, La 1¹ (on the retraction of the tone before a following tone-syllable, cf. § 29^e; in the same verse the second רַבְתִּי and שְׁרָתִי, see below, follow the example of רַבְתִּי, although no tone-syllable follows; cf. also Ho 10¹¹ below); אַחֲרֵי מַלְכִּי־צִדְקָה *after the order of Melchizedek*, ψ 110⁴; cf. also ψ 113⁹, Jer 49^{16b}. To the same category belong the rather numerous cases, in which a preposition is inserted between the *construct state* and its genitive (cf. § 130 a), without actually abolishing the dependent relation, e. g. רַבְתִּי בַגּוֹיִם *she that was great among the nations*, שְׁרָתִי בַּמְּרִינוֹת *princess among the provinces*, La 1¹; אֲהַבְתִּי לְרֵשׁ *that loveth to tread*, Ho 10¹¹; cf. also Jer 49^{16a}, Ob³.—In Ex 15⁶ נֶאֱדָרִי can only be so explained if it is a vocative referring to יְהוָה, but perhaps we should read נֶאֱדָרָה as predicate to יְמִינִךָ.

Further, the *Hireq compaginis* is found with certain particles which are really also nouns in the *constr. st.*, as וּלְתִי (= וּלְתָה) *except*, מִי (poetical for מִן) *from*, בְּלִתִּי *not*, אֶפְסִי *not* (thrice in the formula אֲנִי וְאֶפְסִי *I am, and there is none else beside me*; but many take the '— as a suffix here), Is 47^{8,10}, Zp 2¹⁵. [The above are all the cases in which this '— is attached to independent words in the O.T.; it occurs, however, besides] in compound proper names (again attached to the *constr. st.*), as מֶלֶכ־יִצְרָק (*king of righteousness*), גִּבְרִיָּאל (*man of God*), חַיִּיאל (*favour of God*), and others (cf. also the Punic name *Hannibal*, i. e. חַיִּיבָעַל *favour of Ba'al*).

Otherwise than in the *constr. st.* the *Hireq compaginis* is only found *m* in participial forms, evidently with the object of giving them more dignity, just as in the case of the construct forms in *z*. We must distinguish, however, between passages in which the participle nevertheless does stand in close connexion, as Gn 49¹¹, Is 22¹⁶ (חֲקֵקִי וְחֲצִבִּי) *also in impassioned speech*, Mi 7¹⁴ (probably influenced by Dt 33¹⁶), ψ 101⁵, 113⁷; and passages in which the *z* added to the participle with the article merely serves as an ornamental device of poetic style, e. g. in the late Psalms, 113^{5,6,7,9} (on versé 8 see *n*), 114⁸, 123¹.

In *Kethibh* the termination *z* also occurs four times in יוֹשְׁבֵתִי, i. e. יוֹשְׁבֵתִי *n* Jer 10¹⁷, 22²³ (before בְּ), Ez 27³ (before עַל־), La 4²¹ (before בְּ). The *Qere* always

requires for it יִשְׁבֶּתָּ (or יִשָּׁ), except in Jer 22²⁸ יִשְׁבֶּתָּ; cf. *ibid.* מִקְנֶנְתִּי *Keth.*, שְׁבִנְתִּי *Qere*, and finally Jer 51¹⁸ שְׁבִנְתִּי *Keth.*, שְׁבִנְתִּי *Qere*. Perhaps יִשְׁבֶּתִּי and שְׁבִנְתִּי are *formae mixtae*, combining the readings יִשְׁבֶּתָּ, &c. and יִשְׁבֶּתִּי (2nd fem. perf.), &c., but מִקְנֶנְתִּי may be merely assimilated to יִשְׁבֶּתִּי which immediately precedes it.

The following are simply textual errors: 2 K 4²⁸ הִלְכֵתִי *Keth.*, due to the preceding אֲתִי, and to be read הִלְכֵתָּ as in the *Qere*; ψ 30⁸ (read הִרְרִי), 113⁸ (read לְהוֹשִׁיבֵנו), 116¹ (read קוֹל תְּחִי, as in five other places). On בְּרִיתִי, thrice, in Lv 26⁴², cf. § 128 d.

- o (b) Of the ending יִ (always with the tone): in prose only in the Pentateuch, but in elevated style, Gn 1²⁴ הַיְוֹט־אֶרֶץ *the beast of the earth* (= הַיְוֹט הָאֶרֶץ ver. 25); similarly in ψ 50¹⁰, 79³, 104^{11,20}, Is 56⁹ (twice), Zp 2¹⁴; otherwise only in בְּנוֹ צִפּוֹר *son of Zippor*, Nu 23¹⁸; בְּנוֹ בְּעֹר *son of Beor*, Nu 24^{3,15}; and מְעֵינֵנו מַיִם *a fountain of waters*, ψ 114⁸.

§ 91. The Noun with Pronominal Suffixes.

W. Diehl, *Das Pronomen pers. suffixum 2 u. 3 pers. plur. des Hebr.*, Giessen, 1895; A. Ungnad, 'Das Nomen mit Suffixen im Semit.,' *Vienna Oriental Journal*, xx, p. 167 ff.

- a With regard to the connexion of the noun with pronominal suffixes, which then stand in a genitive relation (§ 33 c) and are, therefore, necessarily appended to the *construct state* of the noun, we shall first consider, as in the verb (§ 57 ff.), the forms of the suffixes themselves, and then the various changes in the form of the noun to which they are attached. The nouns are also tabulated in the Paradigms of the flexion of the noun in § 92 ff. Cf. also Paradigm A in the Appendix. We are here primarily concerned with the different forms of the suffixes when added to the singular, plural, and dual.

- b 1. The Suffixes of the singular are—

With nouns ending in a—

Vowel.		Consonant.	
Sing. 1.	c. י	יְ	<i>my.</i>
2.	{ m. ה	הֶ	{ <i>thy.</i>
	{ f. ה	הָ	
3.	{ m. הו, ו	וֹ (וְ), הוּ	<i>his.</i>
	{ f. ה	הָ, הֶ	<i>her.</i>

¹ Cf. Kaila, l. c., p. 59 ff.

Vowel.		Consonant.	
Plur. 1.	c. נו	נו	our.
2.	{ m. כָּם	{ כָּם כֶּן	your.
	{ f. כֶּן		
3.	{ m. הֶם	{ הֶם (poet. מוּ)	eorum.
	{ f. הֵן (הֶן)		
		הֶן	earum.

Rem. 1. There is less variety of forms in these than in the verbal suffixes; *c* the particular forms are used as follows:—

(a) Those without a connecting vowel (on the derivation of these 'connecting vowels' from original stem-vowels, see note on § 58 *f*) are generally joined to nouns of a peculiar form (see § 96), the *constr. st.* of which ends in a vowel, as אֲבִיךָ, אֲבִיחָהוּ, אֲבִינִי, אֲבִיכֶם, אֲבִיכֶן, אֲבִיחֶם, אֲבִיחֶן, sometimes also to segholate forms ending in *i* from ל"ה stems (see § 93 *x, y*), e. g. פְּרִיָהֶם *the fruit of them*, Am 9¹⁴ (also פְּרִיָם Is 37³⁰, &c.), אֲבִיחֶן Jer 29²⁸ (also פְּרִיָן verse 5); cf., moreover, חֶלְבָהֶן Lv 8^{16, 25} and similar examples with הֶן (Is 37¹⁷, Ez 13¹⁷, 16⁵³, ¹ Also in Gn 1²¹, 4⁴, Ez 10¹², Nah 2⁸, &c., the *Keth.* perhaps intends the singular, לְמִינֶהֶם, &c., but the Masora requires the plural with defective *ā*.

(b) The forms with connecting vowels (§ 58 *f*) are joined to nouns ending *d* in a consonant. The connecting vowel is regularly *a* in the 3rd sing. fem. הִיא (for *aha*) and 3rd plur. הֵם, מוּ, הֵן, also in the 3rd sing. masc. הוּ (הֶ), since the *ō* is contracted from *a[h]ū*, and in the pausal form of the 2nd masc. הָ (a modification of original הֶ).

The forms with *e* in the above-mentioned persons are common only with nouns in הֶ (from stems ל"ה), *constr. st.* הֶ (cf. § 89 *f*), e. g. שָׂדֵהוּ (from *sadaihū*) *his field*; עֵלְהָ Is 1³⁰; מִרְאֶהָ Lv 13⁴ (from *mar'āihā*; on the *Seghol* see *k*); but שָׂדֶהָ *her field*. The orthographic retention of the *i*, e. g. מַעֲשֵׂיָהּ, מַעֲשֵׂיהֶם, gives to many forms the appearance of plurals; see the instances in § 93 *ss*.

Apart from these ל"ה forms the connecting vowel *e* in the 3rd pers. occurs only in isolated cases; אֲנִיָּהּ *his light*, Jb 25³; לְמִינֶהּ *after its kind*, Gn 1^{12, 25} [+ 12 times]; Na 1¹³; in Ju 19²⁴ read פִּילִגְשֻׁ as in vv. 2, 25. On the other hand הֵיאָה in the 2nd sing. fem. and הֵנִי in the 1st plur. are by far the more common forms, while הֵנִי, הֵנִי are of rare occurrence; see *e*.—Instead of הֵיאָה in Gn 10¹⁹, Ex 13¹⁶, Jer 29²⁵, &c., cf. הֵיאָה, הֵיאָה § 103 *g*), הֵיאָה (with *Seghol* mobile), if the last consonant of the noun is a guttural, the forms are הֵיאָה, הֵיאָה, e. g. רֵיחָהּ *thy spirit*, בְּרָאָהּ *thy creator*, Is 43¹, רֵיחָהּ *your friend*, Jb 6²⁷ (on such cases as בְּחֻכֶּם Hag 2⁵, see § 10 *g*).—With *Nun energicum* (cf. § 58 *i*, and on עֵינֶיהָ Jb 5¹, &c., cf. § 61 *h*) הֵיאָה occurs in Pr 25¹⁰, in principal pause.

2. Rare or incorrect forms are—

Sing. 1st pers. הֵנִי in בְּשִׁנֵּי Ez 47⁷ (certainly only a scribal error, caused *c* by וְשִׁנֵּי in verse 6).

¹ Also in Jer 15¹⁰ read (according to § 61 *h*, end) בְּלֶחֶם קִלְלִנִי; in Ho 7⁶ probably אֲפָהֶם for אֲפָהֶם.

2nd pers. *m.* in pause כָּה־, e.g. בְּכַףָּה (thy hand), ψ 139⁵, cf. Pr 24¹⁰; once שָׁה־ ψ 53⁶ (cf. the analogous cases in the verbal suffix § 75 *U*); *fem.* יָה־ Ez 5¹² (in 16⁵³ also for שְׁבִי יָה־ probably שְׁבִי יָה־ is intended), כִּי־ Jer 11¹⁵, ψ 103³, 116¹⁹, 135⁹ (corresponding to the Aramaic suffix of the 2nd *fem. sing.*; on the wholly abnormal כִּה־ Na 2¹⁴, cf. *l*), לָכִי *Keth.* 2 K 4², Ct 2¹³. Also יָה־ Is 22¹, Ez 23²⁸, 25⁴.

3rd pers. ה־ (cf. § 7 *c*), e.g. אֶהְיֶה Gn 9²¹, 12⁸, 13³, 35²¹ (always with *Qere* אֶהְיֶה); נָה־ Nu 10³⁶; לָה־ Dt 34⁷; בָּלָה־ Jer 20⁷, Na 2¹ *Qere*; קָצָה־ 2 K 19²³ *Keth.*, for which קָצָה־ is read in Is 37²⁴; עִירָה־ and סוּתָה־ Gn 49¹¹, cf. Ex 22²⁶ (*Qere* עִירוֹ (סוּתוֹ)); סָפָה־ ψ 10⁹, 27⁵ *Keth.*; הָמוּנָה־ Ez 31¹⁸, &c., *Keth.*; תְּבוּאָתָה־ Ez 48¹⁸ [altogether fourteen times in the Pentateuch, and some forty times in other books: see Driver, *Samuel*, p. xxxv, and on 2 S 2⁹, 21¹].

3rd *fem.* הָ־ for ה־ (with the softening of the *Mappiq*, cf. § 23 *k*, and the analogous cases in § 55 *g*) occurs repeatedly before *Beghadhikphath* and other soft consonants, Ex 9¹⁸ (before ה־, if the text is right), Lv 13⁴ (before ל־), Nu 15^{23,31}, 1 S 1⁹ (unless אֶבְלָה־, the *infin.* with *fem.* termination, is intended; שָׁה־ follows), Ez 16⁴⁴, 24⁶ (before ב־), 1 S 20²⁰, 2 K 8⁶, Pr 12²⁸ (before נ־), Na 3⁹ (before ו־), ψ 48¹⁴ (before ב־), Ez 47¹⁰, Jb 31²² twice (before ת־), Is 21², Jer 20¹⁷ (before ה־), Nu 32⁴², Am 1¹¹ (before ל־), Lv 6² (before ע־); even in *pause*, Lv 12^{4a} and 5^b; Is 23¹⁷, Pr 21²², also with *Zaqeph*, Is 45⁶, Jer 6⁶ (probably), 44¹⁹; on הָ־ *Lv* 26²⁴, &c., see § 67 *y*. Cf. also נָ־ Ez 36⁵.—Sometimes the Masora appears (but this is very doubtful) to regard the הָ־ with feminines as a shortening of הָ־, e.g. נָ־ Gn 40¹⁰ for נָ־, נָ־ Pr 7⁸ for נָ־; also הָ־ for הָ־ in פְּתוּבִים־ Ho 13², and עֲרָמִים־ Jb 5¹³. The examples, however, are for the most part uncertain, e.g. in Is 28⁴ the reading is simply to be emended to בְּפִתְּהָ־, and in Zc 4² to נָ־, Jb 11⁹ to נָ־, Neh 5¹⁴ to נָ־. [See also, after prepositions, § 103 *g*.]

f *Plur.* 1st pers. הֶ־, in *pause* קִיָּנוֹ Jb 22²⁰ (where, however, קִיָּנוֹ is certainly to be read); cf. Ru 3² [Is 47¹⁰, cf. § 61 *c, h*], and so always בְּקִיָּנוֹ *all of us*, Gn 42¹¹, &c. [cf. בָּנוֹ, לָנוֹ, אֲנֵנוֹ, עִמָּנוֹ].

2nd pers. *fem.* הִיָּה־ Ez 23^{48,49}.

3rd pers. *masc.* הוּ־ ψ 17¹⁰ (on הוּ־ in the same verse, and in ψ 58⁷ see *l*); הוּ־ 2 S 23⁶, according to Sievers probably to call attention to the reading בְּלֵה־. *Fem.* הִיָּה־ 1 K 37⁷, Ez 16⁵³ (in *pause*); הִיָּה־ Gn 41²¹; הִיָּה־ Gn 30⁴¹; הִיָּה־ Ru 1¹⁹; elsewhere generally in *pause* (Gn 21²⁹, 42³⁶, Jer 8⁷, Pr 31²⁹, Jb 39²); finally הִיָּה־ as suffix to a noun, only in Is 3¹⁷.

For examples of singulars with plural suffixes see *l*.

g 2. In the *plural masc.* and in the *dual* the suffixes are to be regarded primarily as affixed to the original ending of the *construct state* (ה־, cf. § 89 *d*). This ending, however, has been preserved unchanged only in the 2nd *fem.* In most cases it is contracted to ה־, as in the *constr. st.* without suffixes (so throughout the *plur.* and in the poetical suffix יָה־ of the 3rd *sing. masc.*); in the 2nd *masc.* and 3rd *fem. sing.* it is ה־ (cf. *k*). On the 1st *pers.* and 3rd *masc. sing.* see *i*.—Thus there arise the following

Suffixes of Plural Nouns.

h

Singular.		Plural.	
1. c.	יָ—, pause יָ— my.	1. c.	נִי— our.
2. { m. יָ—	{ f. יָ—, pause יָ— } thy.	2. { m. יָ—	{ f. יָ— } your.
{ f. יָ—		{ m. יָ—	
3. { m. יָ—, poet. יָ—	{ f. יָ— } his.	3. { m. יָ—, poet. יָ—	{ f. יָ— } their.
{ f. יָ—		{ m. יָ—	

Thus the original '— is (a) contracted in the 3rd sing. masc. *i* יָ— and throughout the plural, as סִינִי, סִינִי, &c.; (b) retained unchanged in the 1st sing. סִינִי, the real suffix-ending ' (see b) being united with the final *Yôdh* of the ending '—; and in the 2nd fem. sing. סִינִי, with a *helping-Hireq* after the *Yôdh*. On the other hand (c) the *Yôdh* of '— is lost in pronunciation and the *a* lengthened to *ā* in the 3rd masc. sing. סִינִי, i. e. *sūsāw* (pronounced *susā-u*).¹ The 2nd masc. sing. סִינִי and the 3rd fem. sing. סִינִי were formerly also explained here as having really lost the ' , and modified the *a* of *sūsakā*, *sūsahā* to *Sēghōl*; but cf. the view now given in *g* and *k*.

Rem. 1. As סִינִי represents *sūsai-nū*, so סִינִי and סִינִי represent *sūsai-kā*, *k* *sūsai-kā*, and the use of *Sēghōl* instead of the more regular *Sere* is to be explained from the character of the following syllable,—so P. Haupt who points to יָ— as compared with יָ—. In support of the view formerly adopted by us that the ' is only orthographically retained, too much stress must not be laid on the fact that it is sometimes omitted,² thereby causing confusion in an unpointed text with the singular noun. A number of the examples which follow may be due to an erroneous assumption that the noun is a plural, where in reality it is a singular, and others may be incorrect readings. Cf. יָ— thy ways (probably יָ— is intended), Ex 33¹⁸, Jos 1⁸, ψ 119⁸⁷; for other examples, see Jos 21¹¹ ff. מָ—; but in 1 Ch 6⁴⁰ ff. always יָ—, Ju 19⁹, 1 K 8²⁹, Is 58¹³, ψ 119^{41.43.98} (probably, however, in all these cases the sing. is intended); Nu 30⁸; Jer 19⁸, 49¹⁷; Dn 11⁶. For the orthographic omission of the ' before suffixes cf. also יָ— his friends, 1 S 30²⁶, Pr 29¹⁸; Jb 42¹⁰ (but it is possible to explain it here as a collective singular); יָ— our iniquities, Is 64^{5.6}, Jer 14⁷; Ex 10⁹, Neh 10¹ (יָ— from יָ— which is always written defectively); Nu 29³⁸; Jer 44⁹; יָ—; ψ 134²; יָ— after their kinds, Gn 1²¹ (but see c), cf. 4⁴ and Na 2⁸. The

¹ In the papyrus of the decalogue from the Fayyūm, line 16, יָ— occurs for יָ— Ex 20¹¹. Gall, *ZAW.* 1903, p. 349, takes this as an indication that the traditional forms of the noun-suffix יָ or יָ represent *aiū* or *eiū*. P. Haupt aptly compares the Greek use of the *iota subscript* (̣).

² So in the Mēša' inscription, l. 22 מָ— its towers (along with שָ— its gates). Can it have been the rule to omit ' after the termination *ôth*? Cf. below, n.

defective writing is especially frequent in the 3rd masc. sing. לְ , which in Q^{re} is almost always changed to לִי , e.g. לְצוֹ his arrows, ψ 58⁸, Q^{re} לְצוֹ . On לְ , only three times לְ , cf. § 135 r.

- l 2. Unusual forms (but for the most part probably only scribal errors) are—
Sing. 2nd pers. fem. לְ (after לְ happy! Ec 10¹⁷, which has become stereotyped as an interjection, and is therefore unchangeable; cf. Delitzsch on the passage); לְ (cf. Syr. לְ) 2 K 4³, and לְ in $K^{\text{eth.}}$, ψ 103⁸⁻⁵, 116⁷ (לְ in pause).—In Ez 16³¹ לְ (so לְ in 6⁸) occurs with an *infin.* ending in לְ , the לְ being therefore treated as a plural ending; similarly, the plural suffix is sometimes found with the feminine ending לְ (Nu 14³³, Is 54⁴, Jer 3⁸, Ez 16¹⁵, 23⁷, as well as in 16²⁰ Q^{re} , and Zp 3²⁰), with the ending *ith* (Lv 5²⁴, reading לְ), and even with the ordinary feminine ending *ath*; Is 47¹³, Ez 35¹¹, ψ 9¹⁵, Ezr 9¹⁵.—Wholly abnormal is לְ thy messengers, Na 2¹⁴, evidently a case of dittography of the following לְ : read לְ .

3rd masc. לְ Hb 3¹⁰, Jb 24²³; לְ 1 S 30²⁶, Ez 43¹⁷, Na 2⁴; לְ (a purely Aramaic form) ψ 116¹².—3rd fem. לְ Ez 41¹⁵.

Plur. The strange 2nd pers. masc. לְ (with לְ , so Qimhi; cf. Norzi) Jer 25³⁴, is probably a mixed form combining לְ and לְ ; fem. לְ Ez 13²⁰.

3rd masc. לְ Ez 40¹⁶; fem. לְ Ez 1¹¹.

3. The termination לְ (also with the *dual*, e.g. ψ 58⁷, 59¹³), like לְ and לְ , occurs with the noun (as with the verb, § 58 g) almost exclusively in the later poets [viz. with a substantive in the singular. ψ 21¹¹, 17^{10.10}, 58⁷, 59¹³, 89¹³; with a dual or plural, Dt 32^{27.32.37.38}, 33²⁹, ψ 23³, 11⁷, 35¹⁶, 49¹², 58⁷, 59¹⁴, 73^{5.7}, 83^{12.12}, 140^{4.10}, Jb 27²³; after prepositions, see § 103 f, o, notes], and cannot, therefore, by itself be taken as an indication of archaic language. On the other hand there can be no doubt that these are revivals of really old forms. That they are consciously and artificially used is shown by the evidently intentional accumulation of them, e.g. in Ex 15^{5.7.9}, ψ 23⁵, and 140^{4.10}, and also by the fact observed by Diehl (see the heading of this section) that in Ex 15 they occur *only* as verbal suffixes, in Dt 32 *only* as noun suffixes.

- m 3. It is clear and beyond doubt that the *Yodh* in these suffixes with the plural noun belongs, in reality, to the ending of the *construct state* of the masculine plural. Yet the consciousness of this fact became so completely lost as to admit of the striking peculiarity (or rather inaccuracy) of appending those *suffix*-forms which include the plural ending לְ , even to the feminine plural in לְ (לְ , לְ , &c.), so that in reality the result is a double indication of the plural.¹

- n Such is the rule: the singular suffix, however (see b), also occurs with the ending לְ (probably through the influence of Aramaic), e.g. לְ ψ 132¹² (unless it be *sing.* for לְ , as, according to Qimhi in his Lexicon, 2 K 6⁸ is for לְ); לְ Dt 28⁸⁹ (treated on the analogy of an *infin.* לְ);

¹ See an analogous case in § 87 s. Cf. also the double feminine ending in the 3rd sing. perf. of verbs לְ , § 75 i.

אֲחִיּוֹתָיָהּ Ez 16⁵². On the other hand מִצִּוֹתָיָהּ (so Baer, Ginsb.; but Opit. מִצִּוֹתָיָהּ) ψ 119⁹⁸, Dn 9⁵ is merely written defectively, like מִצִּוֹתָיָהּ according to Baer (not Ginsb.) in Pr 1⁹, &c. In the 3rd plur. the use of the singular suffix is even the rule in the earlier Books (see the instances in Diehl, l. c., p. 8), e. g. אֲבוֹתָהֶם (*their fathers*) oftener than אֲבֹתֵיהֶם (this only in 1 K 14¹⁵, and in Jer, Ezr, Neh, and Ch [in 1 K, Jer, Ezr, however, אֲבוֹתָם is more common]); so always שְׁמוֹתָם, שְׁמוֹתָיָהּ *their names*, דִּוְרֹתָם, דִּוְרֹתָיָהּ *their generations*. From parallel passages like 2 S 22⁴⁶ compared with ψ 18⁴⁶, Is 2⁴ with Mi 4⁸, it appears that in many cases the longer form in יָהֵם can only subsequently have taken the place of יָהֵם.

4. The following Paradigm of a masculine and feminine noun O with suffixes is based upon a monosyllabic noun with one unchangeable vowel. With regard to the ending תָּ in the *constr. st.* of the fem. it should be further remarked that the short *ä* of this ending is only retained before the *grave* suffixes כֶּם and כֵּן; before all the others (the *light* suffixes) it is lengthened to *ā*.

		<i>Singular.</i>		
		<i>Masculine.</i>	<i>Feminine.</i>	<i>p</i>
		סוּס a horse.	סוּסָה a mare.	
Sing. 1. com.		סוּסִי my horse.	סוּסָתִי my mare.	
	2. { m.	סוּסְךָ thy horse.	סוּסְךָ thy mare.	
	f.	סוּסָךְ thy horse.	סוּסָךְ thy mare.	
3. { m.		סוּסוֹ equus eius (suus).	סוּסָתוֹ equa eius (sua).	
	f.	סוּסָהּ equus eius (suus).	סוּסָתָהּ equa eius (sua).	
Plur. 1. com.		סוּסֵינוּ our horse.	סוּסָתֵינוּ our mare.	
2. { m.		סוּסֵיכֶם your horse.	סוּסָתֵיכֶם your mare.	
	f.	סוּסֵיכֶן your horse.	סוּסָתֵיכֶן your mare.	
3. { m.		סוּסֵיהֶם equus eorum (suus).	סוּסָתֵיהֶם equa eorum (sua).	
	f.	סוּסֵיהֶן equus earum (suus).	סוּסָתֵיהֶן equa earum (sua).	

		<i>Plural.</i>		
		<i>Masculine.</i>	<i>Feminine.</i>	<i>q</i>
		סוּסִים horses.	סוּסוֹת mares.	
Sing. 1. com.		סוּסֵי my horses.	סוּסוֹתֵי my mares.	
	2. { m.	סוּסֵיךָ thy horses.	סוּסוֹתֵיךָ thy mares.	
	f.	סוּסֵיךְ thy horses.	סוּסוֹתֵיךְ thy mares.	
3. { m.		סוּסֵיהֶם equi eius (sui).	סוּסוֹתֵיהֶם equae eius (suae).	
	f.	סוּסֵיהֶן equi eius (sui).	סוּסוֹתֵיהֶן equae eius (suae).	
Plur. 1. com.		סוּסֵינוּ our horses.	סוּסוֹתֵינוּ our mares.	
2. { m.		סוּסֵיכֶם your horses.	סוּסוֹתֵיכֶם your mares.	
	f.	סוּסֵיכֶן your horses.	סוּסוֹתֵיכֶן your mares.	
3. { m.		סוּסֵיהֶם equi eorum (sui).	סוּסוֹתֵיהֶם equae eorum (suae).	
	f.	סוּסֵיהֶן equi earum (sui).	סוּסוֹתֵיהֶן equae earum (suae).	

§ 92. Vowel Changes in the Noun.

a 1. Vowel changes in the noun may be caused (*a*) by dependence on a following genitive, (*b*) by connexion with pronominal suffixes, (*c*) by the plural and dual terminations, whether in the form of the absolute state or of the construct (before a following genitive of a noun or suffix).

b 2. In all these cases, the tone of the noun is moved forward either one or two syllables, while the tone of the *construct state* may even be thrown upon the following word. In this way the following changes may arise:—

(*a*) When the tone is moved forward only one place, as is the case when the plural and dual endings ִים , ֹת and ִיםְ are affixed, as well as with all monosyllabic or paroxytone suffixes, then in dissyllabic nouns the originally short vowel of the first syllable (which was lengthened as being in an open syllable before the tone) becomes *Šwā*, since it no longer stands before the tone. On the other hand, the originally short, but tone-lengthened vowel, of the second syllable is retained as being now the pretonic vowel; e.g. דָּבָר *word* (ground-form *dābār*), plur. דְּבָרִים ; with a light suffix beginning with a vowel, דְּבָרִי , plur. דְּבָרַי , &c.; כָּנָף *wing*, dual כַּנְפַּיִם . With an unchangeable vowel in the second syllable: פָּקִיד *overseer*, plur. פָּקִידִים ; with the *suffix* of the sing. פָּקִידִי , &c.; with the *suffix* of the plur. פָּקִידֶיךָ , &c. With an unchangeable vowel in the first syllable: עוֹלָם *eternity*, plur. עוֹלָמִים , with *suffix*. עוֹלָמִי , &c.¹

c But in participles of the form קָטַל , with tone-lengthened \bar{e} (originally \bar{z}) in the second syllable, the \bar{e} regularly becomes *Šwā mobile* before a tone-bearing affix, e.g. אֹיֵב *enemy*, plur. אֹיְבָיִם , with *suffix*. אֹיְבִי , &c. Likewise in words of the form קָטַל , קָטַלְתִּי , &c. (with \bar{e} in the second syllable; § 84^b *d*, *l*, *p*; § 85 *i* and *k*), e.g. אֹלָם *dumb*, plur. אֹלָמִים .

d (*b*) When the tone of the *construct state*, plural or dual, is carried over to the following word, or, in consequence of the addition of the *grave suffixes* to the *constr. st.* plur. or dual, is moved forward two places within the word itself, in such cases the originally short vowel of the second syllable becomes *Šwā*, while the vowel of the first syllable reverts to its original shortness, e.g. דְּבָרֵי הָעָם *the words of the people*, דְּבָרֵיכֶם *your words*, דְּבָרֵיהֶם *their words* (in all which instances the \bar{z} of the first syllable is attenuated from an original \bar{a}).

¹ The participles *Niph'al* נִדְּרָה Dt 30⁴, נִדְּרָה 2 S 14¹³, and some plurals of the participle *Niph.* of verbs לִי form an exception; cf. § 93 *oo*.

In the segholate forms in the singular and mostly in the dual the suffix is *e* appended to the ground-form (מֶלֶכִּי *my king*, מֶלֶכָּי, &c.); on the other hand, before the endings ים, וֹת (sometimes also before ים) a *Qameṣ* regularly occurs,¹ before which the vowel of the first syllable then becomes vocal *Ṣewā* (מֶלֶכֹּוּ, מֶלֶכָּיִם). This *Qameṣ* (on which cf. § 84^a a) remains even before the light suffixes, when attached to the plur. masc. (מֶלֶכִּיךָ, מֶלֶכָּיךָ, &c.). On the other hand, the *constr. st.* plur. and dual, regularly, according to *d*, has the form מֶלֶכִּי, with grave suffix מֶלֶכִּיכֶם, &c., מֶלֶכִּיךָ from דְּלָתַיִם *folding-doors*.

(c) Before the *Ṣewā mobile* which precedes the suffix ה when following a consonant, the *a*-sound, as a rule, is the only tone-lengthened vowel which remains in the final syllable (being now in an open syllable *before* the tone), e.g. דְּבַרְךָ, דְּבַרְהֶךָ, &c. (on the forms with *ē* in the second syllable, see § 93 qq); but before the grave suffixes כֶּם and כֶּן in the same position it reverts to its original shortness, as דְּבַרְכֶם, דְּבַרְכֶן, &c. In the same way the tone-lengthened *ā* or *ē* of the second syllable in the *constr. st.* sing. also becomes short again, since the *constr. st.* resigns the principal tone to the following word, e.g. דְּבַר אֱלֹהִים; חֹצֵר הַבַּיִת (from חֹצֵר).

Rem. The Masora (cf. *Digduge ha-Ṣamim*, p. 37) reckons thirteen words *g* which retain *Qameṣ* in the *constr. st.*, some of which had originally *ā* and therefore need not be considered. On the other hand, אֵלֶיךָ or אֵלֶם 1 K 7^e, Ez 40⁴⁸, &c. (in spite of the *constr. st.* plur. אֵלַיךָ); מִבְּטָחָה ψ 65^e, Pr 25¹⁹; מִצֵּב 1 S 13²⁸ (so Baer, but ed. Mant., Ginsburg, &c. מִצֵּב); מִשְׁקָל Ezr 8³⁰ and מִתֵּן Pr 18¹⁶ are very peculiar.

3. The vowel changes in the inflexion of *feminine nouns* (§ 95) are *h* not so considerable, since generally in the formation of the feminine either the original vowels have been retained, or they have already become *Ṣewā*.

Besides the vowel changes discussed above in *a-g*, which take place according to the general formative laws (§§ 25-28), certain further phenomena must also be considered in the inflexion of nouns, an accurate knowledge of which requires in each case an investigation of the original form of the words in question (see §§ 84-86). Such are, e.g., the rejection of the ה of לָהּ stems before all formative additions (cf. § 91 *d*), the sharpening of the final consonant of *y* stems in such cases as חָק, חָקִי, &c.

A striking difference between the vowel changes in the verb and noun is *k* that in a verb when terminations are added it is mostly the second of two changeable vowels which becomes *Ṣewā* (קָטַל, קָטַלָה, קָטַלְתָּ), but in a noun, the first (דְּבַר, דְּבַרִּי, דְּבַרִּים), cf. § 27. 3.

¹ For the rare exceptions see § 93 *l* and § 97 *f*, note 2.

§ 93. *Paradigms of Masculine Nouns.*¹

a Masculine nouns from the simple stem may, as regards their form and the vowel changes connected with it, be divided into *four* classes. A synopsis of them is given on pp. 264, 265, and they are further explained below. Two general remarks may be premised:

(*a*) That all feminines without a distinctive termination (§ 122 *h*) are treated like these masculine nouns, e. g. *חֶרֶב* *f. sword*, like *מֶלֶךְ* *m. king*, except that in the *plural* they usually take the termination *וֹת*; thus *חֶרֶבוֹת*, *constr. חֲרָבוֹת* (and so always before *suffixes*, see § 95).

b (*b*) That in the plural of the first three classes a changeable vowel is always retained even before the light suffixes as a lengthened pretonic vowel, whenever it also stands before the plural ending *ִם*. All suffixes, except *בָּם*, *כֵּן*, *הֵם*, *הֵן* (*יָבָם*—, *יָכֹן*—, *יָהֵם*—, *יָהֵן*—), are called *light*. Cf. § 92 *e*.

Explanations of the Paradigms (see pp. 264, 265).

c 1. Paradigm I comprises the large class of *segholate* nouns (§ 84^a *a-e*). In the first three examples, from a strong stem, the ground-forms, *mālk*, *s'plh*, *qūḏš* have been developed by the adoption of a helping *Seghōl* to *מֶלֶךְ* (with *ā* modified to *è*), *סֹפֵר* (*š* lengthened to *ē*), *קֹדֶשׁ* (*ā* lengthened to *ō*).² The next three examples, instead of the helping *Seghōl*, have a helping *Pathah*, on account of the middle (*d*, *f*) or final guttural (*e*). In all these cases the *constr. st. sing.* coincides exactly with the *absolute*. The singular suffixes are added to the ground-form; but in *c* and *f* an *ō* takes the place of the original *ū*, and in *d* and *f* the guttural requires a repetition of the *ā* and *ō* in the form of a *Hateph* (*נֶעֱרִי*, *פֶּעֱלִי*); before a following *Šwā* this *Hateph* passes into a simple helping vowel (*ā*, *ō*), according to § 28 *c*; hence *נֶעֱרִי*, &c.

d In the plural an *a*-sound almost always appears before the tone-bearing affix *ִם* (on the analogy of forms with original *a* in the

¹ A sort of detailed commentary on the following scheme of Hebrew declensions is supplied by E. König in his *Hist.-krit. Lehrgeb. der hebr. Spr.*, ii. 1, p. 1 ff.

² According to P. Haupt 'The book of Nahum' in the *Journ. of bibl. Lit.*, 1907, p. 29, the *e* in *סֹפֵר* and the *o* in *קֹדֶשׁ* are not long but accented, and hence to be pronounced *stēpp*, *ššv* (נֶעֱרִי), a theory unknown at any rate to the Jewish grammarians.

Paradigms of

I.

	a.	b.	c.	d.	e.	f.
<i>Sing. absolute</i>	מֶלֶךְ (king)	סֵפֶר (book)	קֹדֶשׁ (sanctuary)	נָעַר (a youth)	נֶצַח (perpetuity)	פֶּעַל (work)
„ <i>construct</i>	מֶלֶךְ	סֵפֶר	קֹדֶשׁ	נָעַר	נֶצַח	פֶּעַל
„ <i>with light suff.</i>	מֶלֶכִּי	סֵפְרִי	קֹדֶשִׁי	נָעָרִי	נֶצְחִי	פִּעְלִי
„ <i>with grave suff.</i>	מֶלֶכְךָ	סֵפְרְךָ	קֹדֶשְׁךָ	נָעָרְךָ	נֶצְחֶךָ	פִּעְלֶךָ
<i>Plur. absolute</i>	מְלָכִים	סִפְרִים	[קֹדֶשִׁים]	נָעָרִים	נֶצְחִים	פִּעְלִים
„ <i>construct</i>	מְלָכֵי	סִפְרֵי	קֹדֶשִׁי	נָעָרִי	נֶצְחִי	פִּעְלִי
„ <i>with light suff.</i>	מְלָכֵי	סִפְרֵי	[קֹדֶשִׁי]	נָעָרִי	נֶצְחִי	פִּעְלִי
„ <i>with grave suff.</i>	מְלָכֶיךָ	סִפְרֶיךָ	קֹדֶשֶׁיךָ	נָעָרֶיךָ	נֶצְחֶיךָ	פִּעְלֶיךָ
<i>Dual absolute</i>	רַגְלָיִם (feet)	קַבְלָצִים (two heaps)	מַתְנִיִּם (loins)	נַעְלָלִים (sandals)		
„ <i>construct</i>	רַגְלֵי	[proper name.]		נַעְלֵי		

II.

	a.	b.	c.	d.	e.	f.
<i>Sing. absolute</i>	דָּבָר (word)	חָכָם (wise)	זָקֵן (an old man)	כְּתֹף (shoulder)	חֲצֵר (court)	שָׂדֶה (field)
„ <i>construct</i>	דָּבָר	חָכָם	זָקֵן	כְּתֹף	חֲצֵר	שָׂדֶה
„ <i>with light suff.</i>	דָּבָרִי	חָכְמִי	זָקֵנִי	כְּתֹפִי	חֲצֵרִי	שָׂדֵרִי
„ <i>with grave suff.</i>	דָּבָרְךָ	חָכְמְךָ				שָׂדֶרְךָ
<i>Plur. absolute</i>	דְּבָרִים	חֲכָמִים	זָקֵנִים		חֲצֵרִים	פְּנִים
„ <i>construct</i>	דְּבָרֵי	חֲכָמֵי	זָקֵנִי		חֲצֵרִי	פְּנֵי
„ <i>with light suff.</i>	דְּבָרֵי	חֲכָמֵי	זָקֵנִי		חֲצֵרִי	פְּנֵי
„ <i>with grave suff.</i>	דְּבָרֶיךָ	חֲכָמֶיךָ	זָקֵנֶיךָ		חֲצֵרֶיךָ	פְּנֵיךָ
<i>Dual absolute</i>	כְּנָפַיִם (wings)	חֲלָצִים (loins)	יָרֵכִים (thighs)			
„ <i>construct</i>	כְּנָפֵי					(face)

Masculine Nouns.

I.

g.	h.	i.	k.	l.	m.	n.
מָוֹת	זַיִת	שׁוֹט	פֶּרִי	יָם	אִם	חֹק
(death)	(olive)	(whip)	(fruit)	(sea)	(mother)	(statute)
מוֹת	זֵית	שׁוֹט	פְּרִי	יָם, יַם	אִם	חֹק
מוֹתֵי	זֵיתֵי	שׁוֹטֵי	פְּרִיֵי	יָמֵי	אִמִּי	חֻקִּי
מוֹתֶךָ	זֵיתְךָ	שׁוֹטְךָ	פְּרִיְךָ	יָמְךָ	אִמְךָ	חֻקְךָ
מוֹתֵכֶם	זֵיתֵכֶם	שׁוֹטֵכֶם	פְּרִיֵכֶם	יָמֵכֶם	אִמֵּכֶם	חֻקֵּכֶם
[מוֹתֵימִ]	זֵיתִים	שׁוֹטִים	פְּרִיִּים	יָמִים	אֲמוֹת	חֻקִּים
מוֹתִי	זֵיתִי	שׁוֹטִי	פְּרִיִּי	יָמִי	אֲמוֹתִי	חֻקִּי
	זֵיתֵי	שׁוֹטֵי	(kids)	יָמֵי	אֲמוֹתֵי	חֻקֵּי
	זֵיתֵיכֶם	שׁוֹטֵיכֶם		יָמֵיכֶם	אֲמוֹתֵיכֶם	חֻקֵּיכֶם
	עֵינַיִם	יוֹמִים	לְחָיִים	כַּפַּיִם	שִׁנָּיִם	
	(eyes)	(two days, biduum)	(cheeks)	(hands)	(teeth)	
	עֵינִי		לְחַיִּי	כַּפִּי	שִׁנִּי	

III.

IV.

a.	b.	c.	a.	b.	c.
עוֹלָם	אֵיב	חֹזֶה	פֶּקִיד	עָנִי	כְּתָב
(eternity)	(enemy)	(seer)	(overseer)	(poor)	(writing)
עוֹלָם	אֵיב	חֹזֶה	פֶּקִיד	עָנִי	כְּתָב
עוֹלָמִי	אֵיבִי	חֹזִי	פֶּקִידִי		כְּתָבִי
עוֹלָמְךָ	אֵיבְךָ	חֹזֶךָ	פֶּקִידְךָ		כְּתָבְךָ
עוֹלָמֵכֶם	אֵיבֵכֶם	חֹזֵכֶם	פֶּקִידֵכֶם		כְּתָבֵכֶם
עוֹלָמִים	אֵיבִים	חֹזִים	פֶּקִידִים	עָנִיִּים	[כְּתָבִים]
עוֹלָמִי	אֵיבִי	חֹזִי	פֶּקִידִי	עָנִי	[כְּתָבִי]
עוֹלָמִי	אֵיבִי	חֹזִי	פֶּקִידִי		[כְּתָבִי]
עוֹלָמֵיכֶם	אֵיבֵיכֶם	חֹזֵיכֶם	פֶּקִידֵיכֶם	עָנִיֵּכֶם	[כְּתָבֵיכֶם]
מִלְקָחִים	מֵאֻנָּה		שָׁבָעִים		
(pair of tongs)	(balance)		(two weeks)		
	מֵאֻנִּי				

(only in Nu 11⁷, before Maqqeph), חָרָר Ju 3²⁴ (but Ct 3⁴ חָרָר, נָטַע, חָרָר as well as נָרַע, &c.; cf., moreover, קָחַת 2 K 12⁹ (for קָחַת, *inf. constr.* from לָקַח).

i C. The ה־ locale is, according to § 90 i, regularly added to the already developed form, e.g. הַבֵּינָה ψ 116^{14,18}: הַבֵּינָה Gn 19⁶, to the door; but also with a firmly closed syllable הַבֵּינָה Ex 40²⁴; under the influence of a guttural or ר, הַרְרָה, in pause אֲרָרָה (cf. הַרְרָה 1 Ch 14¹⁶, from הַרְרָה).

k D. The suffixes of the singular are likewise added to the ground-form, but forms with middle guttural take *Hašeph-Pathah* instead of the *Šwā quiescens*; נָעַרִי, &c. (but also לָחֵמִי, נָעַמִי, &c.). In a rather large number of *qātī*-forms, however, suffixes in the sing., as well as in the *constr. st. plur.* and dual, the *ā* of the first syllable is attenuated to *ī*,¹ thus בָּמִנִי *my womb*, יָהִרִי; so in בָּנִי, בָּצֵעַ, בָּנֵה, בָּבֵה, בָּבֵה, בָּשֵׁעַ, בָּתָּח, בָּרָק, בָּרָר, בָּרָר, בָּרָר, בָּרָר, and many others. In some cases of this kind besides the form with *ā* there most probably existed another with original *ī* in the first syllable; thus certainly with יָשַׁע beside יָשַׁע, יָצַח beside יָצַח, &c. (According to the *Digduge ha-š' amim*, § 36, the *absolute st.* in such cases takes *ē*, the *constr. st.* *ī*; cf. נָבֵרִי Nu 30⁴ (*absol.*) and נָבֵרִי 30¹⁰ (*constr.*); נָבֵרִי Lv 24²⁰ (*absol.*) and נָבֵרִי Am 6⁶ (*constr.*). According to this theory² פָּלָא (so the best authorities) Is 9⁵ would be the *constr. st.*, although the accentuation requires an *absol. st.*)—A weakening of the firmly closed syllable occurs in בָּנִי, &c. from בָּנִי and יָנִי Dt 15¹⁴, 16¹³, in both cases evidently owing to the influence of the palatal in the middle of the stem. With *Š'ghōl* for *ī*: הָבֵלִי, יָשַׁעֲךָ, נָנִי, &c.

l E. In the plural the termination וֹת is found as well as יִם, e.g. נִפְשֹׁתַי, נִפְשֹׁתַי together with נִפְשֵׁי (Ez 13²⁰ [but read הַנְּפִשִּׁים; see comm.]), &c., *constr. st. plur.* Other nouns have only the ending וֹת, e.g. אֲרָצוֹת, *constr.* אֲרָצוֹת from אֲרָצָה. Without *Qameš* before the ending וֹת we find רַחֲמִים (*bowels*) *mercy*. On the numerals עֶשְׂרִים *twenty*, &c., cf. § 97 f, note 2. Moreover *a* is not inserted before plural suffixes with the tone on the penultima in אֲשֶׁרֶךָ, &c., properly *thy happiness!* (a word which is only used in the *constr. st. pl.* and at an early period became stereotyped as a kind of interjection).

m F. In the *constr. st. plural* a firmly closed syllable is sometimes found, contrary to the rule, e.g. בְּסִפְיָהֶם Gn 42^{25,35}; רָשָׁפִי Ct 8⁶ (רָשָׁפִי ψ 76⁴); מִרְפִּי Ez 17⁹; צָמְרִי Is 5¹⁰, and so always in נִסְבִּיָּהֶם Nu 29³⁹, נִסְבִּיָּהֶם ψ 16⁴, &c. (on the other hand, according to the best authorities *not* in חֲסִדִּי Is 55³, &c., though in ψ 107⁴³ Ginsburg reads חֲסִדִּי; cf. § 46 d. Even with a middle guttural בְּעִלְיָהֶם Est 17²⁰.—The attenuation of *ā* to *ī* also occurs sometimes in this form (see above, k), e.g. וְבָחִי, &c., even יִלְחִי Is 57⁴ beside יִלְחִי Ho 1², &c.

n G. In the *dual absol.* beside forms like רַגְלֵיךָ *feet*, with suff. רַגְלֵיךָ, &c. בְּרַפֵּיךָ *two thousand*, נְעָלֶיךָ *sandals*, בְּרַפֵּיךָ *knees* (*ā* attenuated to *ī*, *constr. st. plur.* with a firmly closed syllable), with suffixes בְּרַפֵּי, &c. (cf., however, בְּרַפֵּיךָ Ju 7⁶), forms with pretonic *Qameš* are also found (in consequence of the

¹ According to M. Lambert, *REJ.* 1896, p. 21, *a* tends to remain with labials; so in 14 cases out of 22 masculines, and in 3 out of 6 feminines.

² Probably only a theory of one particular school and not generally accepted, or at any rate not consistently carried out; cf. König, *Lehrgeb.*, ii. 22.

tendency to assimilate the dual to the plural in form: so König, *Lehrgeb.*, ii. 17), as קַרְנִים *horns*, with suff. קַרְנָיו (Dn 8³ π.; elsewhere always קַרְנִים, קַרְנָיו, &c.), and so always דְּלָתַיִם, constr. st. דְּלָתַי *folding-doors*, דְּרָכַיִם (?) *double way*.

2. On Paradigms *b* and *a*. With a final *N* rejected (but retained orthographically) we find חֲמַט *sin*. An initial guttural before suffixes generally receives *S^gghôl* instead of the original *î*, e.g. חֲלָלִי, עֲוֹרִי, &c., so in the constr. st. plur. עֲוֹרָי, &c.; חֲמַט forms חֲמַטָּי 2 K 10²⁰, &c., retaining the *Qames* of חֲמַטַּי before the weak *N*.—The pausal forms סִתְּרָה and שִׁבְתָּה (out of pause always סִתְּרָה, שִׁבְתָּה) go back to by-forms סִתְּרָה, שִׁבְתָּה.—On עֲשׂוּבוֹת (constr. st. plur. of עֲשׂוּבָה) Pr 27²⁵, cf. § 20 *h*; שִׁקְמִים *sycamores*, without *Qames* before the termination ים.—(see above, *l*), is probably from the sing. שִׁקְמָה found in the Mišna.

3. On Paradigms *c* and *f*. קִשְׁטִי occurs in Pr 22²¹ without a helping vowel; *p* with a middle guttural פִּעֵל, &c., but with ה also אֶהָל, בִּהֵן, &c.; with a final guttural פִּבֵּה, &c., but with א, אֶמָּה; with a firmly closed syllable אֶסְפִּי Mi 7¹.

Before suffixes the original *û* sometimes reappears in the sing., e.g. גִּדְּלוּ *q* (ψ 150²) beside גִּדְּלוּ, from גִּדְּלוּ *greatness*; קִבְּלוּ (with *Dageš forte dirimens*, and the *û* repeated in the form of a *Ḥateph-Qames*, cf. § 10 *h*) Is 9³, &c.; גִּשְׂמָה Ez 22²⁴.—Corresponding to the form פִּעֵלְכֶם *pō'el^hkhēm* we find קִטְּרֶךָ Ho 13¹⁴, even without a middle guttural; similarly קִטְּנִי (so Jablonski and Opatius) 1 K 12¹⁰, 2 Ch 10¹⁰, from קִטְּנִי *little finger*; but the better reading is, no doubt, קִטְּנִי (so ed. Mant., 'the *p* proleptically assuming the vowel of the following syllable'; König, *Lehrgeb.*, ii. 69), and the form is to be derived, with König, from קִטְּנִי, not *qūtūn*, as Brockelmann quotes him, in *Grundriss*, p. 103. The reading קִטְּנִי (Baer and Ginsburg) is probably not due to a confusion of the above two readings, but — is merely intended to mark the vowel expressly as *û*. In the forms פִּעֵלְוּ Is 1⁸¹ (for פִּעֵלְוּ) and תִּתְּאוּ Is 52¹⁴ (for תִּתְּאוּ 1 S 28¹⁴), the lengthening of the original *û* to *ō* has been retained even before the suffix; cf. § 63 *p* and § 74 *h* (פִּמְצֵאֲכֶם Gn 32²⁰).—In the same way *ō* remains before ה *locale*, e.g. פִּרְנָה, הָאֶהָלָה Gn 18⁶, 24⁶⁷, &c. Dissimilation of the vowel (or a by-form נִבְּחָה?) seems to occur in נִבְּחֹו Ex 14², Ez 46⁹, for נִבְּחָה.

In the *absol. st. plur.* the original *û* generally becomes *S^gwā* before the *Qames*, *r* e.g. בִּקְרִים from בִּקְרָה *morning*, פִּעֲלִים *works*, רִמְחִים *lances*, שִׁנְעִלִים *handfuls* (constr. st. שִׁנְעָלִי Ez 13¹⁹); on the other hand, with an initial guttural the *û*-sound reappears as *Ḥateph-Qames*, e.g. חֲדָשִׁים *months*, עֲפָרִים *gazelles*, אֲרָחוֹת *ways*; and so even without an initial guttural, הַגִּרְנוֹת *the threshing-floors*, 1 S 23¹, Jo 2²⁴; קִדְשִׁים *sanctuaries*, and שְׁרָשִׁים *roots* (*qūdāšīm*, &c., with *ō* for *û*); also קִדְשִׁי [but קִדְשִׁיךָ, קִדְשִׁי, once קִדְשִׁי, where, however, the reading frequently fluctuates between קִדְשִׁי and קִדְשִׁי; with the article הַקִּדְשִׁי, הַקִּדְשִׁי, according to Baer and Ginsburg. On these forms cf. especially § 9 *v*. From אֶהָל *tent*, both אֶהָלִים and אֶהָלִי (cf. § 23 *h* and פִּעֵלְוּ above) are found; with light suffixes אֶהָלִי, &c.; so from אֶרֶץ *way*, אֶרֶצְתִּי, אֶרֶצְתִּי (also אֶרֶצְתִּי)—hence only with initial א, 'on account of its weak articulation' (König, *Lehrgeb.*, ii. 45). It seems that by these different ways of writing a distinction was intended between the

plural of אֶרְחָה *caravan*, and of אֶרַח *way*; however, אֶרְחֹת is also found in the former sense (in *constr. st.* Jb 6¹⁹) and אֶרְחֹת in the latter (e.g. Jb 13²⁷ according to the reading of Ben Naphtali and Qimhi); cf. also אֶרְחִיתוּ 2 Ch 8¹⁸ *Keth.* ('אֶרְחִיתוּ *Qeth.*).—The *constr. st.* plural of בָּהֶן *thumb* is בְּהֹנוֹת Ju 16^{f.}, as if from a sing. בְּהֹן: of בְּהֹן *brightness*, Is 59⁹ בְּהֹנוֹת (on these *qēṭl*-forms, cf. *t*).—If אֶפְנִי Pr 25¹¹ is not dual but plural (see the *Lexicon*) it is then analogous to the examples, given in *l* and *o*, of plurals without a pretonic *Qames*; cf. בְּטָנִים *pistachio nuts*, probably from a sing. בְּטָנָה. According to Barth, *ZDMG.* xlii, 345 f. אֶפְנִי is a sing. (אֶפְנִי, the ground-form of אֶפְנָה, with suffix).

In the *constr. st. plur.* the only example with original *ā* is רִבְכֵּי ψ 31²¹; otherwise like קְרָשֵׁי, אֶהָלֵי, &c.

- s* 4. Besides the forms treated hitherto we have to consider also a series of formations, which have their characteristic vowel under the *second* radical, as is ordinarily the case in Aramaic (on the origin of these forms see further, § 84^a e). Thus (a) of the form קָמַל; דְּבִשׁ *honey*, מְעַט *little*; in *pause*, דְּבִשׁ, מְעַט; מַעֲבָר *man* (as *constr. st.*, see above, *h*), ψ 18²⁶ (elsewhere always מַעְבָּר), and *infinitives* like שָׁכַב (§ 45 c; on קָחַת, see above, *h*); שָׁכָם *shoulder*, *ā* being modified to *ē* (but in *pause* שָׁכָם); locative שְׁכָמָה, also שְׁכָמָה Ho 6⁹. With suffixes in the usual manner שְׁכָמִי, שְׁכָמָה Gn 19^{33,35} (an *infin.* with suffix, therefore not שְׁכָמָה). On the other hand, the *ā* is retained in the *plur. absol.* by sharpening the final consonant: אֲנָמִים (*constr.* אֲנָמִי) *marshes*, הַרְפָּסִים *myrtles*, מְעַטִּים *few*.

- t* (b) Of the form קָמַל: בְּאֵר *a well*, זָאב *wolf*, &c.¹; locative בְּאֵרָה, with *suffix*. בְּאֵרִי, *plur.* זְאֵבִים, זָאבִי; but בְּאֵרוֹת, *constr.* בְּאֵרוֹת; on the *infin. constr.* שָׁאֵת, cf. § 76 b.

(c) of the form קָמַל: בָּאֵשׁ *stench* (with *suffix* בָּאֵשׁ, just as בָּבֶכֶו occurs in Jer 4⁷ along with the *constr. st.* סָבָה ψ 74⁵; cf. for the Dageš, § 20 *h*), perhaps also לְאֵם *nation*, pl. לְאֵמִים.

- u* 5. Paradigms *g-t* comprise the segholate forms with middle ו or י: (a) of the form *qāṭl* with *Wāw* as a strong consonant, in which cases the original *ā* is almost always lengthened to *ā* (Paradigm *g*), thus מְוָת *vanity*, עֲוָל *iniquity*, מִדְּוָה *midst*; with final א, שְׁוָא *falsehood*; cf. however, also מְוָה *space*. In the *constr. st.* contraction always occurs, מוֹת, &c. (from original *maut*), and likewise before suffixes מוֹתוֹ, &c. Exception, עוֹלָה as *constr. st.* Ez 28¹⁸ (according to Qimhi) and with *suffix* עוֹלָה. The contraction remains also in all cases in the plural (but see below, *w*).

- v* (b) Of the form *qāṭl* with consonantal *Yōḏh* (Paradigm *h*). With final א, יָאֵ (also יָאֵ), in Is 40⁴ יָאֵ, in the *constr. st.* (also *absol.* Ze 14⁴) יָאֵ (also יָאֵ); plur. 2 K 2¹⁶ and Ez 6³ *Keth.* according to Baer נִאוֹת, i. e. doubtless נִאוֹת (cf. נִאוֹתֵיךְ Ez 35⁸; according to another reading [and so Ginsburg] נִאוֹת,

¹ The proposal of Haupt (*SBOT*. 'Proverbs', p. 34, l. 44 ff.) to read זָאב, &c., does not seem to be warranted. The case here is quite different from that in Pr 1²² where the Masora requires מְאָרְבֵי, no doubt on the analogy of מְאָרְבֵי, &c., for מְאָרְבֵי, which was probably intended, see § 63 m.

i. e. doubtless **בְּיָאוֹת**), but in *Qere*, and all other passages, **בְּיָאוֹת**. The uncontracted form (in the *absol. st.* with helping *Hireq*) remains also before הַ־ *locale*, e. g. **בְּיָתָהּ יוֹסֵף** (but in the *constr. st.* e. g. **בְּיָתָהּ יוֹסֵף** עִירוֹ—(from **עִיר**) Gn 49¹¹ is peculiar, so also **שִׁתָּהּ** Is 10¹⁷ (from **שִׁתָּהּ**).—In the *plural absol.* uncontracted forms occur, like **חִילִים** *hosts*, **עֵינֹת** *springs*, **עֵינִים** *young asses*, **הַגֵּיִשִּׁים** *he-goats*, &c.; as *constr. st.* Pr 8²⁸ **עֵינֹת** for **עֵינִים**.

(c) With the contraction of the ו and י even in the *absol. st.* sing. (Paradigm i). In this way there arise formations which are unchangeable throughout; thus from the ground-form *qāṭl*: יוֹם (cf., however, § 96), סוֹף, שוֹר, &c.; with middle *Yōdh*, חֵיל 1 Ch 9¹⁸ (elsewhere **חֵיל** Is 21¹¹ (elsewhere **לֵיל**, in prose **לַיְלָה**, see above, § 90 f); from the ground-form *qāṭl*, דֵּין, שִׁיר, רֹחַ, נֶגֶד, &c. The plurals **דְּוָדִים** *pots*, **שׁוּקִים** *streets*, **שׁוּרִים** *oxen*, have a strong formation (but for **הַחֵיִים** 1 S 13⁶ read **הַחֲוִים** as in 14¹¹). Finally, forms with a quiescent middle א also belong to this class, such as **רֹאשׁ** *head* (obscured from **רֹאשׁ** = *ra'š*, see § 96) and **צֹאן** *sheep*.

6. On Paradigm k: segholate forms from *l'ia* stems. Besides the formations mentioned in § 84^a c, e, like **בָּבָהּ**, &c., and **שָׁחַ** Ez 47⁵, with the original ו resolved, according to § 24 d (cf. the *constr. plur.* **חֲנִי** *clefs*, Ob 3, &c., and **קָצוּ** *ends*, ψ 48¹¹, &c., where the ו becomes again a strong consonant,¹ from **קָצוּ** and **קָצוּ** or **קָצוּ**), there occur also (α) commonly, of the ground-form *qāṭl*, forms like **פָּרִי**, **בָּבִי**, **גָּדִי**, **לָחִי**, **צָבִי**, **אָרִי**, &c.; in *pause* **פָּרִי**, **בָּבִי**, **לָחִי**, **צָבִי** (cf. § 29 m), but **אָרִי** Ju 14¹⁸; with suffixes **פָּרִי** (attenuated from *pāryō*), **בָּבִי** ψ 6⁹, but also **פָּרִי**, **לָחִי**, &c.; before a grave suffix **פָּרִיָהֶם**, but also **פָּרִיָהֶם**. Plur. **גָּדִיִּים** (*constr.* **גָּדִי**, see above, o, **הַמָּאִי**, **אָרִיִּים**, with softening of the י to א (as elsewhere in **בְּלֹאִי** Jer 38¹² for which there is **בְּלֹאִי** in verse 11, according to § 8 k; **עֲרֵבִיָּאִים** 2 Ch 17¹¹, cf. 26⁷ *Keth.*; probably in **דְּוָדִיָּאִים** from **דְּוָדִי** and **לֹאִי**; also **חַלְכָּאִים** ψ 10¹⁰ *Keth.*, divided into two words by the Masora, is to be referred to a sing. **חַלְכִּי** *hapless*): **חַלְכָּאִים** *jewels*, Ct 7² (from **חַלְכִּי**), **חַלְכָּאִים** *lambs*, Is 40¹¹ (from **חַלְכִּי**); but instead of **חַלְכָּאִים** and **חַלְכָּאִים** (from **חַלְכִּי** and **צָבִי**) the Masora requires **חַלְכָּאִים** and **חַלְכָּאִים**; dual: **חַלְכָּאִים**, *constr. st.* **חַלְכָּאִים**, with *suff.* **חַלְכָּאִים**, &c. On **דֶּל** *door*, cf. § 95 f, and on such formations generally, see Barth on biliteral nouns in ZDMG. 1887, p. 603 ff, and *Nominalbildung* (isolated nouns), p. 1 ff.

(b) From the ground-form *qāṭl*, **חָצִי** *half*, in *pause* **חָצִי**, with *suff.* **חָצִי**, &c.—y From stems with middle *Wāw* arise such forms as **אֵי** (from *'ivy*), **עֵי**, **צֵי** *ship*, plur. **אֵיִים**, **צֵיִים**, &c.; instead of the extraordinary plur. **צֵיִים** Nu 24²⁴ read with the Samaritan **אֵיִים**, and for **בָּצִים** Ez 30⁹ read probably with Cornill **אֵיִים**.

(c) From the ground-form *qāṭl* sometimes forms like **בָּהּ**, **תָּהּ** (from *tāhaw*, *z būhaw*), sometimes like **חָלִי**, **עָנִי**, and even without an initial guttural **דְּמִי**, **יָפִי**.

¹ Nöldeke, *Beiträge*, p. 58: the direct or indirect retention of this ו is hardly a feature of early Hebrew. The true Hebrew forms from *qāṭl* would be **קָצָה**, **קָצוּת**, **קָצוּת**, the aramaizing forms **קָצָה**, **קָצָת**, **קָצוּת**.

הָלָיִים (also הָלָי, יָפִי, יָפִי, &c.; in *pause* הָלִי, &c., with suff. הָלִי, plur. הָלָיִים. From *branch* עֵפֶי, there occurs in ψ 104¹² the plur. עֵפָאִים (analogous to פִּתְאִים, &c., see above, x); the *K^{eth}*. evidently intends עֵפָאִים (so Opitius and others). Dual, with suff. הָלִי Nu 24⁷, *bucket* (from הָלִי, for הָלִי, more correctly, with the Masora, הָלִי with Munah for Metheg. This unusual Metheg is to be treated as following the analogy of the cases mentioned in § 9 v.

7. On Paradigms l-n : segholate forms from stems ע"ע (see § 84^a c, β).

(a) In the *qatl*-form the *ä* of the contracted formation is sometimes lengthened in the *absol. st.*, sing. as in יָם (so also in the *constr. st.*, except in the combination יַם-סוּף the *Red sea*; and even before *Maggeph*, יַם-הַיָּלָח the *salt sea*), sometimes it remains short, e.g. מֶרְסֶל *morsel*, עָם *people*, but even these formations generally have *Qameṣ* in *pause*, as well as after the article (e.g. הָעָם). Adjectives under the influence of a guttural either have forms like מְחַיִּים, or, with *compensatory lengthening*, רָעִים, רָעִי. In the *constr. st.* חַי *living* (in the plural הַיִּים also a substantive, *life*), and יָד *sufficiency*, are contracted to יָחִי and יָדִי. As a locative form notice הָרֶה to the *mountain*, Gn 14¹⁰ (see § 27 q) beside הָרֶה. The stem is expanded to a trilateral form in הָרֶה (unless it is simply derived from a by-form הָרֶה on the analogy of *qūlūl*-forms) Jer 17⁸ (but in ψ 30⁸ read הָרֶה) and הָרֶה Gn 14⁶; plur. *constr.* הָרֶה Nu 23⁷, &c. (but only in poetical passages), with suffix, הָרֶה Dt 8⁹; עֲמָקִים Ju 5¹⁴ (where, however, read probably עֲמָקִי, Neh 9²²; עֲמָמִי Neh 9²⁴: elsewhere עֲמָמִים. — Before *suffices* and in the plur. *ä* is sometimes attenuated to *i*, e.g. מְחַיִּים, מְחַיִּים, from מְחַיִּים; מְחַיִּים and מְחַיִּים (also מְחַיִּים 2 S 17²⁸) from מְחַיִּים. Before הָ *ä* is retained in a virtually sharpened syllable, e.g. מְחַיִּים *traps*.

(b) *Qūl*-forms: מֶשֶׁל, מֶשֶׁל *fire* (with suff. מֶשֶׁל, but cf. also מֶשֶׁל Is 50¹¹), מֶשֶׁל *favour*, &c.; of a trilateral form, the plur. מֶשֶׁל ψ 77¹⁸.

(c) *Qūl*-forms: חֶק, חֶק *totality*, before *Maggeph* חֶק, חֶק, with suff. חֶק, &c., with omission of *Dageṣ forte* (according to § 20 m) always חֶק, חֶק, but from עֶן, עֶן, עֶן, עֶן, for which עֶן and עֶן are also found. חֶק, expanded to a trilateral form, Ju 5¹⁵ and Is 10¹, generally explained as a secondary form of חֶק with abnormal weakening of the *ä* to *i*, is more probably to be referred to a *qūl*-form = Arabic *hiqq*.

CC The forms with assimilated middle *Nūn* likewise follow the analogy of Paradigms l-n, e.g. נֶסֶם *nose*, *anger* (נֶסֶם, dual נֶסֶם, also *face*) for *'anp*; חֶק *palate* for *hink*; חֶק *fetters*, עֶן *goat*, plur. עֶן, for *'inz*, probably also נֶסֶם *green herb*, for *'inb*.

dd 2. Paradigm II comprises all formations with original short vowels, whether in the first or second syllable; cf. § 84^a f-i, and the general laws of formation, § 92 b-g.

¹ חֶק only in Dn 12⁷ as *constr. st.*, since in the asseverative formulae (cf. § 149) חֶק נֶפֶשׁ, חֶק נֶפֶשׁ (otherwise only in 2 S 15²¹, after יהוה *is*, and Amos 8¹⁴), חֶק is a contracted form of the *absol. st.* (prop. *living is Pharaoh!* &c.). It is evidently only a rabbinical refinement which makes the pronunciation חֶק distinctive of an oath by God (or of God by himself), as in the regular formulae חֶק חֶק (חֶק חֶק) Dt 32⁴⁰ and חֶק חֶק (= חֶק חֶק).

Rem. 1. On Paradigms *a* and *b*: ground-form *qāṭāl*. The lengthening of the second *ā* to *ā* is maintained in the *constr. st. sing.* only in ל"ל-forms, e.g. צָבָא *army*, צָבָא. For the construct forms חֶלֶב לֶבָן *milk*, חֶלֶב לֶבָן, Gn 49¹², instead of the ordinary *absolutes* חֶלֶב לֶבָן, a secondary form חֶלֶב לֶבָן must be assumed; from עָשָׁן *smoke*, the *constr. st.* עָשָׁן occurs once, Ex 19¹⁸, beside עָשָׁן, from הָדָר *ornament* the *constr. st.* הָדָר Dn 11²⁰, beside the common form הָדָר.—The plur. פָּרָשִׁים *horses*, Is 21⁷ (instead of פָּרָשִׁים, ground-form *pārās*) is no doubt due to a confusion with the *qāṭāl*-form פָּרָשׁ *horseman*.

A. Sometimes a sharpening of the third radical takes place, in order to *ee* keep the preceding vowel short, e.g. חֶמְלִים *camels*, חֶמְלִים *small ones*, בְּרוֹכִים *brooks* (see § 20 *a*).—The attenuation of the *ā* of the first syllable to *i* does not take place in the *constr. st. plur.* as a rule after an initial guttural, as חֶכְמִי, חֶכְמִי, but חֶכְמִי, and never before a middle guttural, e.g. נְהַרִי; nor (according to König, owing to the influence of the nasal) in the non-guttural forms חֶכְמִי *tails*, חֶכְמִי, and (in the dual) חֶכְמִי *wings*, חֶכְמִי, חֶכְמִי.—The dual חֶכְמִי from נְהַר *river*, shows an abnormal omission of the lengthening of the *ā* before a tone-bearing termination, but cf. § 88 *c*.

B. From ע"ע stems, forms like חֶלֶל, עֶנָּה, &c., belong to this class.

C. The few nouns of the ground-form *qāṭāl* follow the same analogy, such as חֶלֶב *heart*, חֶלֶב *strong drink*, חֶלֶב *grape*, &c. From שֶׁעַר *hair*, in the *constr. st.* besides שֶׁעַר the form שֶׁעַר is also found (perhaps a survival of a secondary form like those in Paradigm I, *d*); so from צֶלַע *rib*, צֶלַע and even צֶלַע 2 S 16¹³ (so ed. Mant., Ginsb.; but Baer *צֶלַע*), both, probably, old secondary forms (also used for the *absol. st.*) of צֶלַע; cf. also צֶלַע and צֶלַע, as well as the *constr. st. plur.* צֶלַע; also from נֶכֶד *strangeness*, the *constr. st.* נֶכֶד is found, Dt 31¹⁶.

2. On Paradigms *c-e*: ground-form *qāṭāl*, developed to *qāṭāl*; with a final guttural, e.g. שָׂבַע *satisfied*. In the *constr. st.* the original *i* of the second syllable, probably on the analogy of the forms discussed in § 69 *c*, becomes *ā*, e.g. שָׂבַע, חֶלֶב, חֶלֶב, &c., but not before suffixes, חֶלֶב, &c., nor in forms from ל"ל stems, e.g. מָלֵא *full*, מָלֵא; cf., moreover, עָקַב Gn 25²⁶ from עָקַב *heel*, and אָבֵל ψ 35¹⁴ *mourning*. Paradigm *d* represents forms which in the *constr. st.* instead of the ordinary בָּתָּה, &c., have a segholate form, as אָרָה, אָרָה, אָרָה, אָרָה (Ez 44⁹), *constr. st.* of אָרָה *long*, אָרָה *wall*, אָרָה *thigh*, אָרָה *robbery*, אָרָה *uncircumcised*. In Is 11¹⁴ בָּתָּה would be altogether without precedent as a *constr. st.* (for בָּתָּה); most probably the *absol. st.* is intended by the Masora (according to Nöldeke, *Gött. Gel. Anzeigen*, 1871, No. 23 [p. 896] for אָהָר בכ' *with one shoulder*, i.e. *shoulder to shoulder*); [cf. Driver, *Tenses*, § 190, Obs.].

In the *plur. constr.* the *i* lengthened from *i* is frequently retained in verbal *ii* adjectives of this formation, e.g. שָׂבַע, שָׂבַע, שָׂבַע, שָׂבַע; cf. also יְהִיָּה (with *i* under the protection of the secondary tone) from יָהָר *tent-peg*. On the other hand from יָרָא *fearing*, always יָרָא; cf. also רָנַע ψ 35²⁰ from רָנַע.—With *ā* retained in the initial syllable cf. אָהָר *alius* (with a virtual sharpening of the ח).—From ע"ע stems come forms like מֵת *dead person*, מֵת *resident stranger*, עֵד *witness*, with unchangeable *Seré*; hence מֵת, מֵת, &c.

Kindred in character are the formations from the ground-form *qāṭāl*. This *kk*

ground-form is regularly lengthened to *qāṭōl*, e.g. עָוֹל *round*, עֶמֶק *deep*, אָרֶם *red*; but before formative additions the short *ā* returns, protected by the sharpening of the following consonant (see *ee* above), as עֲנִילִים, &c. (but in stems with a third guttural or ר, נִבְרָה, שְׁחָרִים). The form עָנֹל, 1 K 10¹⁹, is abnormal; likewise עֲמוּקָה Pr 23²⁷, Jablonski (ed. Mant. עֲמֻקָה, Baer and Ginsburg עֲמֻקָה).

ll 3. On Paradigm *f*: ground-form *qāṭāl* from לִיָּה stems. As in verbs לָהֵךְ § 75 *h*, the general rule is that before the terminations of the plur. and dual and before suffixes beginning with a vowel, the third radical is usually elided altogether. But besides שָׁרָה the form שָׁרִי, with the final *Yōdh* retained, is also found in poetry (cf. also the singulars with suffixes, like מִשְׁתִּיָּהם, in *ss*); in the same way final י is retained in עֲנִיִּים *the poor*, constr. עֲנִי. The plur. of שָׁרָה is שָׁרוֹת, constr. שָׁרוֹת (also שָׁרִי, unless this is a *sing.*, contracted from שָׁרִי; so Barth, *ZDMG.* xlii, p. 351). The *qāṭāl*-form (see § 84^a *i*) רָעָה 2 S 15³⁷, 16¹⁶, 1 K 4⁵ is remarkable as a *constr. st.* (the reading רָעָה of Opatius and others is opposed to the express statement of the Masora). To the category of these forms also belongs without doubt פָּנִים *face* (only in *plur.*), פָּנִי, פָּנִיךְ, &c.

mm In a few formations of this kind the vowel of the second syllable appears to have been already lost in the *absol. st. sing.*; so according to the ordinary view, in יָד *hand*, constr. יָד, with *suff.* יָדוֹ, but יָדְכֶם; plur. יָדוֹת, constr. יָדוֹת, dual יָדַי, with *suff.* יָדֶיךָ, &c., and in דָּם *blood*, constr. דָּם, with *suff.* דָּמִי, but דָּמְכֶם (*ā* attenuated to *i*), plur. דָּמִים, דָּמִיךְ. But perhaps both these nouns are to be regarded as primitive (§ 81), and as original monosyllabic formations.

nn 3. Paradigm III comprises forms with an unchangeable vowel in the first syllable, whilst the vowel of the second syllable has been lengthened from an original short vowel, and is therefore changeable. The special cases are to be distinguished in which the original short vowel is lengthened both *in* and *before* the tone, but in an open syllable becomes *Ṣwā* (Paradigm *a*, but cf. also examples like אֲוִפְנִים *wheels*, for אֲוִפְנִים, and אֲלֻפִּים *porches*), secondly, the cases in which the vowel becomes *Ṣwā* even *before* the tone (Paradigm *b*), and finally, those in which the termination of לִיָּה formations is entirely lost (Paradigm *c*).

oo Rem. 1. On the model of עֹלָם (which, moreover, is obscured from 'ālām), the following forms also are inflected: מִקְטָל (§ 85 *h*), in some cases with virtual sharpening of the third radical (see § 20 *a*), as מִבְּרָחוֹ Jer 17⁷, ψ 40⁵, Jb 8¹⁴, &c.; מִלִּיָּה nouns of this form maintain the *Qameṣ* in the *constr. st. plur.*, e.g. מִקְרָאִי from מִקְרָא¹; on the other hand, in the plur. of the *participles Niph.* (§ 85 *n*) of verbs מִלִּיָּה (which likewise belong to this class), are found not only regular forms like נִקְרָאִים but also נִתְבָּאִים Jos 10¹⁷, נִמְתָּאִים Ez 20^{30 f.},

¹ מִקְרָאִי Ez 7²⁴ for מִקְרָאִי (from מִקְרָא) is wholly irregular; perhaps, however, the *part. Pi'el* is intended, without *Dageš* in the ק (according to § 20 *m*).

מִקְנֵיךְ *thy cattle*, Is 30²³ (probably also שְׂרָיִךְ 1 K 2²⁶), מִרְאֵךְ Ct 2¹⁴, and מִרְאֵי *the sight of him*, Jb 41¹ (with the *י* here retained orthographically), כְּעֵלְיִ Ez 40³¹, &c., are still to be explained as singulars.—On a few other examples which may perhaps be thus explained, see § 124 *k*. Before the plural ending the original termination *ay* reappears in מִמְחֵיִם Is 25⁶ (*part. Pu.* from מַחָה).

tt 4. Paradigm IV comprises the forms with a changeable vowel (*a, b*), or a vowel which has already become *Šewā* (*c*), in the first syllable, and an unchangeable vowel in the second. With Paradigm *c* (which, however, for the most part consists merely of forms based on analogy, without biblical parallels) are also connected all the forms which have unchangeable vowels in both syllables, and therefore (like כְּתָב) cannot undergo any vowel changes.

uu Rem. 1. Analogous to פָּקִיד (ground-form *pāqīd*) are § 84^a *k*, נָדוּל, &c. (with *ō*, not changeable *ō* for *ū*); in substantives like שָׁלוֹם, this *ō* is demonstrably obscured from *ā* (Arab. *sālam*); ibid. *l, m*, אָסִיר, אֶסִיר, &c.; § 85 *u*, וְכָרוֹן, וְכָרוֹן, constr. הָיוֹן, constr. הָיוֹן, constr. בָּלָיוֹן (cf., however, the forms in the constr. *st.* עֲצָבוֹן, עֲצָבוֹן, and with the plural suffix עֲבוּרֵיךְ Ez 27¹² *π*.); § 85 *w*, חֲלָמִישׁ, constr. חֲלָמִישׁ, § 85 *l*, מְקוֹם, &c.

uu 2. עָנִי (ground-form *ʿānīy*, stem *עָנָה*) represents forms in which a final *Yōdh* has been resolved into *i*; before formative additions the original *Yōdh* under the protection of a *Dages forte* again becomes audible as a firm consonant, whilst the (originally short) vowel of the first syllable becomes *Šewā*; cf. § 84^a *l*, בָּקִי, plur. בָּקִיִּים, and § 87 *a*.

uu 3. כְּתָב with unchangeable *ā* in the second syllable, whilst the *Šewā* is weakened from a short vowel (Arab. *kilāb*); constr. *st.* כְּתָב־ Est 4⁸ (readings like כְּתָב 2 Ch 35⁴ are incorrect, although יָקָר Est 1⁴ and כְּתָב־ 4⁸ are supported by fairly good authority; however, these *qāṭūl*-forms in Hebrew are probably all loan-words from the Aramaic). The only plural form found in the O. T. is עֲבָדֵיהֶם *their deeds*, Ec 9¹. In a narrower sense the forms enumerated in § 84^a *n-p* belong to this class; in a wider sense all those which have unchangeable vowels throughout, thus § 84^a *u*, § 84^b *e* (קָפַל, cf., however, the anomalous forms mentioned there), ibid. *f-i, m* (No. 34 *f*), *n* (No. 39), *p* (No. 44), also partly § 85 *b-w* (especially *l* and *r*).

uu In opposition to the anomalous shortening of the form קָטַל (see above), cases are also found where pretonic vowels are retained even in the antepenultima (with the secondary tone); cf. above, *ii* and *pp*, also of the form קָטַל (properly *qāṭūl*) the examples כְּרִיסִים, פְּרִיצִים, שְׁלִישִׁים, whilst the constr. *st. sing.* according to the rule, changes the *ā* into *Šewā* (סָרִיס, פָּרִיץ, which is for פָּרִיץ, and consequently has an unchangeable *Qames*). Of the form קָטַל (*qāṭūl*) in this class are שָׁבוּעַ *week*, plur. שָׁבָעִים and שָׁבָעוֹת, constr. שָׁבָעוֹת, but with *Methey* of the secondary tone in the fifth syllable from the end, שָׁבָעוֹתֶיכֶם.—On קָטַע, &c., cf. § 85 *k*.

§ 94. Formation of Feminine Nouns.

1. The feminine ending הַ- , when appended to the masculine a forms treated in § 93, effects in almost all cases the same changes as are produced in the masculine forms by the addition of a light suffix, since in both cases the tone is moved one place farther forward (see § 92 *b*). The following scheme is based on the same division into four classes, with their subdivisions, as in § 93; a few special forms will be treated in § 95 in connexion with the paradigms of feminine nouns.

Paradigm I: segholate forms, with the feminine ending always בַּ added to the ground-form, (*a*) מַלְכָּה *queen*, בַּבְּשָׂה , and with attenuation of ā to ī לַבְּשָׂה *lamb*, רֹצֶפֶה *hot stone*, Is 6⁶ (elsewhere always רֹצֶפָה ; see Baer on Ez 40¹⁷), חֲזָקָה *strength* (unless belonging to Paradigm *b*); (*b*) סִתְרָה *covering* (masc. סִתֵּר); עֲדָנָה *pleasure* (עֲדָן), not to be confounded with the unchangeable forms with a prefixed כֹּ , derived from ל"ה stems, as מִצְוָה *command*, plur. מִצְוֹת ; (*c*) חֲלֵדָה , proper name (חֲלֵד *mole*), אֲכָלָה *food* (אָכַל); (*d*) נַעֲרָה *girl* (נָעַר); (*f*) בְּאִשָּׁה *weed*, טְהִירָה *purity* (טָהַר); (*g*) עוֹלָה *wrong* (also עוֹלָה , Paradigm *i*); (*i*) צִיָּדָה *victuals* (masc. צִיד , cf. Paradigm *h*); from *qīl* and *quīl*-forms, בִּינָה *understanding*, סוּפָה *tempest*; (*k*) אֵלִיָּה *fat tail* (as if from אָלַי), שְׂבִיָּה (ā attenuated to ī) *captivity* (שָׁבַי), לִיָּה *wreath* (probably an original *qīl*-form); (*l*) חַיָּה *life*, מִדָּה *measure* (attenuated from מִדָּה). Adjectives derived from ע"ע stems also belong in flexion to this class, as רַבָּה *multa*, with middle guttural רַעָה *mala*; (*m*) יָפָה *plan*; (*n*) חֲקָה *statute* (חָק).

Paradigm II: ground-form *qātālāt*, &c., (*a*) נִקְמָה *vengeance* (נָקַם); (*b*) אֶרֶצָה *earth*; (*c*) גִּבְלָה *corpse*; (*d*) עֵיפָה *languida*; (*f*) יָפָה *beautiful*, קֶצֶה *end* (from יָפָה , קֶצֶה). From stems ע"י arise such forms as עֵרָה (masc. עָר , properly *part. Qal* from *עיר*) *female witness*. From the ground-form *qātūl*, עֲצִיבָה *profunda* (masc. עָצַב), עֲבָדָה *servitude*, &c.

Paradigm III: unchangeable vowel in the first, changeable in the *d* second syllable, (*a*) יִלְדָּה *a woman with child* (cf. the examples in § 84^a *s*, and the retention of the ē in the *part. Pī'el*, Ex 22¹⁷, 23²⁶; in the *Hithpa'el* 1 K 14^{5f.}), but also with the change of the ē (originally ī) into Šwā , יִשְׁבָּה *dwelling*, Na 3⁸. However, in these participial forms the feminine is mostly indicated by הַ- (see below, *h*); (*c*) גּוֹלָה *those of the captivity* (masc. גּוֹלָה), but also with a return of the final *Yōdh*, הַמִּיָּה *clamorous*, Pr 7¹¹, and the examples in § 75 *v*. On the *d* of the participles of verbs ע"י , which also belong to this class, such as נִרְה *peregrina*, cf. § 72 *g*.

e Paradigm IV: originally changeable vowel in the first syllable, unchangeable in the second, (a) מַגְלָה *magna*, תַּסְרִיחַ *stork*, properly *pia*; בְּתוּלָה *virgin*, properly *seivuncta*; (b) עֲנִיָּה *miseria*.

f 2. A simple ת is added as feminine ending in forms like בְּכִית *weeping* (masc. בָּכִי, § 93 a, a), בְּרִית *covenant*; but *feminine participles* of verbs לִ"א, as מוֹצֵאת, מוֹצֵאת, may be due to contraction from *yôṣe'et*, &c. (hardly to lengthening of the *z* in the ground-form *môṣi*), whilst forms like מוֹצֵאת, מוֹצֵאת (see § 74 i) are to be explained on the analogy of the forms treated in § 93 t. Apart from the ל"ה formations, we find the simple ת in the participle מְשַׁרְת 1 K 1¹⁵, contracted from מְשַׁרְתָּה. But מְשַׁרְתָּה Gn 16¹¹, Ju 13⁵⁻⁷ is the ground-form of the ptp. מְשַׁרְתָּה (as in the same connexion in Gn 17¹⁹, Is 7¹⁴), cf. § 80 d and the *Qere* שְׂבָתָה, &c., discussed in § 90 n.

g The forms which arise by appending the ת feminine to masculine nouns with a changeable vowel in a closed final syllable are, as a rule, developed exactly in the same way as masculine segholate forms. Thus there arise in Paradigm I (a) from בְּרִיתָה (for original *g^ebirt*; § 69 c), the form מְבַרְתָּה *mistress* (but only in *construct st.*; in Is 47⁷ also מְבַרְתָּה are to be taken together; the *absolute st.* is מְבַרְתָּה); from מְלֻכָּה *queen* (in Paradigm II, a); מְלֻכָּה = פִּתָּה = פִּתָּה *pit* Lv 13⁵⁵; (c) מְרֻרָה *wall*, מְרֻרָה (from מְרֻרָה = *g^edirt*; cf. מְרֻרָה as *construct st.* of מְרֻרָה); on the other hand, מְרֻרָה is *construct st.* of מְרֻרָה *five*, with lengthening of the original *z* of מְרֻרָה.

h Formations with a changeable *o* in the second syllable belonging to this class are מְרֻרָה *bronze* (from מְרֻרָה), מְרֻרָה the *constr. st.* of מְרֻרָה *coat*, perhaps also מְרֻרָה *writing* (unless it be obscured from מְרֻרָה, § 93, Paradigm IV, c).—Paradigm III, (a) מְרֻרָה (from מְרֻרָה), masc. מְרֻרָה *seal*; (b) מְרֻרָה (properly *sucking*) *sprout* (in *pause*, e.g. מְרֻרָה Ex 26⁴, &c.), and so most feminines of participles מְרֻרָה. On this transition of the ground-form *qôṭilt* to מְרֻרָה (regularly before suffixes in מְרֻרָה, &c.), cf. § 69 c; *qôṭalt* serves as the ground-form under the influence of a guttural as well as before suffixes, e.g. מְרֻרָה, feminine of מְרֻרָה *knowing*; in a wider sense, מְרֻרָה *skull* may also be included here, see § 95, Paradigm IV, c.

On the endings וִית and יִת—, see § 86 k, l, § 95 at the end.

§ 95. Paradigms of Feminine Nouns.

a In accordance with the general formative laws, stated in § 92 b-k, the following cases have chiefly to be considered in the flexion of

feminines also: (1) a tone-lengthened vowel on the removal of the tone reverts to its original shortness (thus the \bar{a} of the termination מַלְכָּה becomes again \bar{a} in the *construct st.* מַלְכָּה). On the other hand, even an originally short vowel is retained as (a long) pretonic vowel before the endings מַלְכָּה and מַלְכָּה in the *abs. st.*, e.g. מַלְכָּה ; (2) without the tone or foretone an originally short vowel almost always becomes \bar{e} ; on the other hand, before a vowel which had thus become \bar{e} the \bar{a} in the first syllable which had hitherto also been reduced to \bar{e} returns, although usually attenuated to \bar{e} , e.g. מַלְכָּה from $\text{sād}h\bar{a}g\bar{a}th$; (3) in the plural of the feminines of segholate forms before the termination of מַלְכָּה or מַלְכָּה , and in formations of the latter kind also before the light suffixes, a *pretonic Qameṣ* reappears, while the short vowel of the first syllable becomes \bar{e} . This short vowel, however, returns in the *construct st. plur.*, whether ending in מַלְכָּה or מַלְכָּה ; in formations of the latter kind also before the grave suffixes.

The following Paradigms (with the exception of I, d) deal only with such of the forms treated in § 94 as incur some vowel changes or other. All forms with unchangeable vowels follow the analogy of Paradigm I, d.

I.					
	a.	b.	c.	d.	e.
<i>Sing. absolute</i>	מַלְכָּה (queen)	[מַלְכָּה] חַרְפָּה (kidney) (reproach)	חַרְפָּה (waste)	חַקָּה (statute)	[מַלְכָּה] (mistress)
„ <i>construct</i>	מַלְכָּת	חַרְפָּת	חַרְפָּת	חַקָּת	מַלְכָּת
„ <i>with light suff.</i>	מַלְכָּתִי	חַרְפָּתִי	חַרְפָּתִי	חַקָּתִי	מַלְכָּתִי
„ <i>with grave suff.</i>	מַלְכָּתְכֶם	חַרְפָּתְכֶם	חַרְפָּתְכֶם	חַקָּתְכֶם	מַלְכָּתְכֶם
<i>Plur. absolute</i>	מַלְכּוֹת	חַרְפּוֹת	חַרְבּוֹת	חַקּוֹת	
„ <i>construct</i>	מַלְכּוֹת	חַרְפּוֹת ¹	חַרְבּוֹת	חַקּוֹת	
„ <i>with suff.</i>	מַלְכּוֹתִי	חַרְפּוֹתִי	חַרְבּוֹתִי	חַקּוֹתִי	
<i>Dual absolute</i>		חַרְפּוֹתַי (a double piece of embroidery)			מַלְכּוֹתַי (cymbals)

¹ Only in ψ 69¹⁰, contrary to rule, with a firmly closed syllable, cf. § 93 m.

c

	II.			III.	
	a.	b.	c.	a.	b.
<i>Sing. absolute</i>	צִדְקָה (righteousness)	וֹעֲקָה (outcry)	שָׁנָה (year)	יוֹנֵקֶת (sprout)	גִּלְגֻּלֶת (skull)
„ <i>construct</i>	צִדְקַת	וֹעֲקַת	שָׁנַת	יוֹנֵקֶת	גִּלְגֻּלֶת
„ <i>with light suff.</i>	צִדְקָתִי	וֹעֲקָתִי	שָׁנָתִי	יוֹנֵקֶתִי	גִּלְגֻּלֶתִי
„ <i>with grave suff.</i>	צִדְקַתְכֶם	וֹעֲקַתְכֶם	שָׁנַתְכֶם	יוֹנֵקֶתְכֶם	גִּלְגֻּלֶתְכֶם
<i>Plur. absolute</i>	צִדְקוֹת		שָׁנוֹת ¹	[יוֹנֵקוֹת]	
„ <i>construct</i>	צִדְקוֹת		שָׁנוֹת	יוֹנֵקוֹת	גִּלְגֻּלוֹת
„ <i>with suff.</i>	צִדְקוֹתִי		שָׁנוֹתִי	יוֹנֵקוֹתִי	גִּלְגֻּלוֹתִי
<i>Dual absolute</i>	[נְחֻשְׁתַּיִם] (fettlers of brass)		שְׁפָתַיִם (lips)		
„ <i>construct</i>			שְׁפָתַי		

REMARKS.

d 1. Paradigm I: feminines of segholate forms. (a) The locative of this class has the form *גִּבְעָתָה* towards Gibeah (masc. *גִּבְעָה*). In some cases, especially with an initial guttural, there is no means of deciding whether the form in question is to be referred to a *qāṭl* or a *qūl* base, e.g. *חֹזְקָה* strength (cf. *חֹרְפָה* under b). A dual of this form occurs in *שִׁבְעָתַיִם* seven times (cf. *שִׁבְעַת* seven, fem.). Analogous to masculine forms like *רִבְשׁ* (§ 93 s) is *הַדְּפָה* myrtle.—From masculines of the form *פָּרִי* (ל"ה, cf. § 93 I, k) arise feminines sometimes like *אֵלֶיהָ*, *שָׁלָהָה* (see above, § 94 b), sometimes like *בְּבִית* (§ 94 f); occasionally the final *ת* is retained before the plural ending, as if it belonged to the stem (cf. § 87 k), e.g. *חֲנִיתוֹת* spears. Forms like *גִּדְיָה* (cf. *אֲנִיָּה*, a *qūl* form) are derived directly from the masculine forms *גִּדִּי* kid, *אֲנִי* a fleet.—(b) From a stem *ע"ן* *חֲמֶה* wheat (for *חֲנֻמָּה*, plur. *חֲמִיִּם*).—(c) From *עָרְלָה* foreskin, the plur. absol. is *עָרְלוֹת* (cf. *פְּעָלִים*, § 93, Paradigm I, f), constr. *עָרְלוֹת*.—(d) Example of a feminine segholate form from a stem *ע"ע* (ground-form *qūl*), like *חֲיָה* of the form *qūl*, *וָפָה* of the form *qūl*, with *ō* for *ū*, *חֲנָא* terror, Is 19¹⁷ (Aramaic orthography for *חֲמָה*).

e (e) To the list of segholate forms with *ת* fem. belong also the infinitives of verbs *פ"ן* and *פ"נ*, which have rejected the weak consonant at the beginning, as *שָׁבַת* (from *יָשַׁב*), *רָעַת* (from *יָרַע*), *נָשַׁת* (from *נָגַשׁ*), as well as *קָחַת* (from *לָקַח*); cf. § 69 m and § 66 b and g. The infinitives of verbs *פ"ו* are, however, also found in the form *רָעָה*, *לָרָה*, *צָאָה*, and of the same origin also are *עָרָה* congregation (from *יָעַר*), *עָצָה* counsel (from *יָעַץ*), *שָׁנָה* sleep (from *יָשַׁן*), constr. *עָרַת*, *שָׁנַת*, while in the constr. forms *זָעַת* sweat, Gn 3¹⁹ (from *יָזַע* to flow), and *צָאָת* excrement, Ez 4¹², the *šere* has remained firm.

f From a stem *ע"ע* (cf. *בוֹשׁ* to be ashamed) is *בִּשְׁתִּי* shame, with suffix *בִּשְׁתִּי*.

¹ On *שָׁנוֹת* as a less frequent (poetic) form for *שָׁנִים* see § 87 n.

From a stem ל"ה (דָּלָה), cf., however, Barth, *ZDMG.* 1887, p. 607, who assumes a stem ידל the masculine דָּל appears to have been formed after the rejection of the final *Yôdh*, and afterwards the feminine דָּלָה *door*; but in the plural דָּלָתוֹת, constr. דְּלָתוֹת, the ת of the termination is retained (see above, d, הַיְתוֹת). In a similar way רַפְתִּים stalls, Hb 3¹⁷, has arisen, if it is from the stem רפה, and שֶׁקֶת trough (from שָׁקָה), of which the masc. must have been שֶׁק = שָׁקִי; on the other hand, the plur. constr. שֶׁקֶתוֹת Gn 30³⁸ (again retaining the feminine ת as an apparent radical) can only be an abnormal formation from the singular שֶׁקֶת, not from a kindred form שֶׁקֶת or שֶׁקֶת.

2. Paradigm II: ground-form *qāṭālāt*, &c., cf. § 94 c, Paradigm II, a and b. ^g Analogous to the masculine forms like קָטַן, plur. קָטָנִים, we find קָטְנָה *parva*, &c.—The constr. forms, like צִדְקָה (*siḏh^e qāth*), are distinguished by the vocal *Ṣ^ewā* (§ 10 d) from the segholate forms, like בְּבִשָּׁת (*keibh-sāth*). Consequently the constr. st. בְּרִבְתָּ Gn 28⁴, &c. (from בְּרִכָּה *blessing*), and חֲרָדָה 1 S 14¹³, &c. (from חֲרָדָה *a trembling*), are abnormal.—Under the influence of a guttural (see Paradigm b) the original ā is retained in the first syllable in the constr. st. (cf. also אֶרֶץ אֲדָמָה *earth*, & אֲדָמָה); in other cases it is modified to *Ṣ^eghôl*, e.g. עֲנִיָּה *wagon*, עֲנִיָּהּ. Frequently from an absol. st. in ה־ the constr. is formed with the termination ת, e.g. עֲטָרָה *crown*, constr. עֲטָרָת (from עֲטָרָה); along with עֲצָרָה *assembly*, עֲצָרָת is found usually, even in the absol. st.; יָבֵמַת (from יָבֵם *levir*) before suffixes is pointed as יָבֵמַתִּי, and thus entirely agrees with גִּבְרָת (Paradigm I c). From a stem ל"ן (אָמֵן) is formed אֱמֶת *truth* (from 'āmant, and this no doubt for an original 'āmint, § 69 c) before suffixes אֱמֶתִי, &c.

From the masc. form קָטַל (*qāṭil*) are formed, according to rule, גִּדְרָה *wall*, ^h נִבְלָה *corpse*, constr. נִבְלָתָה; בְּהֵמָה *cattle*, constr. בְּהֵמָתָה (for בְּהֵמָתָה), with suffix בְּהֵמָתְךָ Lv 19¹⁰. More frequently, however, the *e* of the second syllable is retained before the termination *ath* of the constr. st.; thus from נִבְלָה once נִבְלָתִי Is 26¹⁰, and always בְּרִכָּת *pool*, גִּזְלָת *prey*, טִמְאָת *unclean*, מִלְּאָתִי *full*, Is 1²¹ (with *Hireq compaginis*, see § 90 l), מִרְרָתִי Jb 16¹³; 1 S 1²⁷, &c. (with elision of the א, שֶׁלְתָּךְ 1 S 1¹⁷), also שֶׁאֱלָתִי Jb 6⁸. Cf. the analogous forms of the constr. st. מַגֵּפָת *plague*, תִּרְדָּמָת *deep sleep*, from מִגְפָּה.

As dual we find יָרֵבְתִּים *sides* (cf. יָרֵבְתוּ Gn 49¹³, from the obsolete יָרֵבָה, ⁱ feminine of יָרֵב); the constr. st. יָרֵבְתִּי is perhaps to be referred to a segholate form (יָרֵבָה, cf. יָרֵב as constr. st. of יָרֵבָה), unless the closed syllable be due to the analogy of בְּרִכָּת and חֲרָדָה (see g).

In the forms with simple ת feminine the ground-form *qāṭilt* is developed ^k (§ 69 c) to *q^etalt*, and this again regularly to קָטַלְתָּ. Thus the feminine of חֶבֶר *companion* is חֶבֶרְתָּ (with suffix חֶבֶרְתָּה Mal 2¹⁴, cf. שֶׁבִנְתָּה Ex 3²²), of יָדָר fem. יָדָרְתָּ besides יָדָרָה.—Of ע"י stems the segholate forms נָחַת *rest* and שָׁחַת *pit* (from נֹחַ, שֹׁחַ, שָׁחַ) belong to this class; Böttcher (*Gram.* i. 411) rightly distinguished the latter from שָׁחַת *corruption* (stem שָׁחַת); in the same way also נָחַת *rest* is distinct from נָחַת *a lighting down* (stem נָחַת).

The feminines of the form *qāṭil* from stems ע"י, as מֵתָה *mortua*, עָרָה fem. ^l

witness (from מוֹת עֵיד), have likewise an unchangeable vowel in the first syllable. Cf., on the other hand, the forms from מ"ב stems mentioned above, under *e*, such as שָׁנָה *sleep*, constr. st. שְׁנַת; moreover, חָמָה *anger*, constr. st. חֲמַת (but חֲמַת a *leathern bottle*, in pause חֲמַת [so Baer, Ginsb., but Kittel חֲמַת]).

Gn 21¹⁵, constr. st. חֲמַת מַיִם Gn 21¹⁴, perhaps from a stem חמט.

m The feminines of the form *gātūl*, like עֲמָקָה (masc. עֲמֹק), maintain the original *ā* by sharpening the following consonant (cf. § 93 *kk*); on the other hand, by appending the fem. ת, segholate forms arise like נְחֻשֶׁת, before suff. נְחֻשְׁתָּם, &c. Dual נְחֻשְׁתַּיִם (see Paradigm II, a); but cf. נְחֻשְׁתִּי La 3⁷.

n A few (aramaising) feminines from ל"ה stems (Paradigm II, c) are found with the ending *āth*, due to the rejection of the final *Wāw* or *Yōdh* and contraction of the preceding *ā* with the *ā* of the termination *āth*; thus מִנְתַּת *portion* (for *mānāyāth* or *mānāwāth*), קֶצֶת *end* (also קֶצֶה and קֶצֶה, plur. מִנְתִּיּוֹת (constr. st. Neh 12⁴⁷; 13¹⁰) and מִנְתָּאוֹת (Neh 12⁴⁴); קֶצֶת Ex 35⁵; cf. 37⁸ and 39⁴ K^{eth}.; on גִּלְתֵּי *valleys*, see § 93 v.—אות *sign* (stem אוה) is obscured from אֶת, and this is contracted from 'āyāth = 'āwāyāth; plur. אֶתוֹת, with the double feminine ending; cf. above, f, and § 87 k.—The retention of the *ā* in the first syllable in אֶלְתֵּי, &c., Gn 24⁴¹, &c., is abnormal.

o 3. Paradigm III, cf. the various forms in § 94 *d* and *f-h*. The dual חוֹמָתַיִם *two walls*, Is 22¹¹, &c., taken directly from the plur. חוֹמוֹת, for חוֹמָתַיִם, is abnormal (cf. § 87 s, and the proper name יְרֵחַתִּים Jos 15³⁶).—Among the forms resembling participles *Qal* of verbs ו"ע, such as זֶרַח (masc. זָרַח from *zār*, hence with unchangeable *ā*), must be reckoned also בֵּמָה *high place* (from בֹּמֶה), which has for its constr. st. plur. the pleonastic form בְּמֹתַי, or written defectively בְּמֹתַי (see § 87 s); for this the Masora everywhere requires בְּמֹתַי, which is to be read *bām^{thē}* (not *bēm^{thē}*), with an anomalous shortening of the *ō* to *ā*; but with suffixes בְּמֹתַי, &c.

p In a wider sense the feminines of the form קָטַל (§ 84^b e) belong to this class, in so far as they shorten the *ā* of the second syllable before the termination ת, e.g. דִּלְקַת *inflammation* (from *dallāqt*), with suff. צִדְקָתָךְ Ez 16⁵²; מִפְעֵת *signet*; also fem. of the forms קָטַל and קָטַל (§ 84^b c and d), as אֵילַת *folly* (for *'iwālt*), and of all the forms which have a changeable vowel in the second syllable, and are formed with the prefix מ (§ 85 g-k), e.g. מַמְלָכָה *kingdom*, constr. always מַמְלֶכֶת; מְמַלְכָה (not used in the sing.) *pruning-hook*, plur. מְמַלְכוֹת; מְשַׁבְּרָת *reward*, with suff. מְשַׁבְּרָתִי; cf. also the examples given in § 85 g and p, like מוֹלְדָת *birth* (but from מוֹלֵד, מוֹלְדָת *outgoing*), הוֹלְדָת *generation*, הוֹעֲבָה *abomination*, constr. הוֹעֲבֶת, &c.

q Sometimes the plural of these forms is to be traced to a secondary form, e.g. אֵפֶרֶת *a letter*, plur. אֵפֶרוֹת (as if from אֵפֶר); also יוֹנְקוֹת, which is merely formed on the analogy of the other plur. fem. of participles *Qal*, is to be referred to a sing. יוֹנְקָה. Cf., moreover, מְחַרְשֶׁת *ploughshare*, plur. מְחַרְשֹׁת (as if from מְחַרֵּשׁ); on the other hand, כְּתוּרוֹת *capitals* (of columns), and תּוֹכְחוֹת *reproofs*, are the regular plurals of כְּתִירָת and תּוֹכַחַת.

¹ עִשְׁתָּרֶת *Astarte* (plur. עִשְׁתָּרוֹת), which was formerly included among these examples, is most probably due to an intentional alteration of the

In בְּתִנֶּת *coat* the original *ā* of the first syllable is maintained by the *r* sharpening of the following consonant (cf. Arab. *qūṭīn*), with suff. בְּתִנֶּתִי, the constr. st., however, is בְּתִנֶּת (as also in the absol. st. in Ex 28⁹⁰); plur. בְּתִנֹּת, constr. בְּתִנֹּת.—The form בְּתִנֹּת given in Paradigm III, b is a *Pülwül*-form of the stem בְּתִנֶּת, cf. קָרָר, § 84^b p.

4. To the fourth class, for which no Paradigm is required, belong all the numerous forms which in classical Hebrew have unchangeable vowels throughout, the originally short vowel of the first syllable having become *Šēwā*, owing to the tone being thrown forward. Of the forms mentioned in §§ 84 and 85 those from ע"ע stems especially belong to this class, as מִנְיָה *scroll*, תְּהִלָּה *praise*, תְּפִלָּה *prayer* (§ 85 i and g), as well as the feminine of the participle *Hiph'il* of verbs י"ע, e.g. מְאִירָה *enlightening* (from מְאִיר), and generally the feminines of י"ע stems which are compounded with the *preformative* ב, as מְנוּחָה *rest* (from מְנוּחַ, see § 85 l; from מְנוּחַ stems perhaps also תְּעִלָּה *conduct* (constr. st. תְּעִלָּת Is 7⁸, &c.) and תְּלָאָה *travail*. Thus all these forms coincide externally with those which already, in the masculine form, have unchangeable vowels throughout (see the list of them in § 93 *w*o).

5. The feminine ending יָה (apart from ל"ה-forms like בְּכִיתָה, § 94 f) arises *t* from the addition of the feminine הָ to the ending יָ; which is employed to form adjectives, &c., see § 86 d, h, and k. The ending יָה, mentioned there, is attached, in segholate forms, sometimes to the ground-form, as עֲשֵׂתָהּ Jb 12⁵ (v.l. עֲשֵׂתָהּ), sometimes to forms with a loosely-closed syllable, as מְלִכָּהּ *kingdom*; from ל"ה stems we find forms sometimes like שְׁבוּתָהּ *captivity* (according to others from the stem שָׁב, like שְׁבוּתָהּ *perverseness* from שָׁב), sometimes like בְּכִיָּה *weeping*, גְּלוּתָהּ *exile*, חֲזוֹןָהּ *vision*; the latter retain the *ā* of the first syllable even in the constr. st. and before suffixes. From a *qūlūl*-form is formed כְּבִדּוּתָהּ *heaviness*; from a *qūlūl*-form פְּקֻדָּתָהּ, &c.

In the plural of these forms different methods of treatment may be distinguished. In some cases the whole ending יָה is retained, as if belonging to the stem (cf. above, f), e.g. אֶלְמִנּוּתָהּ from אֶלְמִנּוּת, in others this is resolved, as in מְלִכִּיּוֹת Dn 8²² (no doubt for *mālekhuwōth*), and עֲדוּתָהּ *edh'wōth*, from עֲדוּת *testimony*, but only with suffixes, עֲדוּתֶיהָ ψ 119¹⁴, &c.; עֲדוּתֵיהֶם 1 K 2⁸, &c.

§ 96. *Nouns of Peculiar Formation.*

In the following Paradigms,¹ pp. 282 to 284, a number of frequently used nouns are arranged, whose flexion presents more or less striking peculiarities. These peculiarities, however, are almost always subordinate to the usual phonetic laws, and the usual designation of the nouns as *irregular* is, therefore, not justified, when once the ground-forms are properly recognized on which the present forms are based.

original עֲשֵׂתָהּ, like מְלִכָּהּ Lv 18²¹, &c. (for מְלִכָּהּ), with the vowels of בְּשֵׁת *shame*, the latter word being substituted in reading for the name of the goddess.

¹ The only omissions from these Paradigms are אָחָר, אָחָה, and חֲמוּת (on which see the remarks), and all forms which are not found in the O. T.

<i>Sing. absolute</i>	אָב	אָח	אָחוֹת	אִישׁ	אִשָּׁה
	(father)	(brother)	(sister)	(man)	(woman)
„ <i>construct</i>	אָבִי	אָחִי	אָחוֹת	אִישׁ	אִשָּׁה
„ <i>with suff. of 1 sing.</i>	אָבִי	אָחִי	אָחוֹתִי	אִשִּׁי	אִשְׁתִּי
„ <i>2 masc.</i>	אָבִיךָ	אָחִיךָ	אָחוֹתְךָ		אִשְׁתְּךָ
„ <i>2 fem.</i>	אָבִיךָ	אָחִיךָ	אָחוֹתְךָ	אִשְׁתְּךָ	
„ <i>3 masc.</i>	אָבִיו (אָבִיהוּ)	אָחִיו (אָחִיהוּ)	אָחוֹתוֹ	אִשּׁוֹ	אִשְׁתּוֹ
„ <i>3 fem.</i>	אָבִיהָ	אָחִיהָ	אָחוֹתָהּ	אִשְׁתָּהּ	
„ <i>1 Pl.</i>	אָבֵינוּ	אָחֵינוּ	אָחוֹתֵנוּ		
„ <i>2 masc.</i>	אָבֵיכֶם	אָחֵיכֶם	[אָחוֹתֵכֶם]		
„ <i>2 fem.</i>	אָבֵיכֶן				
„ <i>3 masc.</i>	אָבֵיהֶם	אָחֵיהֶם	אָחוֹתֵם		
„ <i>3 fem.</i>	אָבֵיהֶן				
<i>Plur. absolute</i>	אָבוֹת	אָחִים		אֲנָשִׁים	נָשִׁים
„ <i>construct</i>	אָבוֹת	אָחִי		אֲנָשִׁי	נָשִׁי
„ <i>with suff. of 1 sing.</i>	אָבוֹתִי	אָחִי, pause	אָחוֹתִי	אֲנָשִׁי	נָשִׁי
„ <i>2 masc.</i>	אָבוֹתֶיךָ	אָחֶיךָ		אֲנָשֶׁיךָ	נָשֶׁיךָ
„ <i>2 fem.</i>		אָחֶיךָ	אָחוֹתֶיךָ		
„ <i>3 masc.</i>	אָבוֹתָיו	אָחָיו	אָחוֹתָיו	אֲנָשָׁיו	נָשָׁיו
„ <i>3 fem.</i>		אָחָהּ		אֲנָשֶׁיהָ	
„ <i>1 Pl.</i>	אָבוֹתֵינוּ	אָחֵינוּ		אֲנָשֵׁינוּ	נָשֵׁינוּ
„ <i>2 masc.</i>	אָבוֹתֵיכֶם	אָחֵיכֶם	אָחוֹתֵיכֶם		נָשֵׁיכֶם
„ <i>3 masc.</i>	אָבוֹתֵיהֶם (אָבוֹתֵיהֶם)	אָחֵיהֶם	אָחוֹתֵיהֶם	אֲנָשֵׁיהֶם	נָשֵׁיהֶם
„ <i>3 fem.</i>				אֲנָשֵׁיהֶן	

REMARKS.

אָב *father*; the *constr.* אָבִי, like אָחִי and בָּנִי (which occurs once), belongs to the connective forms discussed in § 90 *k*, which serve as the model for the *Hüreq compaginis*. However, אָב also occurs in compound proper names, e.g. אָבִישָׁלוֹם, beside אָבִישָׁלוֹם, &c.; also Gn 17¹ אָבִי־הָמוֹן for the purpose of explaining the name אָבִי־רַהֵם. On the plur. אָבוֹת see § 87 *p*.

אָח *brother*. The plur. *absol.* אָחִים has *Dage's forte implicitum* (§ 22 *c*); אָחִיו stands for אָחִי according to the phonetic law stated in § 27 *q*, and so also אָחִי in *pause* for אָחִי. The sharpening of the ח merely serves to keep the preceding *Patha* short, as in מַלְכִים, &c. (§ 93 *eo*).

אָחָה *one* (for אָחָה, likewise with *Dage's forte implicitum*, § 22 *c*, cf. § 27 *q*), *constr.* and otherwise in close connexion, אָחָה, Gn 48⁵², 2 S 17²², Is 27¹²,

אָמָה (handmaid)	בֵּית (house)	בֶּן (son)	בַּת (daughter)	יוֹם (day)	כֵּלִי (vessel)
אִמְתִּי	בֵּיתִי	בְּנִי	בָּתִּי	יוֹם	כֵּלִי
אִמְתָּךְ	בֵּיתְךָ	בְּנֶךָ, pause	בָּתְךָ, pause		כֵּלְךָ
	בֵּיתָהּ	בְּנָהּ			
אִמְתּוֹ	בֵּיתוֹ	בְּנוֹ	בָּתּוֹ	יוֹמוֹ	
אִמְתָּהּ	בֵּיתָהּ	בְּנָהּ	בָּתָהּ		
		בְּנָנִי			
	בֵּיתְכֶם		בָּתְכֶם		
	בֵּיתָם			יוֹמָם	
אִמְהוֹת	בָּתִּים	בָּנִים	בָּנוֹת	יָמִים	כֵּלִים
אִמְהוֹת	בָּתֵּי	בָּנֵי	בָּנוֹת	יָמֵי	כֵּלֵי
אִמְהֵי		בָּנֵי	בָּנְתֵי	יָמֵי	כֵּלֵי
	בָּתֵּיךְ	בָּנֵיךְ	בָּנְתֵיךְ	יָמֵיךְ	כֵּלֵיךְ
	בָּתֵּיךָ	בָּנֵיךָ	בָּנְתֵיךָ	יָמֵיךָ	
אִמְהֵיוֹ		בָּנָיו	בָּנְתָיו	יָמָיו	כֵּלָיו
אִמְהֵיהָ		בָּנֶיהָ	בָּנְתֶיהָ	יָמֶיהָ	כֵּלֶיהָ
	בָּתֵּינוּ	בָּנֵינוּ	בָּנְתֵינוּ	יָמֵינוּ	כֵּלֵינוּ
אִמְתֵּיכֶם	בָּתֵּיכֶם	בָּנֵיכֶם	בָּנְתֵיכֶם	יָמֵיכֶם	כֵּלֵיכֶם
	בָּתֵּיהֶם	בָּנֵיהֶם	בָּנְתֵיהֶם	יָמֵיהֶם	כֵּלֵיהֶם
אִמְתֵּיהֶן	בָּתֵּיהֶן	בָּנֵיהֶן			

Zc 11⁷; and especially before בֶּן (בן) Gn 3²², Ex 3c¹⁴, Nu 16¹⁵, Ju 17⁵, 1 S 9³, Ez 18¹⁰; fem. אִמְתָּהּ *una* (for אִמְתָּהּ, according to § 19 d), in pause אִמְתָּהּ. Once חַד masc. (by aphaeresis, § 19 h), Ez 33³⁰, as in Aramaic; plur. אִמְתָּהִים *some*, but also *idem*.

אִחּוֹת *sister*, from 'ahwūt or 'ahūyūt, with elision of the ו or י, and with the *ā*, which has arisen from *āā*, obscured to *ā*.¹ In Nu 6⁷ אִחּוֹתָם stands for אִחּוֹתָהֶן (with virtual sharpening of the ח). The plur. *absol.* (אִחּוֹת) does not happen

¹ This explanation of אִחּוֹת (and חֲמוֹת q. v.) still seems to us more probable than the assumption that the fem. ending *āth* is lengthened to compensate for the loss of the 3rd radical (so Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, vi. 258), or that the form is derived from 'ahā, the old-semitic *constr. st.* of the accusative, with ח feminine (so Barth, *ZDMG*. 1899, p. 598).

<i>Sing. absolute</i>	[מִי] (water)	עִיר (city)	פֶּה (mouth)	רֹאשׁ (head)	נֶשֶׁם [שְׁמִי] (name) (heaven)
„ construct		עִיר	פִּי	רֹאשׁ	נֶשֶׁם, נֶשְׁמָה
„ with suff. of 1 sing.		עִירִי	פִּי	רֹאשִׁי	נֶשְׁמִי
„ 2 masc.		עִירְךָ	פִּיךָ	רֹאשְׁךָ	נֶשְׁמָךְ, pause נֶשְׁמְךָ
„ 2 fem.				רֹאשְׁךָ	נֶשְׁמְךָ
„ 3 masc.		עִירוֹ	פִּיהוּ, פִּיו	רֹאשׁוֹ	נֶשְׁמוֹ
„ 3 fem.		עִירָהּ	פִּיהָ	רֹאשָׁהּ	נֶשְׁמָהּ
„ 1 Pl.			פִּינוּ	רֹאשֵׁנוּ	נֶשְׁמָנוּ
„ 2 masc.			פִּיכֶם	רֹאשֵׁכֶם	נֶשְׁמָכֶם
„ 3 masc.		עִירָם	פִּיהֶם	רֹאשֵׁם	נֶשְׁמָם
„ 3 fem.			פִּיהֶן	רֹאשֵׁן	
<i>Plur. absolute</i>	כֻּלָּם	עָרִים	פִּיּוֹת	רֹאשִׁים	נֶשְׁמִים נֶשְׁמוֹת
„ construct	כֻּלֵּי, מִי	עָרֵי		רֹאשֵׁי	נֶשְׁמֵי נֶשְׁמוֹת
„ with suff. of 1 sing.	מִימִי	עָרֵי			
„ 2 masc.	מִימְךָ	עָרֶיךָ			נֶשְׁמָיֶךָ
„ 2 fem.		עָרֶיךָ			
„ 3 masc.	מִימֵנוּ	עָרֵינוּ		רֹאשֵׁינוּ	נֶשְׁמֵנוּ
„ 3 fem.	מִימֶיהָ	עָרֶיהָ		רֹאשֶׁיהָ	
„ 1 Pl.	מִימֵינוּ	עָרֵינוּ		רֹאשֵׁינוּ	
„ 2 masc.		עָרֵיכֶם		רֹאשֵׁיכֶם	נֶשְׁמֵיכֶם
„ 3 masc.	מִימֵיהֶם	עָרֵיהֶם		רֹאשֵׁיהֶם	נֶשְׁמוֹתָם
„ 3 fem.				רֹאשֵׁיהֶן	נֶשְׁמוֹתָן

to occur. In Ez 16⁶² אֶחָדָהּ occurs (for אֶחָדָהּ). In the forms אֶחָדָהּ Jos 2¹³ K^{eth.}, אֶחָדָהּ Ez 16^{61.65.61} (to be read also in verse 45 for אֶחָדָהּ, which has been erroneously assimilated to the singular occurring in vv. 48, 49, 56), and אֶחָדָהּ Ho 2³ (for which, however, read אֶחָדָהּ), the third radical has been entirely lost.

אֶשׁ man, according to the common opinion either incorrectly lengthened for אֶשׁ (from 'āš, with assimilation of the *Nūn* of the ground-form 'inš, which again has been attenuated from 'anš from the stem אֶנֶשׁ), or softened directly from 'inš. It is, however, probable that a separate stem (אֶשׁ to be strong?) is to be assumed for the singular¹; consequently the stem אֶנֶשׁ to be sociable,

¹ So already Gesenius in his *Thes. linguae Hebr.*, i. 83 f., and recently again Friedr. Delitzsch, *Prolegg.*, p. 160 ff., Praetorius in Kuhn's *Orient. L.-B.*, 1884, p. 196; König, *Lehrgeb.*, ii. 38; while Nöldeke (*ZDMG.* 1886, p. 739 f.), against Delitzsch, would connect both אֶשׁ and אֶנֶשׁ with the stem אֶנֶשׁ.

would be connected only with the plur. אִשִּׁים (אִשָּׁה is found only in Is 53³, ψ 141⁴, Pr 8⁴).

אִמָּה *slave, handmaid*; with the plur. אִמָּהוֹת, with consonantal ה, cf. in Aram. אֲבָהֵן *fathers*, and similarly in Phoen. דְּלָת from דָּלַת, also Arab. 'abāhāt (*fathers*), 'ummahāt (*mothers*), with an artificial expansion into a trilliteral stem.

אִשָּׁה *woman*, probably for אִשָּׁה; from אִשָּׁה i.e. not (as Aram. אִשְׁתָּא shows) אִשָּׁה to be sociable (see above, on אִשָּׁה) but אִשָּׁה to be weak (Arab. 'anūṭī). So De Lagarde, *Uebersicht*, p. 68; König, *Lehrgeb.*, ii. 159 f. The form אִשָּׁה (for 'ist, with ת fem., from 'išt, after rejection of the doubling and lengthening of the *i* to *e*) occurs in Dt 21¹¹, 1 S 28⁷, ψ 58³, even in *absol. st.* [cf., however, below, § 130. 4, 5].—In ψ 128³ אִשָּׁהּ is found for אִשָּׁה. Instead of the plur. אִשָּׁה, we find in Ez 23⁴⁴ אִשָּׁה.¹

בַּיִת *house*, locative בֵּיתָה, הַבַּיִתָּה, in *pause* בֵּיתָה, constr. בֵּיתָה, plur. בָּתִּים (but in Dt 6¹¹, 1 Ch 28¹¹ בָּתִּים without *Metheg*), pronounced *bāttim*. The explanation of the Dageš in the ת is still a matter of dispute. The Syriac *bāttin*, however, shows that the *Dageš* is original, and belongs to the character of the form.² According to Wright, *Comparative Grammar*, p. 88, בָּתִּים is simply contracted from *bai-tim* (as אֵל from אֵל, עֵינַיִם from עֵינַיִם, &c.), and the *Dageš*, therefore, is *lene*; König, *Lehrgeb.*, ii. 56, proposes the name *Dageš forte orthoconsonanticum*; on the other hand Rahlfs, *ThLZ*. 1896, col. 587, suggests that the *v* is assimilated to the ת, while Philippi, *ZDMG*. xlix, p. 206, assumes for the plural a stem distinct from that of the singular. A definite solution is at present impossible. The incorrectness of the formerly common pronunciation *bōttim* is sufficiently shown by the Babylonian punctuation (see § 89, note 3), which leaves no doubt as to the *ā*.

בֶּן *son* (Gn 30¹⁰ בֶּן־יִשְׂשַׁכָּר) constr. usually בֶּן־ (also with a conjunctive accent as an equivalent for *Maqqeph*, Gn 17¹⁷, Is 8², &c., 1 Ch 9²¹; even with smaller disjunctives, especially in the combination מֶלֶךְ־בֶּן, Ex 30¹⁴, Lv 27³, &c. מֶלֶךְ־בֶּן only after וְאֵם and before הָרִשׁ, also in Is 51¹²; see Strack on Ex 30¹⁴), rarely בֶּן־ (Dt 25², Jon 4¹⁰ twice, Pr 30¹, and so always in the combination בֶּן־יִנְיָ, and in the proper names בֶּן־יִמְיָ [but בֶּן־יִמְיָ Benjamite] and בֶּן־יִקְיָ (Pr 30¹), once בֶּן־יִנְיָ (cf. § 90¹) Gn 49¹¹, and בֶּן־יִנְיָ (§ 90⁰) Nu 23¹⁸, 24^{3,15}.—In Gn 49²² בֶּן־ for which בֶּן־ ought to be read, is intended by the Masora for the *absol. st.*, not the *constr.*

¹ Friedr. Delitzsch (in his Babylonian glosses to Baer's text of Ezekiel, p. xi) on Ez 23⁴⁴ remarks that in Assyro-Babylonian the plur. of *alšātu* (*woman*) is *alšāti*, corresponding, therefore, to אִשָּׁה, not to the ordinary plur. אִשִּׁים. The *a* of אִשָּׁה (instead of *i* as in Arab. or *e* as in Syr.) is to be explained with Barth (*Orient. Studien zu Ehren Th. Nöldekes*, Giessen, 1906, p. 792) from the natural connexion of the ideas '*men*' and '*women*', אִשָּׁה and אִשָּׁה.

² This disposes of the traditional view that the *Dageš* (after a firm *Metheg*, see § 16 f.) only serves to distinguish it from בָּתִּים *passing the night*, ptp. Qal of בָּתָה, a stem which never occurs in the O. T. According to P. Haupt the stem is בָּתָה to go in, ת therefore being the feminine termination, as in *bint* daughter, and the original form *ba'tu*, *bātu* (*entrance*) is preserved in the plural *bāttim* where the *tt* is to be explained as due to the analogy of trisyllabic stems. In the singular *bāt* passed into *bāt* (?), and this was resolved into *bait*, as *Yerūsālem* into *Yerūsālayim*.

בַּת *daughter* (from *bant*, and this again, according to the law stated in § 69 c, for *bint*, fem. of בֵּן), with suff. בְּנִי for בָּנִי. Plur. בָּנוֹת, from the sing. בְּנָה, comp. בְּנִים *sons*.

חָם *husband's father*, only with suff. חָמִי, חָמִיָּה; and חֲמוֹת *husband's mother*, only with suff. חֲמוֹתָהּ, חֲמוֹתֵי. Cf. אָב, אָמָּה, and especially אֶחָד.

יוֹם *day* (Arab. *yāum*),¹ dual יוֹמִים; the plur. יָמִים is probably from a different sing. (יָם *yām*), constr. יָמִי and (poetically) יָמוֹת, Dt 32⁷, ψ 90¹⁵.

כֵּל *vessel*, in pause כֵּלִי (with suff. כֵּלְיִךְ Dt 23²⁵) from כָּלָה *to contain*, plur. כֵּלִים (as if from כָּל, כָּלָה; according to König, ii. 63, shortened from *kilyim*). מַיִם *water*; on the plur. cf. § 88 d.

עִיר *city*. The plur. עָרִים is scarcely syncopated from עִירִים, as it is pointed in Ju 10⁴ (no doubt erroneously, in imitation of the preceding עִירִים *ass colls*), but from a kindred sing. עָר, which still occurs in proper names.

פֶּה *mouth*, constr. st. פִּי (for original פִּי = פֶּה?). Its origin is still disputed. According to Gesenius and König (ii. 103), פֶּה stands for פָּאָה (ground-form *pi'ay*) from פָּאָה *to breathe, to blow*; according to Olshausen, for פִּי, from a stem פִּיָּה or פִּיָּה. But parallel with the Hebrew פֶּה are Assy. *pû*, Arab. *fû*, *fam*, *famm*, *fumm*, bibl. Aram. פִּם, פִּמָּא, Syr. *pûm*, *pûmâ*, so that Barth, ZDMG. xli, p. 634, assumes two forms of development from the same stem (פִּמּוּ), viz. *fm* and *fu*.

פִּי *my mouth*, from *pi-y*; for פִּיָּהם we find in ψ 17¹⁰, 58⁷, 59¹³. The supposed plur. פִּים 1 S 13²¹ is generally explained as a contraction from פִּיִּים, but the text is altogether corrupt. The plur. פִּיּוֹת, for the *edges* of a sword, occurs in Pr 5⁴; reduplicated פִּיפִּיּוֹת Is 41¹⁵, ψ 149⁶.

רֹאשׁ *head* (obscured from רֹאשׁ = *rûš*); plur. רֹאשִׁים (for רֹאשִׁים, § 23 c); שֵׁשׁ *only* in Is 15².

שֶׂה *a head of small cattle* (*sheep or goat*), constr. st. שֵׂה, with suff. שֵׂהִי 1 S 14³⁴ and שֵׂיו Dt 22¹, according to König, ii. 131, from a ground-form *st'ay*, but according to De Lagarde, *Uebersicht*, 81 f., from a stem שֵׂה = *say = wîsay*.

שֵׁם *name*, constr. generally שֵׁם (only six times שֵׁם); cf. בֵּן.

שָׁמַיִם *heaven* (§ 88 d).

§ 97. Numerals. (a) Cardinal Numbers.

Brockelmann, *Sem. Sprachwiss.*, p. 116 ff.; *Grundriss*, i. 484 ff.

- α 1. The formation of the cardinal numbers from 3 to 10 (on 1 and 2 see below) has this peculiarity, that numerals connected with a mascu-

¹ Cf. Nöldeke, *Beiträge*, p. 58, *yāum*, probably an extension of a biliteral word which has survived in יָמִים, יָמִי. Barth, however, *Orient. Studien*, p. 791 (see above on אֶשְׁתָּה), sees in יָמִים, יָמִי, יָמוֹת new formations in Hebrew, caused by the naturally close connexion and association of these plurals with שָׁנִים, שָׁנִי, שָׁנוֹת *years*, to which they became assimilated in form. The view that יוֹם is merely an incorrect obscuring of יָם, and therefore distinct from the Arab. *yāum*, is contradicted by the invariable spelling יוֹם, &c., notwithstanding the spelling וְיָם (= וְיָם?) in the Siloam inscription, line 3 (cf. § 7 f), and מִיָּמִים Ho 6². Cf. also the note on § 100 g.

line substantive take the feminine form, and those with a feminine substantive take the masculine form. The common explanation of this strange phenomenon used to be that the primary form of the numeral was an abstract noun in the feminine (cf. § 122 p). This was originally attached in the *constr. st.* to the word qualified, then came to be also used in apposition to it, and finally was placed after it like an adjective. The consequence of the appositional, and finally adjectival, construction was, that for numerals connected with feminine nouns a special shorter form came to be used, whilst the original forms, with the abstract feminine ending, were used in connexion with masculine nouns, after as well as before them.

On this view the historical process would have been that originally the abstract numerals (like Latin *trias*, *decas*, Greek *πεντάς*, *δεκάς*, &c.) were placed in the *constr. st.* before masculines and feminines alike, e. g. *שְׁלֹשֶׁת בָּנִים trias filiorum*, *עֶשְׂרֵת נָשִׁים decas mulierum*. A trace of this earlier usage was seen in the examples mentioned under c, like *שְׁלֹשֶׁת נָשִׁים*.—Further, it was possible to say *שְׁלֹשָׁה בָּנִים trias*, sc. *filii*, as well as *שְׁלֹשָׁה בָּנִים filii trias*. From this second appositional construction it was only a step to the treatment of the abstract numeral as an adjective, *filii tres*. Similarly the subsequently shortened forms of the abstract numeral, which were used in connexion with feminines, might stand either in the *constr. st.* before, or in apposition before or after the word numbered, thus *שְׁלֹשׁ בָּנוֹת trias filiarum*, or *שְׁלֹשׁ בָּנוֹת trias*, sc. *filiae*, or *שְׁלֹשׁ בָּנוֹת filiae trias*, or adjectivally *filiae tres*.

A different and much more intelligible explanation of the striking disagreement between the gender of the numeral and that of the word numbered has recently been given by Reckendorf, *Die syntaktischen Verhältnisse des Arabischen*, pt. ii, Leiden, 1898, p. 265 ff. He also considers that the earliest forms were abstract numerals which were placed in the *constr. st.* before the noun numbered, the latter depending on them in the genitive. The original form, however, of the abstract numerals from 3 to 9 is not the feminine, but the masculine, used for both genders, as it still is in the tens, 20, 30, &c. The feminine abstract numeral was first distinguished by a special form in the numbers from 13 to 19 (see further, below) when connected with masculines, and this distinction was afterwards extended to the numbers from 3 to 10. This explanation does not affect the view stated above that the appositional and adjectival use of the abstract numerals was only adopted later in addition to their use in the genitive construction.

The differentiation of the numerals (originally of common gender) into masculine and feminine forms in the second decade, was occasioned, according to Reckendorf, by the use of the abstract feminine *עֶשְׂרֵה* in compounds.

So long as it was felt that *שָׁלֹשׁ עָשָׂרָה* simply meant *the three of the decade*, the gender of the noun numbered made no difference. When, however, the consciousness of this meaning became weakened and the combination of units and tens came to be felt as a copulative rather than a genitive relation, it seemed suitable to connect only feminine nouns with the feminine form *עָשָׂרָה*. New forms were therefore invented, both of the units and the tens, for use with masculine nouns. The former, however, no longer had the form of the *constr.* but of the absolute state, clearly showing that the consciousness of the original syntactical relation in *שָׁלֹשׁ עָשָׂרָה*, &c., was lost. On the other hand, after the extension of these new formations to the first decade, the new feminine forms readily came to be used also in the genitive construction (and therefore in the *constr. st.*) on the analogy of the earlier masculine forms.

Of the first two numerals, *אֶחָד* *one*, with its fem. *אֶחָת* (see § 96), may be recognized, from its form and use, as an adjective, although even so it admits of such combinations as *אֶחָד הַהָרִים* *unus e montibus*. The numeral two, as would be expected, appears as an abstract in the *dual*, but, like the other numerals, can also stand in apposition to the noun numbered. In form it always agrees with the gender of its noun. Accordingly, the numerals from 1 to 10 are as follows:

b	With the Masculine.		With the Feminine.	
	Absol.	Constr.	Absol.	Constr.
1.	אֶחָד	אֶחָד	אֶחָת	אֶחָת
2.	שְׁנַיִם	שְׁנֵי	שְׁתֵּי ¹	שְׁתֵּי
3.	שְׁלֹשָׁה	שְׁלֹשָׁת	שְׁלֹשׁ	שְׁלֹשׁ
4.	אַרְבָּעָה	אַרְבַּעַת	אַרְבַּע	אַרְבַּע
5.	חֲמִישָׁה ²	חֲמִשָּׁת	חֲמִישׁ	חֲמִישׁ
6.	שֵׁשָׁה	שֵׁשָׁת	שֵׁשׁ	שֵׁשׁ
7.	שִׁבְעָה	שִׁבְעַת	שִׁבַּע	שִׁבַּע ³
8.	שְׁמוֹנָה	שְׁמוֹנַת	שְׁמוֹנָה	שְׁמוֹנָה
9.	תֵּשְׁבָעָה	תֵּשְׁבַעַת	תֵּשְׁבַע	תֵּשְׁבַע ³
10.	עָשָׂרָה	עָשָׂרַת	עָשָׂר	עָשָׂר

¹ Shortened from *שְׁתֵּינָיִם*, which would be the regular feminine form of *שְׁנַיִם*. Nevertheless, the *Dageš* in *שְׁתֵּינָיִם*, &c. (even after *בֵּן*; Jon 4¹¹; cf., however, *בְּנֵי* Ju 16²⁸), can by no means be regarded as a *Dageš forte* arising from assimilation of the *Nūn*, for in that case the word could only be *שְׁתֵּינָיִם* (cf. Arab. *ʾiṭnān*). This form does occur in the Codex Babylonius of A.D. 916, but it is only a later correction for *שְׁתֵּינָיִם*, while in the Berlin MS. or. qu. 680 described by Kahle (Lpz. 1902) there is no trace of the *Dageš*. It is rather to be read *štāyīm*, *štā* (with *Dageš lene*), cf. *אֶשְׁתֵּינָיִם*, representing the later Palestinian pronunciation (Philippi, *ZDMG.* xlix, p. 206), and Arab. *ʾiṭnātān* (with a kind of prosthetic *ā*; cf. § 19 m), as a further feminine form of

On the connective forms *שָׁבַע*, *הֵשַׁע*, cf. the analogous forms in § 93 h.

The other Semitic languages also exhibit the same peculiarity in the external differentiation of the numerals from 3 to 10 as regards gender. The fem. form of the numeral abstracts is only rarely found in connexion with feminine nouns,⁴ e. g. *שִׁשָּׁתַּיִם נָשִׁים* Gn 7¹³, 1 S 10³, Jb 1⁴, Ez 7² *Keth.*; probably also Jos 17¹¹, where we should read with Dillmann *הַנְּפֹתָר* *שִׁשָּׁתַּיִם*. In apposition, Zc 3³, 4², cf. Jer 36²³. From what was said above, under *a*, it follows that these cases are not a return to original usage, but only an intrusion of the form used before masculines into the sphere of the feminine. Conversely in Gn 38²⁴ *שִׁשָּׁתַּיִם חֳדָשִׁים* (but in the Samaritan *שִׁשָּׁתַּיִם חֳדָשִׁים*).—For *שִׁבְעָה* *seven*, there occurs in Jb 42¹³ the strange form *שִׁבְעָנָה*, according to Ewald [*Ausführli. Lehrb.* §, § 269 b] an old feminine substantive (German *ein Siebend*, a set of seven), but more probably a scribal error.

2. The numerals from 11 to 19 are formed by placing the units, *d* without the *copula*, before the number ten (in the form *עָשָׂר* masc., *עָשְׂרָה* fem.), but without the two words being joined into one. As was said above, under *a*, and as is proved by the use of *אַחַד*, *אֶחָדָה* in the numeral 11, the feminine numerals from 13 to 19 are to be regarded as *construct* forms in a genitive connexion. The connective forms of the masculine abstracts, like *שִׁלְשָׁתַּיִם*, &c., are not admitted in combination with *עָשָׂר*, since they are merely in apposition, and not in a genitive relation (see the rare exceptions at the end of *e*). On the other hand *שְׁנֵי* and *שְׁתֵּי* in the numeral 12 are undoubtedly true *constructs*, like *אַחַד* and the fem. numerals 13–19. But instead of *שְׁנֵי* (Ex 28²¹, Jos 3¹² and four other places) and *שְׁתֵּי* (Jos 4⁸ and three times in Ezek.), we generally find *שְׁנַיִם* and *שְׁתַּיִם*. Two explanations have been given of these forms: (1) that the *Kethibh* really intends *שְׁנַיִם*, *שְׁתַּיִם*, in the *absol. st.*, which was first introduced in the case of *שְׁנַיִם*, on the analogy of *עָשְׂרָה*, &c., and then extended to *שְׁתַּיִם*; the Masora, however, required *שְׁנֵי*, *שְׁתֵּי* (but see below), and therefore pointed *שְׁנַיִם*, *שְׁתַּיִם* as a *Qerê perpetuum* (see § 17).—(2) that the *absolute* forms *שְׁנַיִם*, *שְׁתַּיִם* (introduced on the analogy of *שִׁלְשָׁתַּיִם*, &c.) were contracted to *שְׁנַיִם*, *שְׁתַּיִם* to facilitate the pronunciation of the duals when closely

'itnāni, duo. According to Barth (*Orient. Studien . . . Th. Nöldeke*, ii. 792 f.) the irregularity of *שְׁתַּיִם* (he takes the Dageš as *Dageš forte*) is due to the complete assimilation of its vowels to those of the masc. *שְׁנַיִם* where the *Ṣwā mobile* is normal.

² With Dageš probably on the analogy of *שִׁשָּׁתַּיִם*, as *שִׁשָּׁתַּיִם* on the analogy of *חֲמִשָּׁתַּיִם*. Cf. also J. K. Blake on *חֲמִשָּׁתַּיִם*, in *JAOS*. 1905, p. 117 ff.

³ *שָׁבַע* and *הֵשַׁע* appear only as connective forms before *עָשְׂרָה* and *מֵאוֹת*.

⁴ In the vulgar dialects of Arabic, and in Ethiopic, the feminine form of the numeral is by far the more common. This form appears also in Hebrew, when the number is regarded in the abstract, as in the multiplicatives (see § 97 h).

connected with עָשָׂר and עֶשְׂרֵה, and that the contraction is founded on an early and correct tradition. The second explanation is supported by the large number of examples of שָׁנִים (66) and שָׁנִים (34). It would be strange if the Masora required the alteration of the far commoner forms on account of isolated instances of שָׁנִי and שָׁנִי. As a matter of fact even in regard to the latter forms the tradition often varies between שָׁנִי and שָׁנִים, &c., cf. e. g. Ginsburg on Jos 3¹². We cannot therefore assume a *Q^{er}e perpetuum*.

e Accordingly the numbers from 11 upwards are—

	Masculine.	Feminine.
11.	אַחַד עָשָׂר עֶשְׂרֵי עָשָׂר	אַחַת עֶשְׂרֵה עֶשְׂרֵי עֶשְׂרֵה
12.	שְׁנַיִם עָשָׂר שְׁנֵי עָשָׂר	שְׁנַיִם עֶשְׂרֵה שְׁנֵי עֶשְׂרֵה
13.	שְׁלֹשָׁה עָשָׂר	שְׁלֹשָׁה עֶשְׂרֵה

&c., on the analogy of the last. These numerals regularly have only the above form. In regard to their syntax, cf. § 134 f.

Very rarely the units appear in the *masc.* in the *constr. st.*, as חֲמִשָּׁת עָשָׂר fifteen, Ju 8¹⁰, 2 S 19¹⁸; שְׁמוֹנֶת עָשָׂר eighteen, Ju 20²⁸.—Connected by וְ we find עֶשְׂרֵה וְחֲמִשָּׁה in Ex 45¹².

f 3. The tens from 30 to 90 are expressed by the plural forms of the units (so that the plural here always stands for *ten times* the unit), thus, שְׁלֹשִׁים 30, אַרְבָּעִים 40, חֲמִשִּׁים 50, שִׁשִּׁים 60, שִׁבְעִים 70, שְׁמֹנִים 80, תְּשַׁעִּים 90. But *twenty* is expressed by עֶשְׂרִים, plur. of עָשָׂר *ten*.² These numerals are all of common gender, and do not admit of the *construct state*.—In compound numerals, like 22, 23, 44, &c., the units

¹ עֶשְׂרֵי, which remained for a long time unexplained, was recognized (first by J. Oppert) in the Assyro-Babylonian inscriptions in the form *istin* or *istēn*; cf. Friedr. Delitzsch, *Assyrische Grammatik*, p. 203, and P. Haupt, in the *American Journal of Philology*, viii. 279. Accordingly, עֶשְׂרֵי is a compound, like the Sansk. *ekādaśan*, *ēdewa*, *undecim* (analogous to the combination of units and tens in the numerals from 12 to 19), and is used at the same time in the composition of the feminine numeral eleven. On the gradual substitution of עֶשְׂרֵי for אַחַד עָשָׂר and אַחַת עֶשְׂרֵה see Giesebrecht in *ZAW*. 1881, p. 226; עֶשְׂרֵי occurs only in Jer., Ez., in the prologue to Deuteronomy (1³), in the Priestly Code, and in passages undoubtedly post-exilic, so that it may very well be a loan-word from the Babylonian.

² For עֶשְׂרִים, שִׁבְעִים, תְּשַׁעִּים (from the *segholates* עָשָׂר, שִׁבְעָה, תְּשַׁע), we should expect **sārīm*, **bhā'im*, **tšā'im*. Is this very unusual deviation from the common formation (see above, § 93 l, o, r) connected with the special meaning of these plurals, or are these survivals of an older form of the plural of *segholates*?

may precede (*two and twenty*, as in Arabic and English), e.g. Nu 3³⁹, 26¹⁴. Very frequently, however, the reverse order is found (*twenty and two*, as in Syriac, cf. French and English *twenty-two*), e.g. 1 Ch 12²⁸, 18⁵.¹ In all cases the units and tens are connected by the *copula*, ordinarily ׀, but ׀ before numerals with the tone on the penultima, ׀ before ׀, ׀ before Šwā; see § 104 d, e, g.

The remaining numerals are the substantives—

g

100 מֵאָה fem., constr. מֵאָה.

200 מֵאָהִים dual (contracted from מֵאָהִים; cf. § 23 c).

300 שְׁלֹשׁ מֵאוֹת plur. (but in 2 K 11^{4.9.10.15}, Keth. הַמֵּאוֹת).

1000 אֶלֶף masc.

2000 אֶלְפִים dual.

3000 שְׁלֹשֶׁת אֲלָפִים plur., and so on (except עֶשְׂרֵה אֲלָפִים in 2 S 18³, 2 K 24¹⁴ Keth.; elsewhere always עֶשְׂרֵת אֲלָפִים).

10000 רִבּוּא, רִבּוּאָה, in the later books the aramaising² forms רִבּוּ, רִבּוֹת (properly *multitude*, cf. μυριάς).

20000 רִבְעֵי אֲלָפִים dual (see below, h); but שְׁתֵּי רִבּוֹת Neh 7⁷⁰ (also שְׁתֵּי רִבּוּא Neh 7⁷¹).

40000 אַרְבַּע רִבּוּא Neh 7⁶⁶.

60000 שֵׁשֶׁת־רִבּוּאוֹת Ezr 2⁶⁹ (Baer and Ginsburg רִבּוּאוֹת, as in Dn 11¹²).

רִבּוּא, אֶלְפִי thousands of myriads, Gn 24⁶⁰.

Rem. 1. The dual form which occurs in some of the units has the meaning *h* of our ending -fold, e.g. אַרְבַּע־עֶתִים fourfold, 2 S 12⁶; שִׁבְעֵתִים sevenfold, Gn 4^{15.24}, Is 30²⁶, ψ 12⁷, 79¹² (cf. § 134 r). The dual רִבְעֵי אֲלָפִים ψ 68¹⁸ (explained by שְׁנֵי אֶלְפֵי thousands of duplication) is not meant to be taken in the sense of *two myriads* or *twice the number of myriads*, but in a multiplicative sense.³—Besides the plural which denotes the tens, there are also the plurals אֲחָדִים *some*, also *idem*, and עֶשְׂרִים *decades* (not *decem*) Ex 18^{21.25}.

2. The suffixes to numerals are, as with other nouns, properly genitives, *l* although they are translated in English as nominatives, e.g. שְׁלֹשָׁתֶּךָ *your triad*, i.e. *you three*, Nu 12⁴; הַחֲמִשִּׁי *his fifty* (i.e. the 50 belonging to him) 2 K 19¹³, and הַחֲמִשִּׁי 2 K 10¹².

¹ According to the conclusions of König (*De Criticis Sacrae Argumento*, p. 61, and *Lehrgeb.*, ii. p. 215 ff.), the smaller number more commonly precedes in Ezek. and the Priestly Code, but the larger always elsewhere. S. Herner (*Syntax der Zahlwörter im A. T.*, Lund, 1893, p. 71 ff.) arrives at the same conclusion by a full examination of the statistics; cf. also his remarks on König in ZAW. 1896, p. 123, and König's reply, *ibid.*, p. 328 f.

² Cf. Kautzsch, *Die Aramaismen im A. T.* (Halle, 1902), p. 79 f.

³ Cf. D. H. Müller, 'Die numeralia multiplicativa in den Amarnatafeln u. im Hebr.', *Semitica*, i, Wien, 1906, p. 13 ff.

§ 98. Numerals. (b) Ordinal Numbers.

a The ordinal numbers from 2 to 10 are formed from the corresponding cardinals by adding the termination יָ— (§ 86 *h*), before which another יָ— also is generally inserted between the second and third radicals. They are as follows: שֵׁנִי *second*, רִבְעִי, שְׁלִישִׁי (like רִבְעִי, רִבְעִי, רִבְעִי, without the prosthetic א, which appears in אֲרִבְעִי, &c.), חֲמִישִׁי or חֲמִישִׁי (which, according to Strack, is always to be read for חֲמִישִׁי), שֵׁשִׁי, שְׁבִיעִי, שְׁמִינִי, הָשִׁיעִי, עָשִׁירִי. The ordinal *first* is expressed by ראשון (cf. § 27 *w*), from ראש *head, beginning*, with the termination יָ (§ 86 *f*). On the use of אָחֵר as an ordinal in numbering the days of the month, cf. § 134 *p*; in such cases as Gn 1⁵, 2¹¹, the meaning of *first* is derived solely from the context.

b The feminine forms have the termination יָה—, more rarely (and only in the case of 3 and 10) יָהִ— . They are employed also to express fractions, e. g. חֲמִישִׁית *fifth or fifth part*, עֶשְׂרִית *tenth part*. Side by side with these, in the same sense, there are also forms like רִבְעִי and רִבְעִי *a quarter*, חֲמִישִׁי *a fifth part*, and with the affirmative יָ, עֶשְׂרִי (plur. עֶשְׂרִינִים) *a tenth part*; these are to be regarded as abstracts, and are denominatives from the cardinal numbers. Cf. finally שבוע *שבוע*, *a week*; עשור *a decade* (of days), and also the *tenth day*.

. On the expression of the other relations of number, for which the Hebrew has no special forms, see the Syntax, § 134 *q* and *r*.

CHAPTER IV

THE PARTICLES

§ 99. General View.

Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, i. 492 f.

1. The particles, which in general express the secondary modifications of thought in speech, the closer relation of words to one another, and the mutual connexion of sentences, are for the most part either borrowed or derived from noun-forms, sometimes also from pronouns and verbs (§ 30 s). *Primitive* particles (apart from a few demonstrative forms, see § 100 i) can only be so called in the sense defined in § 81 f.

2. So far as the origin of the particles can be discovered with certainty, they are either (1) *borrowed* from other parts of speech; i. e. certain forms of the noun, pronoun, or verb, with more or less loss of their original meaning, have come to be employed as particles; cf. in the Indo-Germanic languages, e. g. the Latin *certo*, *falso*, *partim*, *verum*, *causa*, the German *statt*, *anstatt*, *wegen*, *weg*, and the English *instead*, *away*; or (2) *derived* from other parts of speech, either (a) by the *addition* of formative syllables, as *בְּיָמֵינוּ* *by day*, from *יָמֵינוּ* (cf., however, § 100 g); or most commonly (b) by *abbreviations* effected in various ways, the extent of their mutilation being in proportion to the frequency of their use, so that in some cases (see below) the original stem has become wholly unrecognizable.

Cf. in German *gen*, from *gegen*, *Gegend*; *seit*, from *Seite*; *weil* (originally a particle of time, like our *while*), from *Weile*.

Still more violent abbreviations occur in Greek, Latin, and the Romance languages, e. g. *ἀπό*, *ab*, *a*; *ἐξ*, *ex*, *e*; *ad*, Fr. *à*; *aut*, Fr. *ou*, Ital. *o*; *super*, Ital. *su*.¹

The greatest shortening occurs in those particles which have entirely lost the character of an independent word, by being reduced to a single consonant with its vowel (generally short) or *Šewd*. According to the laws of syllable formation in Hebrew (§ 26 m),

¹ Even short phrases are contracted into one word: Lat. *forsitan*, from *fors sit an*, *δηλονότι*, *δηλαδή*, Fr. *peut-être*, Eng. *prithce* from *I pray thee*.—In Chinese most of the particles are verbs or nouns; e. g. *ih* (to give), also the sign of the dative; *ì* (to make use of), *to*, *for*; *nēi* (the interior), *in*.

such particles cannot stand by themselves, but are united, as prefixes, with the following word (§ 102), very much like the preformatives of the imperfect (§ 47 a-d).

- d The view that this shortening of whole words to single letters has actually taken place in the gradual course of linguistic development is rendered highly probable by the fact that similar abbreviations in later Hebrew and in Aramaic, i.e. as the development of the original Semitic speech progresses, become more and more striking and frequent. Thus the Biblical Aramaic *די* becomes at a later period *ד*; in modern Arabic, e.g. *hallaq* (now) is from *halwaqt*; *lêš* (why?) from *li-ayyi-šai'n*, &c. Cf. also the analogous cases mentioned above from the Western languages. Nevertheless, the use of the simplest particles is found already in the earliest periods of the Hebrew language, or, at any rate, in the earliest documents which have come down to us.

- e 3. Less frequently particles are formed by *composition*; as *מדוע* *wherefore?* for *מה-ידוע* *quid edoctus?* (*τι μαθών*); or *quid cognitum?*; *בלי* (from *בל* and *ערי*) *besides*; *מלמעלה* (from *מן*, *ל*, *מעלה*) *from above, above*.

More frequent is the combination of two words into one without contraction, e.g. *כִּי-עַל-כֵּן*, *כִּי-יָאֵם*, *אֲדָרְכִּי*, *אֲחֲרֵי-כֵן*; cf. also the compounds of *אֵי* with demonstrative pronouns, as *אֵי-מָה* *from what?*; *אֵי לָמָּה* *wherefore?* [R.V. *how*]. See the lexicon under *אֵי*.

§ 100. Adverbs.

On demonstrative adverbs cf. Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, i. 323; on interrogative adverbs, *ibid.*, i. 328; on adverbs in general, i. 492 ff.

- a 1. The negative *לֹא* *not*, and a few particles of place and time, as *שָׁם* *there*, are of obscure origin.
- b 2. Forms of other parts of speech, which are used adverbially without further change, are—
- (a) Substantives with prepositions, e.g. *בְּמֵאָד* (with might) *very*; *לְבַד* *alone* (prop. *in separation*, Fr. *à part*), with suffix *לְבַדִּי* *I alone*; *מִבֵּית* *from within, within*; cf. also *כְּאַחַד* (as one) *together*, *לְעֵמֶת* and *מִלְעֵמֶת* (originally *in connexion with*) *near to, corresponding to, like*, &c., cf. § 161 b.
- c (b) Substantives in the accusative (the adverbial case of the Semites, § 118 m), cf. *τὴν ἀρχήν*, *σωρεύς*, e.g. *מֵאָד* (might) *very*, *אַפָּם* (cessation) *no more*, *הַיּוֹם* (the day) *to-day* (cf. § 126 b), *מָחָר*¹ *to-morrow*, *יחד* (union) *together*. Several of these continued to be used, though rarely, as substantives, e.g. *סְבִיב*, plur. *סְבִיבִים* and *סְבִיבוֹת*, *circuit*, as adverb

¹ Generally derived from the *ptcp.* *פּוֹחַר* *m^oḥār* (= *m^eoḥār*) and hence to be read *mōḥār* (cf. *מִחְרָת* *morning*); but according to P. Haupt (notes to Esther, p. 159) from *יָוֶם אַחֵר*.

circum, around; others have quite ceased to be so used, e.g. כָּבֵר (length) *long ago* [Aram.: only in Ec.]; עוֹד (repetition, duration) *again or further*.

(c) Adjectives, especially in the feminine (corresponding to the *d* Indo-Germanic neuter), e.g. רִאשׁוֹנָה *primum, formerly* (more frequently בְּרִאשׁוֹנָה, also לְרִאשׁוֹנָה and רִבָּה [both rare] *multum, much, enough*; נִפְלְאוֹת *wonderfully* (properly *mirabilibus, sc. modis*), יְהוּדִית *Jewish*, i. e. in the Jewish language.

(d) Verbs in the infinitive absolute, especially in *Hiph'il*, which *e* are likewise to be regarded as accusatives (§ 113 h), e.g. הִרְבָּה (prop. *a multiplying*) *much* [frequent], לְהִרְבָּה [rare and late] *in multitude*; הִשְׁעִב (mane faciendo) *early*; הִשְׁעִרָב (vespere faciendo) *in the evening*.

(e) Pronouns and numerals, e.g. זֶה (prop. *there=at this place*) *here, f* הֵנָּה *here, hither* (also of time, עַד-הֵנָּה *till now*, cf. the late and rare עַד-וְהֵנָּה and עַד-וְהֵנָּה = עַד-הֵנָּה); אַחַת, שְׁתַּיִם, שְׁלֹשָׁה, מֵאָה, *once, twice, seven times, a hundred times*; שְׁנִיית *for the second time*.

3. Some adverbs are formed by the addition of formative syllables *g* (most frequently ם־) to substantives or adjectives, e.g. אֱמִנָּם and אֱמִנָּה *truly* (from אֱמֵן *truth*); חִנָּם (by favour) *gratis* (from חֵן *gratia*); רִיקָם *in vain, frustra*, but also *empty*, (from רִיק *empty, emptiness, vanum*), Ru 1²¹, parallel with the fem. מְלֵאָה *full*; יוֹמָם *by day* (from יוֹם *day*); with *o* in the last syllable, בְּתָאֵם, for בְּתָעֵם, *in a twinkling, suddenly* (from בָּתַע *a twinkling*, the *o* being probably obscured from an original *a*).²—Moreover, cf. אַחֲרָנִית *backward*, and קִרְרָנִית *darkly attired*, Mal 3¹⁴. In both these cases, the formative syllable *an* has been first attached to the stem, and then the feminine ending *ith*, which is elsewhere used to form adverbs, has been added to it.

The termination ם־ occurs also in the formation of substantives, e.g. הַאֵלָם *porch*, and hence the above adverbs may equally well be regarded as nouns used adverbially, so that ם־, ם־, would correspond to ך־, ך־ (§ 85, Nos. 53, 54), cf. בְּתָאֵם (with prep.) *suddenly*, 2 Ch 29³⁶. According to others, this *am* is an obsolete accusative ending, to be compared with the indeterminate accusative sing. in *an* in Arabic.

¹ Is this ם־ an instance of the locative or temporal termination (cf. especially צִוְרָם) mentioned in § 88 c? Nöldeke, *ZDMG.* xl. p. 721, considers יוֹמָם a secondary substantival form (used adverbially like לַיְלָה *noctē*), corresponding to the Phoenician and Aramaic יִמָּם, Syr. 'imāmā; cf. on the other hand, König, ii. 255, who follows Olshausen in maintaining that the *am* is an adverbial termination.

² דוֹמָם *silent* (an adjective in Is 47⁵, La 3²⁶; a substantive in Hb 2¹⁹), which was formerly included under this head, is better taken, with Barth (*Nominalbildung*, p. 352, Rem. 2), as a participle formed like שׁוֹכֵב, עוֹלֵל, so that דוֹמָם (perhaps assimilated to דוֹמָה) stands for original דוֹמָם.

i 4. A number of forms standing in very close relation to the demonstrative pronoun may be regarded as primitive adverbs, since they arise directly from a combination of demonstrative sounds. Some of these have subsequently suffered great mutilation, the extent of which, however, can now very rarely be ascertained with certainty. Such are e.g. *אָן* *then*, *הֵנָּה* *here* (according to Barth, *Sprachwiss. Abhandlungen*, p. 16, formed from the two demonstrative elements *hin* and *na*), *כֵּן*, *כֵּן* *thus* (cf. *אֵיכָּהּ*, *אֵיכָּהּ* *how* ?), *אָז* *only*, *אֱמֶן* *truly* (on all these adverbs, see the Lexicon), and especially the interrogative *הֵ* (*Hē interrogativum*), e.g. *הֵלֹא* (Dt 3¹¹ *הֵלֹא* *nonne* ?), *הֲגַם* *num etiam* ? This *Hē interrogativum* is perhaps shortened from *הֵל*, which is still used in Arabic, and, according to the view of a certain school of Masoretes, occurs also in Hebrew in Dt 32⁶.¹

k The *ה* interrogative takes—(1) *Ḥateph-Pathah* generally before non-gutturals (even before *ר*), with a firm vowel, e.g. *הֲשֵׁמֶתְךָ* *hast thou set* ? see the interrogative clause, § 150 c (*הֲיִימָב* Lv 10¹⁹ is an exception).

l (2) Before a consonant with *S^ewa*, usually *Pathah* without a following *Dageš forte*, e.g. *הֲבִרְכָה* Gn 27³⁸, cf. 18²⁷, 29⁵, 30¹⁵, 34³¹; less frequently (in about ten passages), *Pathah* with a following *Dageš forte*, e.g. *הֲבִרְכֶךָ* *num in via*, Ez 20⁸⁰, *הֲלֹכֶךָ* Gn 17¹⁷, 18²¹, 37³², Nu 13¹⁹, Jb 23⁶; even in *ר*, 1 S 10²⁴, 17²⁵, 2 K 6³².

m (3) Before gutturals, not pointed with either *Qameš* or *Ḥateph-Qameš*, it takes *Pathah*, e.g. *הֲאֵלֶיךָ* *shall I go* ?, *הֲאֵתָהּ* *num tu* ?, *הֵאֵם* *num si*; *הֲאֵרְכָהּ* Mal 1¹³; also in Ju 6³¹ read *הֲאֵתָם* (not *הֵאֵר*), likewise *ה* in Ju 12⁵, Jer 8¹⁹, Neh 6¹².—In *הֲאֵישׁ* Nu 16²², the Masora intends the article; read *הֵאֵישׁ*, and cf. Dt 20¹⁹; in Ec 3²¹ read *הֵעֹלָהּ* and *הֵרְרָתָהּ*; the article is a correction due to doctrinal considerations.

n (4) The *ה* takes *S^eghol* before gutturals pointed with *Qameš* or (as in Ju 9²⁸) *Ḥateph-Qameš*, e.g. *הֲאֵמֹר* Mi 2⁷; *הֲאֵנֶכִי* Jb 21⁴; *הֵהִיתָהּ* Jo 1²; *הֵהֵשֶׁב* Gn 24⁵ (cf. the analogous instances in § 22 c, § 35 k, § 63 k). The place of this interrogative particle is always at the beginning of the clause [but see Jb 34³¹, Neh 13²⁷, Jer 22¹⁵, where one or more words are prefixed for emphasis].

o 5. Some adverbs occur also in connexion with suffixes, thus *יֵשְׁךָ* *thou art there*, 3rd sing. masc. *יֵשְׁנִי*² (but see note below), 2nd plur. masc. *יֵשְׁכֶם*; *יֵשְׁנִי* *I am not*, 2nd sing. fem. *יֵשְׁנֶךָ*, 3rd sing. *יֵשְׁנֶיךָ*, fem. *יֵשְׁנֶיךָ*, 2nd plur. *יֵשְׁנֶכֶם*, 3rd plur. masc. *יֵשְׁנֵם*.—Also *עוֹדֵי* *I am yet* (*עוֹדֵי* only in *בְּעוֹדֵי* and *מְעוֹדֵי*, *עוֹדֶךָ*, *עוֹדֵי*, *עוֹדֵי* (La. 4¹⁷ *Qere*; *עוֹדֵיךָ*

¹ The separation of the *ה* at the beginning of Dt 32⁶, expressly noticed by Qimhi (ed. Rittenb., p. 40 b) as an unique instance, is perhaps a protest against admitting a particle *הֵל*.

² This form, which occurs in Dt 29¹⁴, 1 S 14³⁹, 23²⁸, Est 3⁸, is textually very doubtful, and cannot be supported by the equally doubtful *קָבְנוּ* (for *קָבְנוּ*) Nu 23¹³. Most probably, with Stade, *Gramm.*, § 370 b, and P. Haupt, *SBOT. Numbers*, p. 57, line 37, we should read *יֵשְׁנֵנִי*.

Keith; the oriental school [see above, p. 38, note 2] recognize only the reading עוֹרִינִי, עוֹרִים.—אֵיכָּה where art thou?, אֵי where is he?, אֵימ where are they? The same applies to הֵן (הֵן) and הִנֵּה behold! (prop. here, here is; see § 105 b), only in Gn 19² הִנֵּה-נָא; with suffixes, הִנֵּנִי, once הִנֵּנִי (Gn 22⁷ with *Munah*), in pause הִנֵּנִי behold me (here am I), הִנֵּה (pause הִנֵּה ψ 139⁸), הִנֵּה, הִנֵּה, and הִנֵּה [both very rare], הִנֵּנִי (behold us), and הִנֵּנִי (in pause הִנֵּנִי), הִנֵּנִי, הִנֵּנִי; [see more fully in the Lexicon, p. 243].

The usual explanation of these suffixes (especially of the forms with *Nan p* *energicum*) as verbal suffixes, which ascribes some power of verbal government even to forms originally substantival (e.g. יֵשֶׁנּוּ there is, he is), is at least inadmissible for forms (like אֵי, בְּעוֹרִי) which are evidently connected with noun-suffixes; even for the other forms it is questionable. Brockelmann suggests that the ך in connexion with these particles is a survival from הנה corresponding to the Arab. *anna* which introduces dependent clauses.

101. Prepositions.

Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, i. 494 ff.

1. All words, which by usage serve as prepositions, were originally *a* substantives, viz.:

(a) Substantives in the accusative and in the construct state, so that the noun governed by them is to be considered as in the genitive, and in Arabic actually has the genitive ending, cf. in German *statt dessen*, *kraft dessen*, in Greek *τούτου χάριν*, in Latin *huius rei causa*, or *gratia*, *montis instar*.¹ Cf. אַחֲרֵי (hinder part*) behind, after (*Mil'el* in בֵּן אַחֲרֵי Lv 14³⁶, Dt 21¹³, 1 S 10⁵; וְהָ אַחֲרֵי 2 Ch 32⁹); אֶצֶל (side) close by; בֵּין (intermediate space*) between; בְּעֵד, בְּעֵד (distance²) behind, around; וְלִת, or with *Hireq compaginis* וְלִתִּי (removal, want) except; לְעוֹ (purpose) on account of; מִלִּפְנֵי (only in Dt 1¹) before, over against; מִן (separation; cf. § 119 v) from, out of; מִלְּפָנֶי (coming in front, that which is over against) before, over against; עַד (progress, duration*) during, until; עַל (height, upper part*) upon, over; עִם (connexion?) with; it is doubtful whether this is to be derived from the same stem as עִמָּת, לְעִמָּת near, beside, like; תַּחַת (under part*) under, instead of.

(b) Substantives in the construct state, but to be regarded as in the *b* genitive, since they depend on prepositions (especially the inseparable), e.g. לְפָנֶי (in the face of*) before; בְּפִי, לְפִי (according to the mouth,

¹ In the examples which follow, the meaning of the noun is added in parentheses, and, when it is actually in use [though it is mostly in such cases very rare], is marked with an asterisk.—On a similar use in other languages, see W. von Humboldt, *Über die Kawisprache*, iii, p. 621.

² So also J. Hoch de Long, *Die hebr. Präpos.* בְּעֵד, Lpz. 1905.

i. e. the command of*) according to; בְּלֵל (in the concern of) on account of; לְמַעַן (for the purpose of) on account of.

- c 2. Substantives used adverbially very frequently become prepositions in this way, e.g. בְּלֵי, בְּבֵלִי, מְבֵלִי, בְּלֵחִי, בְּאִיו, בְּאַפָּם (with cessation) without, בְּעוֹר (in the duration of) during; בְּדֵי, בְּדֵי (according to the requirement of) for, according to.

§ 102. Prefixed Prepositions.

- a 1. Of the words mentioned in § 101, מִן from, out of, frequently occurs as a prefix (§ 99 c), with its *Nūn* assimilated to the following consonant (by means of *Dageš forte*), e.g. מִן־עֵר out of a forest.

- b Rem. The separate מִן (always with a following *Maqqeph*) is usual (but not necessary, cf. Ju 20¹⁴ with verse 15, Ez 43⁶, &c.) only before the article, e.g. מִן־הָאֲרֶזִּין Jer 44¹⁸, and sometimes occurs before the softer consonants, e.g. מִן־אֶרֶץ Jo 1¹², 1 Ch 5¹⁸; cf. Ex 18¹⁴, Lv 1¹⁴, 14³⁰, Ju 7²³, 10¹¹, 19¹⁶, ψ 104⁷ (2 K 23³⁶ before ר; also before פ in ψ 18⁴⁰), and elsewhere in the later books (as in Aramaic)¹; there is besides a poetic by-form מִנִּי (cf. § 90 m) and מִנִּי Is 30¹¹. Its form is most commonly מִ with a following *Dageš*, which may, however, be omitted in letters which have *Šewā* (cf. § 20 m). With a following י the מ is, as a rule, contracted to מִי, e.g. מִי־י = מִי־י or מִי־י (but cf. מִי־שֶׁנִּי Dn 12²; מִי־שֶׁנִּי 2 Ch 20¹¹); before gutturals it becomes מִ (according to § 22 c), e.g. מִן־אֶרֶץ, מִן־עֵר, before ה the מ occurs with the guttural virtually sharpened in מִחוּץ on the outside, and in מִחוּט Gn 14²³; before ה מִהֵיוֹת (cf. § 28 b and § 63 g. The closed syllable here is inconsistent with the required virtual sharpening of the ה; probably מִהֵיוֹת is merely due to the analogy of לִהֵיוֹת); similarly Is 14³ before ר; but in 1 S 23²³, 2 S 18¹⁶ מִדֶּרֶךְ is to be read, according to § 22 s.

- c 2. There are also three other particles, the most commonly used prepositions and the particle of comparison, which have been reduced by abbreviation (§ 99 c) to a single prefixed consonant with *Šewā* (but see below, and § 103 e), viz.:

בְּ [poet. בְּמוֹ] in, at, with.

לְ [poet. לְמוֹ] towards, (belonging) to, for, Lat. *ad*.

כְּ [poet. כְּמוֹ] like, as, according to (no doubt the remnant of a substantive with the meaning of *matter, kind, instar*).

- d With regard to the pointing it is to be observed that—

(a) The *Šewā mobile*, with which the above prefixes are usually pronounced, has resulted from the weakening of a short vowel (an original *ā*, according to f)²; the short vowel is regularly retained before *Šewā*: before *Šewā simplex*

¹ König, *Einleitung ins A. T.*, p. 393 (cf. also the almost exhaustive statistics in his *Lehrgebäude*, ii. 292 ff.), enumerates eight instances of מִן before a word without the article in 2 Samuel and Kings, and forty-five in Chronicles.

² Jerome (see Siegfried, *ZAW*. iv. 79) almost always represents בְּ by *ba*.

in the form of an *ä*, attenuated from *ā*: before a *Haṭeph* the prefix takes the vowel of the *Haṭeph*, e. g. לְפָרִי for *fruit*, בְּאַרִי as a *lion*, בְּעֵנִי *bū'ni*, in *affliction* (sometimes with the syllable subsequently closed, cf. § 28 b, and the infinitives with לְ § 63 i); before weak consonants it follows the rule given in § 24 c, e. g. לְיְהוָה for *to the Lord*. When the prefixes בּ, ל, ה, precede אֱלֹהִים *God*, the *Sēghōl* and *Haṭeph Sēghōl* regularly coalesce in *Sērē*, e. g. בְּאֱלֹהִים, &c., for בְּאֵלִי; so with suffixes וְאֵלֵּי, &c. (once also in the sing. לְאֵלָיו Hb 1¹¹); also regularly לְאָמֹר *to say*, for לְאָמֹר, see § 23 d.

(b) When the prefixes precede the article, the ה is almost always dropped, *ē* and they take its vowel. See further in § 35 n.

(c) Immediately before the tone-syllable, i. e. before monosyllables and dissyllables with the tone on the penultima (in the fore-tone), they take *Qames* *f* (undoubtedly a lengthening of an original *ā*, cf. § 26 e, § 28 a), but only in the following cases:

(aa) ל before infinitives of the above-mentioned forms, as לָתֵת *to give*, לָרִיץ *to judge*, לָבוֹז *to plunder*, לָזוֹז *to shear*, לְהַחזִיק *to keep a festival*, לְהַצִּיחַ *to bring forth*, לָלֶכֶת *to go*, לָקַח *to take*, except when the infinitive (as a *nomen regens*) is closely connected with another word (especially its subject, § 115 e), and consequently, as being in a sort of *constr. state*, loses the principal tone, e. g. לְצִאתָ Ex 19¹, לְשִׁבְתָּ Gn 16³, and so always לְבִיאָהּ Nu 13²¹, &c. (in such cases as לְתַתֵּהֶם Ex 5²¹ the *ā* is protected by the secondary tone; before infinitives of verbs עָוָה, the ל is retained even in close connexion; cf. Ez 21^{20,25}, 22³);

(bb) before many pronominal forms, e. g. בְּיָהּ (so also in י 21¹⁰; not בְּיָהּ *g*), לְיָהּ, בְּיָהּ, לְיָהּ (in close connexion, however, לְיָהּ Gn 2²³; בְּיָהּ Gn 45²³); בְּאֵלֵּי *as these*; and especially בְּכֶם, לְכֶם, בְּכֶם (בְּכֶם) and בְּהֶם, לְהֶם, בְּהֶם (בְּהֶם), see § 103 e;

(cc) ל before monosyllables or fore-toned nouns in such combinations as לְפִהּ לְפִהּ *mouth to mouth*, 2 K 10²¹, לְמִים לְמִים *between waters and waters*, Gn 1⁶; לְטָרָה *for a trouble*, Is 1¹⁴, but always before the principal pause. The instructive example in Dt 17⁸ also shows that the punctuation ל is only possible with at least the lesser pause after it; in Is 28^{10,13} the ל is twice repeated, even before the small and smallest disjunctives;

(dd) in certain standing expressions, which have become stereotyped almost *ē* as adverbs, e. g. לְעֶד *to eternity*, לְרַב *in multitude*, לְבִטָּחָה *in security*, לְנֶצַח *to eternity*, but לְנֶצַח לְנֶצַח *to all eternity*, Is 34¹⁰. Cf. also לְנֶפֶשׁ *for the dead*, Lv 19²⁸, Nu 5², 9¹⁰.

(d) With the interrogative מָה they are pointed as in בְּמָה; in *pause* and *h* before א as in בְּמָה *by what?* (before a following relative clause, as in Ec 3²², בְּמָה; cf. Delitzsch, *Jesaja*, 4th ed., on Is 2²³); בְּמָה *how much?* but also בְּמָה 1 K 22¹⁶, in close connexion, and at a greater distance from the *pause*. The *Sēghōl* in these forms arises from a modification of the original *ā*, while the *h* is sharpened in order to maintain the original *ā* of the prefixes.

When ל (prop. *la*) is united to מָה, it takes, according to § 49 f, g, the form לְמָה (Jb 7²⁰ לְמָה, 1 S 1⁸ לְמָה, all *Mt'al*, and hence the *ā* in the tone is lengthened to *ā*) *for what? why?* Before the gutturals א, ה, ע, לְמָה is used for euphonic reasons (exceptions 1 S 28¹⁵, 2 S 14³¹, Jer 15¹⁸, before ה; 2 S 2²²,

ψ 49⁶, before א) ; לָמָּה, however, remains before ׀. Before letters which are not gutturals, לָמָּה is found in ψ 42¹⁰, 43² (immediately after a tone-syllable).

m Rem. The divine name יְהוָה, which has not its original vowels (יְהוָה) but those of אֱלֹהִים (see § 17 c), except that the י has simple not compound *S^{wa}*, takes the prefixes also, after the manner of אֱלֹהִים, thus יְהוָה, וְיְהוָה, בְּיְהוָה, לְיְהוָה (since they are to be read אֱלֹהִים, בְּאֱלֹהִים, לְאֱלֹהִים); for the א of אֱלֹהִים, as of אֲנִי, אַנְיָם, &c. (see below), *quiesces* after the prefixes ב, ב, ל, ו, but is *audible* after מ (for מן), ש (no instance in the O. T.), and ה (in אֲנִיָּהּ Dt 10¹⁷, ψ 136², the article, not ה interrog., is intended; the only example with ה interrog., Jer 8¹⁹, is to be pointed הִיְהוָה, i.e. הָאֱלֹהִים, not הִיְהוָה). Hence the rule, מֹשֶׁה מוֹצֵא מֹשֶׁה (i.e. מ, ש, ה make the א audible), וְכִלְבֹּם וְכִלְבֹּם (i.e. ו, ב, ל, ב allow it to quiesce).¹—As regards the other plural forms of אֱלֹהִים, elision of the א always takes place after ב, ו, ב, ל, except in the form אֱלֹהִים, thus אֱלֹהִים, &c.; but אֱלֹהִים, &c., אֱלֹהִים, &c., אֱלֹהִים.

§ 103. Prepositions with Pronominal Suffixes and in the Plural Form.

a 1. As all prepositions were originally nouns (§ 101) in the accusative, they may be united with the noun-suffixes (§ 91 b-l), e.g. אֵצֶלִי (prop. at my side) *by me*, אִתִּי (in my proximity) *with me*, בָּהֶם (in their place) *instead of them*, like the Latin *mea causa*, *for my sake*.

b Rem. 1. The preposition אֵת (אֵת־) *near, with*, is distinguished from אֵת (see below, and § 117 a, note 4), the sign of the definite accusative (§ 117 a), in its connexion with suffixes, by a difference of pointing, the former making אֵתִי, אֵתְךָ, in *pause* אֵתְךָ, 2nd fem. אֵתְךָ (Is 54¹⁰ אֵתְךָ, אֵתְךָ, אֵתְךָ, also in the later books, especially in Kings, and always in Jer. and Ezek., incorrectly אֵתִי *with me*; אֵתְךָ *from thee*, 1 K 20²⁵; אֵתְךָ *from him*, 1 K 22⁷; אֵתֶם *with them*), while the latter retains its *ô* (obscured from *â*) before the light suffixes, but before grave suffixes is pointed with *S^{ghôl}*. This *S^{ghôl}* is to be explained, with Praetorius, *ZDMG*. lv. 369 f., as the modification of an *â* which again was shortened from original *â* (in *âthi*, *âthô*, &c.) in a closed syllable (*âth-hem*, &c.). The same shortening and modification of the original *â* takes place before words in close connexion, hence אֵתֶכֶל, &c. When not in close connexion, the toneless אֵת becomes tone-long אֵת, e.g. אֵת הַשָּׁמַיִם Gn 1¹. Hence the following forms arise:—

Sing.		Plur.
1.	אֵתִי <i>me</i> .	אֵתָנוּ <i>us</i> .
2.	{ <i>m.</i> אֵתְךָ, <i>pause</i> אֵתְךָ } <i>thee</i> .	אֵתְכֶם <i>you</i> .
	{ <i>f.</i> אֵתְךָ . . . . . }	. . . . .
3.	{ <i>m.</i> אֵתוֹ <i>him</i> .	אֵתָם, rarely אֵתָהֶם }
	{ <i>f.</i> אֵתָהּ <i>her</i> .	אֵתָהֶן, rarely אֵתָן }

¹ Another *vox memor.* is כֻּלְּבוֹ נֶעְלָם *all is hidden in him*.

Less common are the *plene* forms אֹתִי, אֹתְךָ (Nu 22³⁸ אֹתְכָה before ה), אֹתָהּ (Ex 29⁸⁵ אֹתְכָה), אֹתוֹ, אֹתָהּ, אֹתָם, אֹתָנָה. Moreover, for אֹתְכֶם we find אֹתְכֶם Jos 23¹⁵; for אֹתָם, five times אֹתְהֶם (Gn 32¹, Ex 18²⁰, &c.), and in Ez 23⁴⁵ אֹתְהֶם; for אֹתָהּ (Gn 19⁸, &c. [13 times]), אֹתָן (only found in Ez 16⁴⁴; 35²⁶ אֹתָנָה; 34²¹ אֹתְנָה), and אֹתָהּ Ez 23⁴⁷.—No instance of the 2nd fem. plur. אֹתְכֶן occurs in the O. T.; in Cant. 2⁷, &c., אֹתְכֶם is used instead.

2. The preposition עִם *with* (with suffixes on the model of stems עָמַע, עָמִי, ^cעָמְךָ [1 S 12⁶ עָמְכָה], in *pause* עָמְךָ; 2nd fem. עָמְךָ, עָמִי; עָמְךָ) is united with the suffixes נִי, כֶּם, and הֶם by a (pretonic) *Qames*, which causes the sharpening of the *Mém* to be distinctly audible: עָמְנִי, עָמְכֶם, עָמְהֶם (so in Nu 22¹², Dt 29¹⁶, both in principal pause, and often in very late passages, otherwise עָמִי is generally used). In the first person, besides עָמִי, we also find עָמְרִי (probably from original עִמְרִי; cf. Arab. *inda*, beside, with).

3. It is but seldom that prepositions occur with verbal suffixes, as תִּחְתָּנִי ^d2 S 22^{37,40,43} (for which ^ψ 18^{37,40,43} תִּחְתָּנִי), תִּחְתָּנִי Gn 2²¹ and בְּעִמְרִי ^ψ 139¹¹ (here probably for the sake of the rhyme with יִשְׁוֹנִי ¹).

2. When pronominal suffixes are added to the prefixes (§ 102), there ^e appears occasionally, especially in the case of the shorter suffixes, an endeavour to lengthen the preposition, so as to give it more strength and body. Hence to אֶּ is appended the syllable נוּ (see below, ^e), and אֶּ and אֵּ take at least a full vowel, אֶּ and אֵּ (§ 102 ^d, ^f).—The following deviations from the analogy of the noun with suffixes are to be noticed (*a*) in the pausal forms אֶכָּ, אֶלָּ, אֶתָּ, אֶתָּהּ, אֶתָּם (not *bēkhā*, &c.); (*b*) in the similar forms with the suffix of the 2nd sing. fem. (not *bēkh*, &c.) and in אֶנִּי, אֶנִּי, &c. (not *bēni*, &c.).

(*a*) אֶּ with Pronominal Suffixes.

Sing.

Plur.

- | | | | |
|----|---|---|-----------------------|
| 1. | אֶּלִּי to me. | אֶלָּנוּ to us. | |
| 2. | { m. אֶלְךָ (לְךָ), in <i>pause</i> אֶלְךָ
f. אֶלְךָ } | אֶלְכֶם
[אֶלְכֶנָּה] ² | { to thee.
to you. |
| 3. | { m. אֶלָּו to him.
f. אֶלָּהּ to her. | אֶלְהֶם
[53 times] ³
אֶלְהֶנָּה ⁴ | { to them. |

¹ *Fini* and *vin* (in me), in vulgar Arabic for *fiyya* and *bi*, are compared by Socin. Brockelmann, ZA. xiv. 347, note 1, suggests that תִּחְתָּנִי, תִּחְתָּנָה, בְּעִמְרִי are later formations on the model of מִמְּנִי when its origin from the reduplication of the preposition had become obscured, but see below, *m*.

² אֶלְכֶנָּה does not occur in the O. T., by a mere accident, no doubt; Ez 13¹⁸ אֶלְכֶנָּה.

g' ק takes suffixes in the same manner: בִּי, קִי (Ex 7²⁹, 2 S 22³⁰, ψ 141⁸ קִי, as in Gn 27³⁷, 2 S 18²², Is 3⁶ לִיָּהּ [for 2nd fem. לִיָּהּ the *Kethibh* לִיָּהּ occurs in 2 K 4², Ct 2¹³, cf. § 91 e]), בו, &c.; except that for the 3rd plur., besides קִיָּהּ (especially in the later books) and קִיָּהּ (only in Ex 30⁴, 36¹, Hb 1¹⁶; קִיָּהּ only in Jer 14¹⁶), the form קִי is also used; and for the feminine, besides קִיָּהּ (three times), קִיָּהּ is found fifteen times, and קִי only in 1 S 31⁷, Is 38¹⁶, Ez 42¹⁴.—According to the Masora, לִי is found fifteen times for לו (as conversely in 1 S 2¹⁶, 20² לו for לִי), e.g. Ex 21⁸, 1 S 2³, Is 9², ψ 100³ (and, as has been conjectured, also Jb 41⁴); cf. Delitzsch on ψ 100³.—In Nu 32⁴², Zc 5¹¹, Ru 2¹⁴, the Masora requires לִי instead of לו (in all three places before a following tone-syllable; cf. § 23 k, and the analogous cases of the loss of *Mappiq* in § 58 g, § 91 e).

h

(b) ק with Pronominal Suffixes.

Sing.	Plur.
1. בְּמוֹנִי ⁵ as I.	בְּמוֹנֵינוּ as we.
2. { m. בְּמוֹנִי ⁵ } as thou.	{ בְּכֶם, rarely בְּמוֹכֶם } as ye.
3. { m. בְּמוֹהִי as he.	{ בָּהֶם, [בְּהֶפֶה, בְּהֶמֶה] } as they.
{ f. בְּמוֹהִי as she.	{ [בְּהֵן], בְּהֵנָה }

⁵ The question whether בְּמוֹ can also stand for the sing. לו, which Rüdiger and recently W. Diehl (*Das Pronomen pers. suff. . . des Hebr.*, p. 20 f.) and P. Haupt (*SBOT.* on Pr 23²⁰, a contraction of *la-humû*) have altogether denied, must be answered in the affirmative unless we conclude with Diehl and Haupt that all the instances concerned are due to corruptions of the text. It is true that in such places as Gn 9^{26,27}, Dt 33², Is 30⁵, ψ 73¹⁰ (all in or immediately before the principal pause; in Dt 33² with *Zagoph qa'on* at least) בְּמוֹ can be better explained as plural (in reference to collective nouns); and in Is 53⁸ for בְּמוֹ לִיָּהּ we should read with the LXX לִיָּהּ. On the other hand, in Is 44¹⁵ its explanation as plural would be extremely forced. Even then there would remain—presuming the traditional text to be correct—בְּמוֹ ψ 11⁷ and בְּמוֹ Jb 27²³, as well as בְּמוֹ, three times, Jb 20²³, 27²³ (beside בְּמוֹ, and especially Jb 22². In all these places the most extreme exegetical artifices can only be avoided by simply admitting a singular suffix (= עָלָיו, בְּפָיו, בְּקָיו).—On the question of the antiquity of the suffixes in בְּמוֹ see § 91 l.

⁴ The form בְּמוֹ in Ru 1¹³ is Aramaic (= *therefore*).

⁵ The use of בְּ here for בְּ— (cf. above, d) might be due to euphonic reasons.—בְּמוֹ (defectively) only in the Pentateuch, בְּמוֹ Ex 15¹¹.

(c) *מן* with Pronominal Suffixes.

i

Sing.

Plur.

1. *מִמֶּנִּי*, poet. *מִנִּי* [4 times], in *pause* *מִמֶּנֶּנִּי* from us.
also *מִנִּי* [6 times] from me.
2. $\left. \begin{array}{l} m. \text{ מִמֶּךָ, in } pause \text{ מִמֶּיָּךְ} \\ f. \text{ מִמֶּךָ} \end{array} \right\} \text{ from thee.} \quad \left. \begin{array}{l} m. \text{ מִמֶּם} \\ f. \text{ מִמֶּן} \end{array} \right\} \text{ from you.}$
3. $\left. \begin{array}{l} m. \text{ מִמֶּנּוּ, Jb 4}^{12} \text{ in } pause \text{ מִמֶּהוּ, [מִמֶּהוּ} \\ \text{or מִמֶּהוּ: see below]} \text{ from him.} \\ f. \text{ מִמֶּנָּה from her.} \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} m. \text{ מִמֶּהָ, [מִמֶּהָ} \\ \text{Jb 11}^{20} \text{ מִמֶּהָ} \\ m. \text{ מִמֶּהֶן, [מִמֶּהֶן} \end{array} \left. \begin{array}{l} \text{[twice],} \\ \text{from} \\ \text{them.} \end{array} \right\}$

The syllable *מן* (in Arabic *mā* מָא = Heb. *מָה* what) in *מִמֶּנִּי* (probably from *לִּי* *מִמֶּנִּי*, prop. according to what I, for as I) is, in poetry, appended to the three simple prefixes *אֶ, בְּ, לְ*, even without suffixes, so that *בְּמִי, לְמִי, אֶמִּי* appear as independent words, equivalent in meaning to *בְּ, לְ, אֶ*. Poetry is here distinguished from prose by the use of longer forms; in the case of *מִן*, on the other hand, it prefers the shorter, which resemble the Syriac and Arabic.

The form *מִמֶּם*, enclosed in brackets above, occurs only in 2 K 17¹⁵ (in *pause*), *מִמֶּהָ* only in Jer 36³² (in *pause*); *מִמֶּן* (Baer following Qimḥi *מִמֶּן*) only in Ez 18¹⁴. Cf. Frensdorff, *Massora Magna*, p. 234 ff.—For *מִמֶּם* as *ye*, Qimḥi requires *מִמֶּם* (invariably or only in Jb 16⁴?); in Jos 1¹⁵, Ju 8², Ezr 4² Baer gives *מִמֶּם*.

With regard to *מן* with suffixes, *מִמֶּנִּי* from me is usually explained as arising, *מ* by a reduplication of *מן*, from an original *מִמֶּנִּי*, just as *מִמֶּנּוּ* from him, from *מִמֶּנּוּ*, identical in form with *מִמֶּנֶּנִּי*¹ from us, from *מִמֶּנּוּ*, while *מִמֶּנָּה* from her, goes back to *מִמֶּנָּה*. Far simpler, however, is Mayer Lambert's explanation (*REJ.* xxiii. 302 ff.), that *מִמֶּנִּי*, &c., have arisen from *מִמֶּנִּי*, &c., and that the forms of the suffixes are to be explained on the analogy of *אֶיָּנִי, עוֹדָנִי, תַּחֲתָנִי*, § 100 c.—The bracketed form *מִמֶּהוּ*, for which Baer, following Qimḥi and others, writes *מִמֶּהוּ*, occurs only in ψ 68²⁴, and is there regarded by Delitzsch, Hupfeld, and others (following Simonis) as a substantive (*מִן* = portion). The expression *מִן־הוּא* (for *מִמֶּנּוּ*?) Is 18²⁻⁷ is very strange.—*מִמֶּהָ* occurs only in Jer 10², Ec 12¹² (Jb 11²⁰ *מִמֶּהָ*); *מִמֶּן* (so Baer and Ginsburg, following the best authorities, instead of the ordinary reading *מִמֶּן*) only in Ez 16^{47,52}.

¹ The Babylonian Masora writes *מִמֶּנֶּנִּי* (to distinguish it from the 3rd sing.), which is justly blamed by Ibn Ezra.

n 3. Several prepositions, especially those which express relations of space and time, are (like the German *wegen*) properly plural nouns (for the reason, see § 124 *a*), and are, therefore, joined with the pronominal suffixes in the form of the plural *construct state*, just like other plural nouns (§ 91 *g*). On the other hand, the apparent connexion of אֶל, עַד, עַל with plural suffixes is explained from the ground-forms of those prepositions (from stems ל"ה אָלִי (אֶלִי), עָדִי, עָלִי (contracted to אֵלִי, אֶלִי, &c.).¹

o Without suffixes these prepositions are—

אַחֲרֵי, more frequently אַחֲרֵי (prop. *hinder parts*) *behind, after*.

אֶל, poet. [4 times in Job] also אֵלִי (*region, direction*), *towards, to, according to*.

בֵּין (*interval*) *between*; the suffixes indicating the singular are added to the singular בֵּין, thus בֵּינִי, בֵּינֶךָ, &c. (Gn 16⁵ בֵּינֶיךָ, the second *Yôdh* is, however, marked with a point as critically doubtful; בֵּינִי, which occurs three times, is only the Masoretic *Qere* for בֵּינוּ, which is found e.g. in Gn 30³⁶). On the other hand, the suffixes indicating a plural are attached to the plural forms בֵּינִי or בֵּינוֹת.

סָבִיב (*circuit*) *around*, as a preposition, always has the plural form, sometimes masc. סָבִיבֶיךָ, &c. [10 times], but much more frequently in the fem. סָבִיבוֹת (*surroundings*). In Ez 43¹⁷ סָבִיב אוֹתָהּ is a corruption of סָבִיבוֹתָהּ; [in 1 K 6⁵ אֵת סָבִיב אֵת is so contrary to usage, that it must be due to some textual error].

עַד (*continuation, duration*, from עָדָה) *as far as, unto*, poet. עָדִי [12 times]. In Jb 32¹² עָדִיכֶם, with the *ā* retained in the secondary tone, is abnormal. Also in 2 K 9¹⁸ for עָדִיחֶם read עָדִיחֶם.

עַל *upon, over* (cf. the rare subst. עֹל *height* [see Lexicon], from עָלָה *to ascend*), poet. עָלִי [40 times, and 2 *Qere*].

תַּחַת (*prop. what is beneath*). On תַּחְתָּי, &c.; cf. above, *d*.

¹ The reference of these forms to original plurals has been again expressly supported by De Lagarde, *Symmicta*, ii. 101 ff.; *Nachrichten der G. g.*, 1881, p. 376, cf. *Mittheilungen*, 1884, p. 63; also *GGA.* 1884, p. 280 f. According to Barth, *ZDMG.* xlii. p. 348 ff., and *Nominalbildung*, p. 375 ff., תַּחְתָּי, &c., was only formed on the analogy of עָלִיךָ, &c., and אַחֲרֵיךָ, &c., only on the analogy of לִפְנֵי, &c., since the real plural forms ought to be תַּחְתָּיךָ, תַּחְתָּיךָ, &c.; cf., however, König, *Lehrgebäude*, ii. 305 f.

² On the use of this particle see § 119 *g*.

With Suffixes.

	אֲחֵרַי	בֵּינִי	סְבִיבוֹתַי	תַּחְתַּי	אֵלַי	עָדַי	עָלַי p
1 Sing.	(after me)	(between me)	(around me)	(beneath me)	(to me)	(unto me)	(on me)
2 S. m.	אֲחֵרָךְ	בֵּינְךָ	סְבִיבוֹתֶיךָ & סְבִיבֶיךָ	תַּחְתֶּיךָ	אֵלֶיךָ	עָדֶיךָ	עָלֶיךָ
2 S. f.	אֲחֵרֶיךָ		סְבִיבוֹתֶיךָ & סְבִיבֶיךָ		אֵלֶיךָ		עָלֶיךָ
3 S. m.	אֲחֵרָיו	בֵּינוֹ	סְבִיבוֹתָיו & סְבִיבָיו	תַּחְתָּיו	אֵלָיו	עָדָיו	עָלָיו
3 S. f.	אֲחֵרֶיהָ		סְבִיבוֹתֶיהָ & סְבִיבֶיהָ	תַּחְתֶּיהָ	אֵלֶיהָ	עָדֶיהָ	עָלֶיהָ
1 Plur.	אֲחֵרֵינוּ	בֵּינֵינוּ	סְבִיבוֹתֵינוּ	תַּחְתֵּינוּ	אֵלָינוּ		עָלָינוּ
	& בֵּינוֹתֵינוּ ¹						
2 Pl. m.	אֲחֵרֵיכֶם	בֵּינֵיכֶם	סְבִיבוֹתֵיכֶם	תַּחְתֵּיכֶם	אֵלֵיכֶם	עָדֵיכֶם	עָלֵיכֶם
3 Pl. m.	אֲחֵרֵיהֶם	בֵּינֵיהֶם	סְבִיבוֹתֵיהֶם	תַּחְתֵּיהֶם	אֵלֵיהֶם	[עָדֵיהֶם]	עָלֵיהֶם
		& בֵּינוֹתֵיהֶם	& סְבִיבוֹתֵיהֶם	usually תַּחְתֵּיהֶם	& אֵלֵיהֶם		[עָלֵיהֶם ²]
					[אֵלֵיהֶם ²]		
3 Pl. f.	אֲחֵרֵיהֶן			תַּחְתֵּיהֶן	אֵלֵיהֶן		עָלֵיהֶן
					& אֵלֵיהֶן		

§ 104. *Conjunctions.*

1. The conjunctions serve to connect sentences, and to express their *a* relations one to another. They may be either—

(a) Original pronouns, e.g. the demonstrative כִּי *that, because, for*.

(b) Original substantives, which afterwards were reduced to the rank of pronouns, adverbs, or conjunctions; so perhaps אֲשֶׁר (see § 36), which is sometimes used to express the general idea of relation, sometimes as a relative pronoun (properly a demonstrative), but in many cases stands simply for כִּי; also אֵל (nothing), *that not*; כִּן *that not* (the Greek μή of *prohibition*), &c. To these may be added the adverbial combination of substantives with prepositions, e.g. בְּתוֹכָם

¹ As Mayer Lambert observes, usage (cf. esp. Gn 26²⁸) distinguishes between the two forms: בֵּינוֹתֵינוּ means *between us and you*, whereas בֵּינֵינוּ (Jos 22^{25, 27, 28} before וּבֵינֵינוּ) means *between us on the one side*.

² The poetical form אֵלֵיהֶם only in ψ 2⁵; עָלֵיהֶם, on which see note 3 on f, 12 times [viz. Dt 32²³, ψ 5¹², 55¹⁶, 64⁹, Jb 6¹⁶, 20²³, 21¹⁷, 22², 27²³, 29²², 30^{2, 5}].

(in the not yet) earlier, before, for which מִפְּנֵי is also used. On the combination of two particles to express complex ideas (e.g. אֲרִי-כִי added to this, that=*much more*), see the Syntax, § 163 f.

- b (c) Prepositions, which with the addition of the conjunction אֲשֶׁר or כִּי together form one single conjunction, e.g. לְעוֹ אֲשֶׁר because, prop. on account of the fact that; אַחֲרֵי אֲשֶׁר, and more frequently אַחֲרֵי אֲשֶׁר, after that; כַּאֲשֶׁר according as (with כִּי); עֲקֵב אֲשֶׁר and עֲקֵב כִּי in consequence of the fact that, for the reason that, because. Sometimes, however, the conjunction in such cases is omitted, but the preposition itself used as a conjunction, e.g. עַל- (for עַל-אֲשֶׁר) although, Jb 16¹⁷.

So, at any rate, according to our linguistic principles. It would, however, be more correct to say, that instead of the intermediary אֲשֶׁר the whole of the succeeding sentence is regarded as one substantival idea, under the immediate government of the preposition. In the same way, all prepositions governing the gerund in English may be paraphrased by conjunctions with the finite verb, see §§ 114 and 115, *passim*.

- c 2. Besides those already mentioned, there are certain other small words now used as conjunctions, of which the derivation or original meaning is altogether obscure, thus אוּ or, אִם if (also or before the second member of a double question), אֲלֹ also, וְ and, and others.

- d Rem. The pointing of the וְ (originally וַ, as still before *Hatafeph Pathah* and—with a following *Dageš forte*—in *wāw* consecutive of the imperfect; cf. § 49 f) is in many respects analogous to that of the prefixes בִּ, כִּ, לִ (§ 102 d-i), but as being a weak consonant, the *wāw* copulative has some further peculiarities:

(a) Usually it takes simple *Šewā* (וְ).

(b) Before words which begin with a guttural having a compound *Šewā*, it takes the vowel with which the *Šewā* is compounded (according to § 28 b), e.g. וְחָכָם and be thou wise, וְעֲבָדִים and servants, וְעֹז and strength, וְאָכַל and eat thou, וְחָלִי and sickness. On וְאַלְהֵי, וְאַלְהִים, &c., see § 102 d; on וְאֵדְרִי, &c., see § 102 m; on such cases as וְעָצָר Jb 4², cf. § 28 b.

- c (c) Before words with simple *Šewā* under the first consonant (except in the cases under f), the *Wāw* becomes the vowel *ū* (cf. § 26 a), e.g. וְכָל and to all, so also (except in the case under g) before the cognate labials ב, מ, פ, hence וְכָל. On the cases in which simple *Šewā* has become a *Hatafeph* after וְ copulative (e.g. וְחָכָם Gn 2¹²), cf. § 10 g.

- f (d) With a following וְ the וְ coalesces to form וַ according to § 24 b, as וַיְהִי and let him be. On the peculiar punctuation of the *wāw* copulative before forms with initial *Šewā* from הָיָה to be and חָיָה to live (e.g. וַיְהִי Jos 8⁴, וַחַיָּה Gn 20⁷), cf. § 63 g.

- g (e) Immediately before the tone-syllable it frequently takes *Qames*, like בִּ, כִּ, לִ (see § 102 f), but in most cases only at the end of a sentence or clause (but cf. also וְכָל 2 K 22³⁰), e.g. וְכָל Ex 21¹² (on the other hand, in verse 20

וְיָמָה is in closer logical connexion with what follows); 2 K 7⁴ וְיָמָה וְיָמָה; Ru 3³ וְיָמָה; ψ 10¹⁵ וְיָמָה; 1 S 9⁴ וְיָמָה; 2 S 13²⁶ וְיָמָה; Ez 47⁹ וְיָמָה; cf. also (with *Tiphha*) Gn 33¹⁸, 2 S 15¹². The very frequent connexion of nouns expressing kindred ideas, by means of וְ, is due simply to considerations of rhythm, for even in such cases the *Wāw* must immediately precede the tone-syllable, which must be marked by a disjunctive accent, e. g. וְיָמָה Gn 1², וְיָמָה Gn 8²² (see also the previous examples); Gn 13¹⁴ (thrice); Ex 25³ וְיָמָה; ψ 96⁷ וְיָמָה; Gn 7¹³ וְיָמָה; 1 K 21¹⁰ וְיָמָה; Est 1⁸ וְיָמָה at the end of the verse, but in ψ 87⁵ וְיָמָה in spite of the *D^ohi* with the second וְיָמָה, because it is closely connected with the following predicate. Also with three words וְיָמָה Is 24¹⁷. On the other hand, the rapid pronunciation וְ occurs before a conjunctive accent (and, when farther removed from the principal pause, even with the smaller disjunctives, in spite of a following tone-syllable), e. g. וְיָמָה Gn 32⁶; cf. Gn 31⁴⁰, Lv 7²⁸, Dt 2²¹, and among the examples given above, Gn 7¹³ and ψ 76⁷. (Exceptions: וְיָמָה Gn 13¹⁴, where evidently the וְ is intended to ensure the slow and solemn recitation of the promise, but also וְיָמָה Jos 15⁵⁵, וְיָמָה 19⁷, וְיָמָה 19²⁵, all immediately before the pause.) For the same rhythmical reason וְ (not וְ) is used regularly with certain monosyllables which, by their nature, lean more closely upon the following word, thus וְיָמָה, וְיָמָה, וְיָמָה (to be distinguished from וְיָמָה if not, with *Zageh gadol*, 2 K 5¹⁷), and others.

§ 105. Interjections.

1. Among the interjections some (as in all languages) are simply *a* natural sounds, or, as it were, vocal gestures, called forth involuntarily by certain impressions or sensations, e. g. אָהָה (Ez 30² אָהָה), אָהָה *aha!* (cf. this אָהָה also in אָהָה and אָהָה *utinam!*), אָהָה Ex 32³¹, &c. (Gn 50¹⁷ אָהָה *ah!* (from אָהָה and אָהָה), otherwise written אָהָה 2 K 20³, Jn 1¹⁴, ψ 116⁴; also הָם (in pause הָם, even in the plural הָם *hold your peace!* Neh 8¹¹) *hush!* הָהָ (Am 5¹⁶ הָהָ) *ha! woe!* אָהָה (ψ 120⁵), אָהָה (in אָהָה Ec 4¹⁰; אָהָה 10¹⁶) *woe!*

2. Others, however, originally expressed independent ideas, and *b* become interjections only by rapid pronunciation and by usage, e. g. הָהָ (הָהָ) or הָהָ *behold!* (prop. *here*); הָהָ *behold!* (prop. imperative); הָהָ, plur. הָהָ (prop. *give*, imperative of הָהָ; as to the tone, cf. § 69 o), *come*, the Latin *age, agite!* לָהָ (also לָהָ), לָהָ (prop. *go*, imperative of לָהָ) with the same meaning¹; לָהָ *far be it!* (prop. *ad profanum!*)

¹ רָהָה (Dt 1⁸), הָהָ and לָהָ are also used in connexion with the feminine and the plural, which proves that they have become quite stereotyped as interjections.

יָ (see the Lexicon) *I beseech, hear me!* נָּ *pray!*¹ used to emphasize a demand, warning, or entreaty, and always placed after the expression to which it belongs.²

¹ נָּ serves to express the most various shades of expression, which are discussed in the various parts of the syntax. It is used especially (a) after the *imperative*, either in commands or entreaty, see § 110 d; (b) with the *imperfect*, either in the cohortative (§ 108 b) or jussive (§ 109 b); (c) once with *perfect*, Gn 40¹⁴; (d) after various particles: נָּ הִנֵּה-נָּ *behold now*; particularly after the conjunctions וְ and אֲנִי: נָּ אֶל-נָּ *ne quaeso* and נָּ אֲנִי *if now, εἴπερ, εἴποτε, if*, in a deprecatory sense, expressive of politeness or modesty. In Nu 12¹³ נָּ stands after a noun; but we ought certainly to read נָּ אֶל.—In polite language this particle is used constantly in all these ways, Gn 18^{3,4}, 19^{7,8,19}, and 50¹⁷.

² Against the usual view which regards נָּ as a hortatory particle (= *up! come!* analogous to the original imperatives הִנֵּה and לֵבֵה and the Ethiopic *nd'ā*, properly *hither*, also *come!*), P. Haupt, in the *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, xiii, no. 114, p. 109, justly observes that we should then expect the particle to be *prefixed* to the imperative, &c. He proposes to describe נָּ as an emphatic particle. Haupt's suggested identification of this נָּ with the Assyrian, Arabic, and Ethiopic particle *mā* (which is also an enclitic of emphasis), and ultimately with the interrogative *mā*, we shall not discuss here.

THIRD PART

SYNTAX¹

CHAPTER I

THE PARTS OF SPEECH

I. Syntax of the Verb.

A. USE OF THE TENSES AND MOODS.²

§ 106. *Use of the Perfect.*

The perfect serves to express actions, events, or states, which the *a* speaker wishes to represent from the point of view of completion, whether they belong to a determinate past time, or extend into the present, or, while still future, are pictured as in their completed state.

The definition formerly given here ('the perfect serves to express *completed* actions') applies, strictly speaking, only to some of the varieties of the perfect discussed under *b-p*: hence the above modification based on the arguments of Knudtzon (for the title see note 2, and cf. further § 107 *a*).

More particularly the uses of the perfect may be distinguished as follows:—

1. To represent actions, events, or states, which, after a shorter *b*

¹ Recent works on Hebrew syntax are: A. B. Davidson, *Introductory Heb. Gram.*, vol. ii, *Heb. Syntax*, Edinburgh, 1894; Ed. König, *Hist.-compar. Syntax der hebr. Sprache*, Lpz. 1897 (see above, § 3 *f*). Important contributions to Hebrew syntax are also contained in H. Reckendorf's work *Die syntakt. Verhältnisse des Arab.*, 2 pts., Leiden, 1895, 1898, of which we have already made use in § 97 *a*. Cf. also the same author's very instructive discussions *Ueber syntakt. Forschung*, Munich, 1899.

² Cf. the sketch of the tenses and moods used in Hebrew in § 40; and on the general characteristics of the perfect and imperfect see the note on § 47 *a*; also Driver, *A Treatise on the Use of the Tenses in Hebrew* (Oxford, 1874; 3rd ed. 1892); Bennett, 'Notes on the Use of the Hebrew Tenses' (*Hebraica*, 1886, vols. ii, iii). A partial modification of the accepted definition of the Semitic perfect and imperfect was proposed by J. A. Knudtzon, *Om det saakaldte Perfektum og Imperfektum i Hebraisk*, Kristiania, 1890; of which a summary entitled 'Vom sogenannten Perf. und Imperf. im Hebr.' appeared in the *Transactions of the Oriental Congress at Stockholm*, section sémitique *b*, p. 73 ff. (Leiden, 1893). Cf. also Knudtzon's articles, 'Zur assyrischen und allgemein semitischen Grammatik' in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, especially vi. 422 ff. and vii. 33 ff.

or longer duration, were terminated in the past, and hence are finally concluded, viz.:

(a) Corresponding to the perfect proper in Latin and the English perfect definite, in assertions, negations, confirmations, interrogations, &c., e.g. Gn 18¹⁵ *then Sarah denied, saying, I laughed not* (לֹא צָחַקְתִּי); and he said, *Nay, but thou didst laugh* (צָחַקְתָּ); Gn 3¹¹ *who told thee . . . ?* Cf. 3^{13.14.17.22}. Also pointing to some undefined time in the past, e.g. Is 66⁸ *who hath (ever yet) heard such a thing?*

c Rem. In opposition to this express use of the perfect to emphasize the completion of an event, the imperfect is not infrequently used to emphasize that which is still future, e.g. Jos 1⁵ *as I was* (הָיִיתִי) *with Moses, so will I be* (אֶהְיֶה) *with thee*; Jos 1¹⁷, Ex 10¹⁴, Dt 32²¹, 1 K 2²⁸, Is 46^{4.11}, Jo 2², Ec 1⁹.

d (b) As a simple *tempus historicum* (corresponding to the Greek *aorist*) in narrating past events, e.g. Gn 4⁴ *and Abel, he also brought* (וַיָּבִיֵא), &c.; Gn 7¹⁹ *the waters did prevail* (וַיִּבְרֹךְ), &c.; Jb 1¹ *there was a man* (אִישׁ הָיָה) *in the land of Uz, &c.*; even in relating repeated actions, 1 S 18³⁰.

e Rem. As the above examples indicate, the perfect of *narration* occurs especially at the head of an entire narrative (Jb 1¹; cf. Dn 2¹) or an independent sentence (e.g. Gn 7^{11.13}), but in co-ordinate sentences, as a rule, only when the verb is separated from the copulative ו by one or more words (cf. above Gn 4⁴ and 7¹⁹). In other cases, the narrative is continued in the imperfect consecutive, according to § 111 a. The direct connexion of the narrative perfect with ו copulative (not to be confounded with the perfect consecutive proper, § 112) agrees rather with Aramaic syntax (cf. Kautzsch, *Gramm. des Biblisch-Aram.*, § 71, 1 b). On the examples (which are in many respects doubtful) in the earlier texts, see § 112 pp-uu.

f (c) To represent actions, &c., which were already completed in the past, at the time when other actions or conditions took place (pluperfect),¹ e.g. 1 S 28⁸ *now Samuel was (long since) dead*² . . . and Saul had put away (הִסִּיר) *those that had familiar spirits . . . out of the land.* Both these statements, being as it were in parentheses, merely assign a reason for the narrative beginning at verse 6. Cf. 1 S 9¹⁵, 25²¹, 2 S 18¹⁸.—Gn 20¹³ *(for the Lord had fast closed up, &c.)*; 27³⁰, 31^{19.34}, Dt 2¹⁰; and in a negative statement, Gn 2⁵ *for the Lord God had not (up to that time) caused it to rain, &c.* This is especially frequent, from the nature of the case, in relative, causal, and temporal clauses, when the main clause contains a tense referring to the past, e.g. Gn 2² *and he rested . . . from all his work which he had made* (עָשָׂה); Gn 7⁹,

¹ Cf. P. Haupt in the *Notes on Esther*, 9².

² Incorrectly, e.g. in the Vulgate, *Samuel autem mortuus est . . . et Saul abstulit magos, &c.*

19²⁷, &c.; 29¹⁰ *now when Jacob had seen Rachel* (בָּרָאָה רָחֵל) . . . , *Jacob went near*, &c.; so also in clauses which express the completion or incompleteness of one action, &c., on the occurrence of another, as in Gn 24¹⁵, 27³⁰, &c.; cf. § 164 b, with the note, and c.

2. To represent actions, events, or states, which, although completed *g* in the past, nevertheless extend their influence into the present (in English generally rendered by the present):

(a) Expressing facts which were accomplished long before, or conditions and attributes which were acquired long before, but of which the effects still remain in the present (present perfect), e.g. ψ 10¹¹ הִסְתִּיר פָּנָיו *he hath hidden his face (and still keeps it hidden)*; ψ 143⁶ פָּרַשְׁתִּי *I have spread forth my hands (and still keep them spread forth)*. This applies particularly to a large number of perfects (almost exclusively of intransitive¹ verbs, denoting affections or states of the mind) which in English can be rendered only by the present, or, in the case mentioned above under *f*, by the imperfect.² Thus, יָדַעְתִּי *I know* (prop. *I have perceived, have experienced*) Jb 9², 10¹³, לֹא יָדַעְתִּי *I know not* Gn 4⁹, &c.; on the other hand, e.g. in Gn 28¹⁶, Nu 22³⁴, the context requires *I knew not*; וְזָכְרָנוּ *we remember* Nu 11⁵; כָּאֵנָה *she refuseth* Jb 6⁷; עֲלָץ *it exulteth*; שִׂמְחָתִי *I rejoice* 1 S 2¹; בָּקֵשׁ *he requirerth* Is 1¹²; קָוִיתִי *I wait* Gn 49¹⁸, ψ 130⁵ (parallel with הוֹלֵלֹתִי); הִפְעֵתִי *I delight* ψ 40⁸ (mostly negative, Is 1¹¹, &c.); אָהַבְתִּי *I love* Gn 27¹; שָׂנְאָתִי *I hate* ψ 31⁷; מִאֲסָתִי *I despise* Am 5²¹; הִקְעִבוּנִי *they abhor me* Jb 30¹⁰; בִּטְחָתִי *I trust* ψ 25²; הִסֵּיתִי *I put my trust* ψ 31²; צִדְקָתִי *I am righteous* Jb 34⁵; פָּקַדְתִּי *I have decided to requite* 1 S 15².—We may further include a number of verbs which express bodily characteristics or states, such as גְּדֹלָתְךָ *thou art great* ψ 104¹; קְטַנְתִּי *I am little* Gn 32¹¹; גָּבְהוּ *they are high* Is 55⁹; רָחֲקוּ *they stand aloof* Jb 30¹⁰; טָבוּ *they are goodly* Nu 24⁵; נָאוּ *they are beautiful* Is 52⁷; זָקַנְתִּי *I am old* Gn 18¹³; וָעֵתִי *I am weary* ψ 6⁷; שָׂבַעְתִּי *I am full* Is 1¹¹, &c.

Rem. To the same category probably belong also the perfects after עָרַרְתִּי *h* Ex 10⁸ *how long hast thou already been refusing* (and refusest still . . . ? which really amounts to *how long wilt thou refuse?*), ψ 80⁵, Pr 1²² (co-ordinate with the imperf.), and after אָנָה *Ex* 16²⁸, Hb 1².

(b) In direct narration to express actions which, although really *i* only in process of accomplishment, are nevertheless meant to be repre-

¹ With regard to the great but very natural preponderance of intransitive verbs (expressing an existing state), cf. the lists in Knudtzon (see above, p. 309, note 2), pp. 117 and 122 in the Danish text.

² Cf. *novi, odi, memini; oida, μέμνημαι, οἶδα, δέδορκα, κέκραγα*; in the New Testament, *ἤλπικα, ἠγάπηκα*.

sented as already accomplished in the conception of the speaker, e.g. *הִרְבֹּתִי I lift up* (my hand in ratifying an oath) Gn 14²²; *נִשְׁבַּעְתִּי I swear* Jer 22⁵; *הִעֲדֵיתִי I testify* Dt 8¹⁹; *יִעֲצָתִי I counsel* 2 S 17¹¹ (but in a different context in ver. 15, *I have counselled*); *אָמַרְתִּי* (prop. *I say*) *I decide* (*I consider as hereby settled*) 2 S 19³⁰; *I declare* Jb 9²², 32¹⁰.

k (c) To express facts which have formerly taken place, and are still of constant recurrence, and hence are matters of common experience (the Greek *gnomic aorist*), e.g. *ψ 9¹¹ for thou, Lord, hast not forsaken* (*לֹא עָזַבְתָּ*) *them that seek thee*. Cf. ver. 13, also *ψ 10³, 119⁴⁰ and Gn 49¹¹* (*כָּפַס*).

l Rem. In almost all the cases discussed in No. 2 (included under the English present) the imperfect can be used instead of the perfect, wherever the action or state in question is regarded, not as already completed, but as still continuing or just taking place (see § 107 a). Thus, *לֹא יָכֹלְתִּי I am not able* *ψ 40¹³* and *לֹא אֵיכָל Gn 31³⁵* have practically the same meaning. Hence also it very frequently happens that the imperfect corresponds to such perfects in poetic or prophetic parallelism, e.g. *Is 5¹², ψ 21¹, Pr 1²², Jb 3¹⁷*.

m 3. To express *future* actions, when the speaker intends by an express assurance to represent them as finished, or as equivalent to accomplished facts:

(a) In contracts or other express stipulations (again corresponding to the English present, and therefore closely related to the instances noted under i), e.g. Gn 23¹¹ *the field I give* (*נָתַתִּי*) *thee*; cf. ver. 13 and 48²², 2 S 14²¹, 24²³, Jer 40⁴; in a threat, 1 S 2¹⁶, 2 S 5⁶ (unless, with Wellhausen, *יִסְיָ* is to be read).—Especially in promises made by God, Gn 1²⁹, 15¹⁸, 17²⁰, Ju 1².

n (b) To express facts which are undoubtedly imminent, and, therefore, in the imagination of the speaker, already accomplished (*perfectum confidentiae*), e.g. Nu 17²⁷ *בְּכֹלנוּ אֲבָדְנוּ בְּעֵינֵינוּ אֲבָדְנוּ behold, we perish, we are undone, we are all undone*. Gn 30¹³, Is 6⁶ *נִדְמִיתִי I am undone*¹), Pr 4². Even in interrogative sentences, Gn 18¹², Nu 17²⁸, 23¹⁰, Ju 9^{9,11}, Zc 4¹⁰ (?), Pr 22²⁰.² This use of the perfect occurs most frequently in prophetic language (*perfectum propheticum*). The prophet so trans-

¹ Cf. the similar use of *ελαλα* (*διέφθορας*, II. 15. 128) and *perii*! On the kindred use of the perfect in conditional sentences, cf. below, p.

² In Gn 40¹⁴ a *perf. confidentiae* (after *אֵין פִּי*; but cf. § 163 d) appears to be used in the expression of an earnest desire that something may happen (*but have me in thy remembrance*, &c.). Neither this passage, however, nor the use of the perfect in Arabic to express a wish or imprecation, justifies us in assuming the existence of a *precative* perfect in Hebrew. In Jb 21¹⁶, 22¹⁸, also, translate *the counsel of the wicked is far from me*. Cf. Driver, *Tenses*³, p. 25 f. In Is 43⁹ either *יִקְבְּצוּ* is imperative (see § 51 o) or we must read *יִקְבְּצוּ*, corresponding to *יִקְבְּצוּ* which follows.

ports himself in imagination into the future that he describes the future event as if it had been already seen or heard by him, e.g. Is 5¹³ *therefore my people are gone into captivity* (וְגָלוּ); 9^{1st}, 10²⁸, 11⁹ (after כִּי, as frequently elsewhere); 19⁷, Jb 5²⁰, 2 Ch 20³⁷. Not infrequently the imperfect interchanges with such perfects either in the parallel member or further on in the narrative.

(c) To express actions or facts, which are meant to be indicated as *O* existing in the future in a completed state (*futurum exactum*), e.g. Is 4⁴ וַיִּרְחַץ אִם *when he has washed away* = *when he shall have washed away* (an *imperfect* follows in the co-ordinate sentence; cf. the conditional sentences in § 107 x); Is 6¹¹ (after אִם אֶשָּׂא עַד, as in Gn 28¹⁵, Nu 32¹⁷; also 2 S 17¹³ after אֶשָּׂא עַד, Gn 24¹⁰ after אִם עַד and elsewhere frequently after temporal conjunctions); Mi 5² (וְיָלְדָה); Gn 43¹⁴ וַיֵּאמֶר שְׂבִלִי שְׂבִלִי בְּאֶשֶׁר שְׂבִלִי שְׂבִלִי and *I—if I am bereaved (orbis fuero), I am bereaved*, an expression of despairing resignation. Cf. Pr 23¹⁵, Est 4¹⁶.

4. To express actions and facts, whose accomplishment in the past *p* is to be represented, not as actual, but only as possible (generally corresponding to the Latin imperfect or pluperfect subjective), e.g. Gn 3¹² *except the God of my father . . . had been with me, surely now hadst thou sent me away empty* (שְׁלַחְתָּנִי); Gn 43¹⁰, Ex 9¹⁵ (שְׁלַחְתִּי *I had almost put forth, &c.*); Nu 22²⁸, Ju 13²⁸, 14¹⁸, 1 S 13¹³ (וְהָיָה); 2 K 13¹⁹; so frequently after קַמְעַם *easily, almost*, Gn 26¹⁰, Is 1⁹ (where קַמְעַם is probably to be connected with the word after it), ψ 73², 94¹⁷, 119⁸⁷, Pr 5¹⁴. Cf. also Jb 3¹⁸, 23¹⁰ (בְּחַיִּי), Ru 1¹² (*if I should think, &c.*; cf. 2 K 7⁴); in the apodosis of a conditional sentence, 1 S 25³⁴.—So also to express an unfulfilled desire, Nu 14² לִי מָחָד לִי *would that we had died . . . !* (לִי with the imperfect would mean *would that we might die!* 1 S 14³⁰). Finally, also in a question indicating astonishment, Gn 21⁷ מִי מֵיָלַל *who would have said . . . ? quis dixerit?* ψ 73¹¹.

§ 107. Use of the Imperfect.¹

The imperfect, as opposed to the perfect, represents actions, events, *a* or states which are regarded by the speaker at any moment as still continuing, or in process of accomplishment, or even as just taking place. In the last case, its occurrence may be represented as certainly imminent, or merely as conceived in the mind of the speaker, or simply as desired, and therefore only contingent (the modal use of the imperfect).

¹ Cf. the literature cited above, p. 309, note 2.

Knudtson (see above, Rem. on § 106 a), comparing the Ass.-Bab. usage, would prefer the term *present* rather than *imperfect*, on the ground that the tense expresses what is either actually or mentally present. In any case, the essential difference between the perfect and imperfect consists, he argues, in this, that the perfect simply indicates what is actually complete, while the imperfect places the action, &c., in a more direct relation to the judgement or feeling of the speaker.

More precisely the imperfect serves—

1. In the sphere of *past time*:

b (a) To express actions, &c., which *continued* throughout a longer or shorter period,¹ e.g. Gn 2⁶ *a mist went up* continually (וַעֲלָה), 2²⁵, 37⁷, 48¹⁰, Ex 1¹², 8²⁰, 13²², 15^{6.12.14.15}, Nu 9^{15 f. 20 f.}, 23⁷, Ju 2¹, 5⁸, 1 S 3², 13^{17 f.}, 2 S 2²⁸, 23¹⁰, 1 K 3⁴, 7⁸, 21⁶, Is 1²¹, 6⁴ (וַיִּלֶּא), 17^{10 f.}, 51^{2 a}, Jer 13⁷, 36¹³, ψ 18^{7.14.17 ff. 38 ff.}, 24², 32^{4.5} (וַאֲרִיעֶרָה), 47⁵, 68^{10.12}, 104^{6 ff.}, 106¹⁹, 107^{13.29}, 139¹³, Jb 3¹¹, 4^{12.15 f.}, 10^{10 f.}, 15^{7 f.}—very frequently alternating with a perfect (especially with a frequentative perfect; cf. Nu 9¹⁵⁻²³ and § 112 e), or when the narration is continued by means of an imperfect consecutive.²

C Rem. 1. The imperfect is frequently used in this way after the particles אֵין *then*, לֹא *not yet*, בְּתוֹךְ *before*, עַד *until*, e.g. Ex 15¹ וַיִּשְׁרֹמְשֶׁה אֵין *then sang* Moses, &c.; Nu 21¹⁷, Dt 4⁴¹, Jos 10¹², 1 K 3¹⁶, 8¹, ψ 126², Jb 38²¹. (The perfect is used after אֵין when stress is to be laid on the fact that the action has really taken place, and not upon its gradual accomplishment or duration in the past, e.g. Gn 4²⁶ אֵין הוֹחֵל *then began*, &c.; Gn 45⁴, Ex 15¹⁵, Jos 22³¹, Ju 5¹¹, ψ 89²⁰.)³ After לֹא e.g. Gn 19⁴ וַיִּשְׁכְּבוּ לֹא *before they lay down*; Gn 2⁵, 24⁴⁵, 1 S 3^{3.7}, always in the sense of our *pluperfect*. (In Gn 24¹⁵ instead of the perf. פָּלָה, the imperf. should be read, as in verse 45; so also in 1 S 3⁷ [וַיִּלֶּא] an imperf. is co-ordinated with יָדַע). After בְּתוֹךְ (sometimes also simply לֹא) Ex 12³⁴, Jos 3¹, e.g. Jer 1⁵ בְּתוֹךְ הָיָא *before thou camest forth*; Gn 27³³, 37¹³, 41⁵⁰, Ru 3¹⁴ (perhaps also in ψ 90² an imperf. was intended instead of וַיִּקְרָא; cf. Wellhausen on 2 S 3²; but note also Pr 8²⁵, in a similar context, *before the mountains were settled*, הָטַבְעוּ, the predicate being separated from בְּתוֹךְ by הָרִים, as in ψ 90²). After עַד Jos 10¹³, ψ 73¹⁷ (*until I went*), 2 Ch 29³⁴; on the other

¹ Cf. the Mēša' inscription, l. 5, וַאֲנִי בָמֶשׁ בְּאַרְצָה *for Chemosh was angry with his land*. As Driver, *Tenses*, 3rd ed., § 27, 1 a, remarks, this vivid realization of the accomplishment of the action is especially frequent in poetic and prophetic style.

² According to the Masora such imperfects occur in Is 10¹³ *bis* (where, however, וַאֲסִיר might also mean *I am wont to remove*, &c.), Is 48³, 57¹⁷, ψ 18^{38 b}, also (according to § 49 c) in 2 S 1¹⁰ and Ez 16¹⁰. In some other cases י is no doubt a dogmatic emendation for י (imperf. consec.) in order to represent historical statements as promises; cf. Is 42⁸, 43²⁸ [contrasted with 42²⁵], 51^{2 bis}, 63⁸ π and the note on § 53 p.

³ After אֵין *then* (to announce future events) the imperf. is naturally used in the sense of a future, Gn 24⁴¹, Ex 12⁴⁸, Mi 3⁴, Zp 3⁹, ψ 51²¹.

hand, with the perf., e.g. Jos 2²². As after אָן, so also after בָּטָרָם, בָּטָרָם, and עָר the imperf. may be used, according to the context, in the sense of our *future*, e.g. 2 K 2⁹, Is 65²⁴, Jb 10²¹; after עָר e.g. Is 22¹⁴. The imperf. is used in the sense of our *present* after בָּטָרָם in Ex 9³⁰, 10⁷.

2. Driver (*Tenses*³, p. 35 f.) rightly lays stress upon the inherent distinction *d* between the *participle* as expressing *mere* duration, and the *imperfect* as expressing *progressive* duration (in the present, past, or future). Thus the words נָהָר יְצֵא Gn 2¹⁰ represent the river of Paradise as going out of Eden in a continuous, uninterrupted stream, but יִפְרֹךְ, which immediately follows, describes how the parting of its waters is always taking place afresh. In the same way יַעֲלֶה Gn 2⁶ represents new mists as constantly arising, and יִמְלֵא Is 6⁴ new clouds of smoke. Also those actions, &c., which might be regarded in themselves as single or even momentary, are, as it were, broken up by the imperfect into their component parts, and so pictured as gradually completing themselves. Hence תִּבְלַעְמוּ Ex 15¹² (after a *perf.* as in verse 14) represents the Egyptians, in a vivid, poetic description, as being swallowed up one after another, and יִנָּחֵי Nu 23⁷ the leading on by stages, &c.

(b) To express actions, &c., which were *repeated* in the past, either *c* at fixed intervals or occasionally (the *modus rei repetitae*), e.g. Jb 1⁵ *thus did* (עָשָׂה) *Job continually* (after each occasion of his sons' festivities); 4^{3f.}, 22^{6f.}, 23¹¹, 29^{7,9,12f.}, Gn 6⁴, 29², 30⁷⁸, 42^{31,39} (*I used to bear the loss of it*), Ex 1¹², 19¹⁹, 33^{7f.} (חָזַר *used to take every time*), 40^{30f.}, Nu 9^{17f. 20f.}, 11^{5,9}, Ju 6⁴, 14¹⁰, 21²⁵, 1 S 1⁷, 2²², 9³, 13¹⁹, 18⁵, 27⁹, 2 S 1²², 12³, 13¹⁸, 1 K 5²⁵ (of tribute repeated year by year), 10⁵, 13²³, 14²⁸, 2 K 4⁸, 8²⁹, 13²⁰, 25¹⁴, Jer 36²³, ψ 42⁵, 44³, 78^{15,40}, 103⁷, Est 2¹⁴; even in a negative dependent clause, 1 K 18¹⁰.

2. In the sphere of *present time*, again

(a) To express actions, events, or states, which are *continued* for *f* a shorter or longer time,¹ e.g. Gn 37¹⁵ מַה-תִּבְקֹשׁ *what seekest thou?* 19¹⁹ לֹא-אֵיכָל *I cannot*; 24⁵⁰, 31³⁵, Is 1¹³. Other examples are Gn 2¹⁰, 24³¹, 1 S 1⁸, 11⁵, 1 K 3⁷, ψ 2², and in the prophetic formula יְהוָה יֹאמֵר *saieth the Lord*, Is 1^{11,18}, &c., cf. 40¹. So especially to express facts known by experience, which occur at all times, and consequently hold good at any moment, e.g. Pr 15²⁰ *a wise son maketh a glad father*; hence especially frequent in Job and Proverbs. In an interrogative sentence, e.g. Jb 4¹⁷ *is mortal man just before God?* In a negative sentence, Jb 4¹⁸, &c.

(b) To express actions, &c., which may be *repeated* at any time, *g* including therefore the present, or are *customarily* repeated on a given occasion (cf. above, e), e.g. Dt 1⁴⁴ *as bees do* (are accustomed to

¹ It is not always possible to carry out with certainty the distinction between *continued* and *repeated* actions. Some of the examples given under *f* might equally be referred to *g*.

do); Gn 6²¹, 32³³, 43³², Ju 11⁴⁰, 1 S 2⁸, 5⁵, 20², 2 S 15³², Is 1²³, 3¹⁶, ψ 1³. So again (see *f*) especially to express facts known by experience which may at any time come into effect again, e.g. Ex 23⁸ *a gift blindeth* (יָעִר), &c.; Gn 2²⁴, 22¹⁴, Is 32⁶, Am 3⁷, Mal 1⁶, Jb 2⁴, &c. Of the same kind also is the imperfect in such relative clauses (see § 155), as Gn 49²⁷ *Benjamin is* יִבְרָרְךָ *a wolf that ravineth* (properly, is accustomed to ravin). Finally, compare also the formulae יִבְרָרְךָ *it is* (wont to be) *said* (to introduce proverbial expressions) Gn 10⁹, 22¹⁴, &c.; לֹא יַעֲשֶׂה כֵן *it is not* (wont to be) *so done* (and hence *may not, shall not be*, see *u*), Gn 29²⁶, 20⁹, 34⁷, 2 S 13¹².

h (c) To express actions, &c., which although, strictly speaking, they are already finished, are regarded as still lasting on into the present time, or continuing to operate in it, e.g. Gn 32³⁰ *wherefore is it that thou dost ask* (אֲשַׁאֵל) *after my name?* 24³¹, 44⁷, Ex 5¹⁵, 2 S 16⁹. In such cases, naturally, the perfect is also admissible, and is sometimes found in the same formula as the imperfect, e.g. Jb 1⁷ (2²) מֵאֵן תָּבֵא *whence comest thou* (just now)? but Gn 16⁸ (cf. 42⁷) מֵאֵן תָּבֵא *whence comest thou?* The imperfect represents the coming as still in its last stage, whereas the perfect represents it as an accomplished fact.

i 3. In the sphere of *future time*. To express actions, &c., which are to be represented as about to take place, and as continuing a shorter or longer time in the future, or as being repeated; thus:

(a) From the standpoint of the speaker's present time, e.g. Ex 4¹ *they will not believe* (לֹא יִאֱמִינֻ) *me, nor hearken* (יִשְׁמָעוּ) *unto my voice: for they will say* (יֹאמְרוּ), &c., 6¹, 9⁵, &c.

h (b) In dependent clauses to represent actions, &c., which from some point of time in the past are to be represented as future, e.g. Gn 43⁷ *could we in any wise know that he would say* (יֹאמַר)? 2¹⁹, 43²⁶, Ex 2⁴, 2 K 3²⁷ אֲשֶׁר-יִמְלֹךְ *qui regnaturus erat*; 13¹⁴, Jon 4⁵, Jb 3³, Ec 2³, ψ 78⁶ *that the generation to come might know*, יִגְדְּרוּ *the children which should be born* (*qui nascituri essent*; the imperfect here with the collateral idea of the occurrence being repeated in the future).

l (c) To represent a *futurum exactum*; cf. Is 4⁴, 6¹¹ (co-ordinated with a perfect used in the same sense, see § 106 o); so also sometimes after the temporal particles עַד, ψ 132⁵, and אֲשֶׁר עַד *until*, Gn 29⁸, Nu 20¹⁷, &c.

m 4. Finally to the sphere of future time belong also those cases in which the (modal) imperfect serves to express actions, events, or states, the occurrence of which is to be represented as willed (or not

willed), or as in some way conditional, and consequently only contingent. More particularly such imperfects serve—

(a) As an expression of will, whether it be a definite intention and arrangement, or a simple desire, viz.:

(1) Sometimes in positive sentences in place of the cohortative (cf. e.g. ψ 59¹⁷ with verse 18; 2 S 22⁵⁰ with ψ 18⁵⁰; Ju 19¹¹, &c.), of the imperative (Is 18³), or of the jussive (which, however, in most cases, does not differ from the ordinary form of the imperfect), e.g. $\text{תֵּרָא} let it appear$ Gn 1⁹, 41²⁴, Lv 19^{2,3}, 2 S 10¹² (and so frequently in verbs הָלַךְ ; cf. § 109 a, note 2); Zc 9⁵ (תִּהְיֶה); ψ 61⁷ (תִּוְסִיף); Pr 22¹⁷ (תִּשִׁית); 23¹, Jb 6²³ (co-ordinated with the imperative), 10²⁰ *Keep*; so probably also $\text{יִדִּן} let him judge!$ ψ 72².—So also in the 1st pers., to express a wish which is asserted subsequently with reference to a fixed point of time in the past, e.g. Jb 10¹⁸ $\text{אֶנְיָע} I ought to$ [not *should* as A.V., R.V.] *have*, (then, immediately after being born) *given up the ghost*; cf. verse 19 אֶהְיֶה and $\text{אֶבְכֶּה} Lv 10¹³, Nu 35²³. Even to express an obligation or necessity according to the judgement of another person, e.g. Jb 9²⁹ $\text{אֶרְשָׁע} I am to be guilty$, 12⁴. Cp. Jb 9¹⁵, 19¹⁶; in a question, ψ 42¹⁰, 43².$

(2) To express the definite expectation that something will not happen. The imperfect with אַל represents a more emphatic form of prohibition than the jussive¹ with אַל (cf. § 109 c), and corresponds to our *thou shalt not do it!* with the strongest expectation of obedience, while אַל with the jussive is rather a simple warning, *do not that!* Thus אַל with the imperfect is especially used in enforcing the divine commands, e.g. $\text{לֹא תִגְנוֹב} thou shalt not steal$ Ex 20¹⁵; cf. verses 3, 4, 5, 7, 10 ff. So אַל with the 3rd pers. perhaps in Pr 16¹⁰.

Rem. The *jussive*, which is to be expected after אַל , does not, as a rule *p* (according to n, and § 109 a, note 2), differ in form from the simple imperfect. That many supposed jussives are intended as simple imperfects is possible from the occurrence after אַל of what are undoubtedly imperfect forms, not only from verbs לָלַךְ (cf. § 109 a, note 2), but also from verbs עָלַם , to express a prohibition or negative wish, $\text{אַל-תִּפְסֹד} Gn 19¹⁷, $\text{אַל-תִּשְׂחָד} Jos 1⁷$, $\text{אַל-תִּשָּׂא נַפְשְׁךָ} 1 S 25²⁵. Even with the 1st pers. plur. (after an imperative) $\text{וְאַל-תָּמָת} that we die not$, 1 S 12¹⁹. Also to express the conviction that something cannot happen, $\text{אַל-יִנָּמ} he will not slumber$,² ψ 121³; cf. Jer 46⁶, 2 Ch 14¹⁰.$$

¹ As stated in § 46 a, a prohibition cannot be expressed by אַל and the imperative.

² To regard this as an optative (so Hupfeld) is from the context impossible. It is more probably a strong pregnant construction, or fusion of two sentences (such as, *do not think he will slumber!*). Verse 4 contains the objective confirmation, by means of לֹא with the imperf., of that which was previously only a subjective conviction.

q (3) In dependent clauses after final conjunctions (§ 165 b), as *אֲשֶׁר*, Gn 11¹⁷ *לֹא יִשְׁמְעוּ אֲשֶׁר* *that they may not understand*; Gn 21³⁰, 27^{4,19}, Ex 9¹⁴, &c.; *אֲשֶׁר* *לִמְעַן* Nu 17⁵; *לִמְעַן* Dt 4¹, ψ 51⁶, 78⁶, and *עַל אֲשֶׁר* Ez 12¹², *in order that*²; *כִּי לִבְלִתִּי* *that . . . not*, Ex 20²⁰, 2 S 14¹⁴; also after *כִּי* *that not, lest*, Gn 3²², 11⁴, 19¹⁵, &c.³; cf. also the instances introduced by *לֹא* in § 109 g.—In Lv 9⁶ such an imperfect (or jussive? see the examples in § 109 f) is added to the expression of the command by an asyndeton, and in La 1¹⁹ to the principal clause simply by *!*: *while they sought them food אָחַז-נַפְשָׁם וַיִּשְׁיְבוּ* *to refresh their souls* (cf. also La 3²⁶, *it is good and let him hope*, i. e. *that he should hope*); so after an interrogative clause, Ex 27. Finally also in a relative clause, ψ 32⁸ *בְּדֶרֶךְ-יְיָ* *in the way which thou shouldst go*.

r (b) To express actions, &c., which are to be represented as possibly taking place or not taking place (sometimes corresponding to the *potential* of the classical languages, as also to our periphrases with *can, may, should*⁴). More particularly such imperfects are used—

s (1) In a permissive sense, e. g. Gn 2¹⁶ *of every tree of the garden (אֶכֶל הָאֵיל) thou mayest freely eat* (the opposite in verse 17); 3², 42³⁷, Lv 21^{3,22}, Jb 21³. In the 1st pers. ψ 5⁵, 22¹⁸ (*I may, or can, tell*); in a negative sentence, e. g. ψ 5⁵.

t (2) In interrogative sentences, e. g. Pr 20⁹ *קִי־יֹאמַר quis dixerit?* Cf. Gn 17¹⁷, 18¹⁴, 31⁴³, 1 S 11¹², 2 K 5¹² *הֲלֹא־אֶרְחֹץ בָּהֶם may I not wash in them?* Is 33¹⁴, ψ 15¹, 24³, Ec 5⁵. So especially in a question expressing surprise after *אֵיךְ*, e. g. Gn 39⁹ *how then can I . . . ?* 44³⁴, Is 19¹¹, ψ 137⁴, and even with regard to some point of time in the past, looking forward from which an event might have been expected to take place, e. g. Gn 43⁷ *הֲיָדָע גִּרְעַי could we in any wise know . . . ?* Cf. 2 S 3³³ (*יָמוּת was Abner to die as a fool, i. e. was he destined to die . . . ?*), and so probably also Gn 34³¹ (*should he deal . . . ?*). Very closely connected with this is the use of the imperfect—

u (3) In a consecutive clause depending on an interrogative clause, e. g. Ex 3¹¹, *who am I (כִּי אֲנִי) that I should (ought, could) go?* 16⁷, Nu 11¹², Ju 9²³, 1 S 18¹⁸, 2 K 8¹⁸, Is 29¹⁶, Jb 6¹¹, 21¹⁵, similarly after *אֲשֶׁר* Gn 38¹⁸, Ex 5².

¹ But *אֲשֶׁר* in a causal sense (*because, since*), e. g. Ju 20²⁰ (as *אֲשֶׁר* Gn 34²⁷) is followed by the perfect. On Jos 4²⁴ see above, § 74 g.

² R. V. *because he shall not see.*

³ In 2 K 2¹⁶ *כִּי* occurs with the perf. in a vivid presentment of the time when the fear is realized and the remedy comes too late. (In 2 S 2c⁶, since a perfect consec. follows, read with Driver *יָמָא*.)

⁴ By this, of course, is not meant that these finer distinctions were consciously present to the Hebrew mind. They are rather mere expedients for making intelligible to ourselves the full significance of the Semitic imperfect.

Rem. In passages like 1 S 11⁵, ψ 8⁵, 114⁵, the context shows that the *u* imperfect corresponds rather to our present. In such sentences the perfect also is naturally used in referring to completed actions, e.g. Gn 20¹⁰, Ju 18²³, 2 S 7¹⁸, Is 22¹.

(4) In *negative sentences* to express actions, &c., which cannot or *w* should not happen, e.g. Gn 32¹³ לֹא יִסְפָּר מִרְבּוֹ אֲשֶׁר לֹא יִגַּע which cannot be numbered for multitude; 20⁹ אֲשֶׁר לֹא יַעֲשֶׂה that ought not to be done (cf. above, g); ψ 5⁵.

(5) In *conditional clauses* (the *modus conditionalis* corresponding *x* to the Latin present or imperfect conjunctive) both in the protasis and apodosis, or only in the latter, ψ 23⁴ רַע לֹא-אֵינִי רָע . . . יִמְאָלֶנִי yea, though I walk (or had to walk) . . . I fear (or I would fear) no evil; Jb 9²⁰ though I be righteous, mine own mouth shall condemn me. After a perfect in the protasis, e.g. Jb 23¹⁰. Very frequently also in an apodosis, the protasis to which must be supplied from the context, e.g. Jb 5⁸ but as for me, I would seek unto God (were I in thy place); 3^{13,16}, 14¹⁴, ψ 55¹³, Ru 1¹². However, some of the imperfects in these examples are probably intended as jussive forms. Cf. § 109 h.

§ 108. *Use of the Cohortative.*

The cohortative, i.e. according to § 48 c, the 1st pers.¹ sing. or *a* plur. of the imperfect lengthened by the ending הָ־², represents in general an endeavour directed expressly towards a definite object. While the corresponding forms of the indicative rather express the mere announcement that an action will be undertaken, the cohortative lays stress on the determination underlying the action, and the personal interest in it.

Its uses may be divided into—

1. The cohortative standing alone, or co-ordinated with another *b* cohortative, and frequently strengthened by the addition of the particle אֲנִי:

(a) To express self-encouragement, e.g. Ex 3³ אֲסֻרָה-נָא וְגֵ' I will turn aside now, and see . . .! So especially as the result of inward deliberation (in soliloquies), e.g. Gn 18²¹, 32²¹ (rarely so used after לֹא, Gn 21¹⁶ let me not look . . .! Jer 18¹⁸), and also as a more or less emphatic statement of a fixed determination, e.g. Is 5¹ I will sing³ . . .! 5⁶, 31⁸. Cf. also Gn 46³⁰ now let me die (I am willing to die),

¹ For the few examples of cohortatives in the 3rd sing., see § 48 d.

² But verbs הָ־לֵךְ, according to § 75 l, even in the cohortative, almost always have the ending הָ־; cf. e.g. in Dt 32²⁰ אֲרָאָה after אֲמַתִּירָה.

[³ R. V. let me sing.]

since *I have seen thy face*; and ψ 31⁸. In the 1st pers. plur. the cohortative includes a summons to others to help in doing something, e. g. ψ 2³ בְּנִתְקֶה *come! let us break asunder!* &c., and Gn 11⁸.

c (b) To express a wish, or a request for permission, that one should be allowed to do something, e. g. Dt 2²⁷ אֶעְבְּרָה *may I be allowed to pass through (let me pass through)!* Nu 20¹⁷ נֵעְבְּרָהּנָא *may we be allowed to pass through!* Jer 40¹⁵ *let me go, I pray thee!* &c.; 2 S 16⁹; so after לֵל 2 S 18¹⁴; after אֶל 2 S 24¹⁴, Jer 17¹⁸, ψ 25² אֶל־אֲבוֹשָׁה *let me not be ashamed*; cf. ψ 31^{2,13}, 71¹); 69¹⁵. After אֶל־נָא Jon 1¹⁴.

d 2. The cohortative in dependence on other moods, as well as in conditional sentences: (a) In dependence (with *wāw* copulative; ψ 9¹⁵ after לְפָעַן) on an imperative or jussive to express an intention or intended consequence, e. g. Gn 27⁴ *bring it to me, וְאֵכְלָה that I may eat, prop. then will I eat*; Gn 19⁵, 23⁴, 24⁵⁶, 27²⁵, 29²¹, 30^{25f}, 42³⁴, 49¹, Dt 32¹, Ho 6¹, ψ 2⁸, 39¹⁴, Jb 10²⁰ *Qerê*; Is 5¹⁹ *and let the counsel of the Holy One of Israel draw nigh and come, וְנִדְרָעָה that we may know (it)!* Gn 26²³, 1 S 27⁵. Also after negative sentences, Gn 18^{30,32}, Ju 6³⁹, and after interrogative sentences, 1 K 22⁷, Is 40²⁵, 41²⁶, Am 8⁵.

e (b) In conditional sentences (with or without אִם) to express a contingent intention, e. g. Jb 16⁶ אִם־אֶדְבָּרָה *should I determine to speak, my grief is not assuaged, וְאֶחְדָּלָה and should I forbear, what am I eased?* without אִם Jb 19¹⁸, 30²⁶ (where, however, וְאֶחְדָּלָה is probably intended); ψ 73¹⁶ (unless 'וְאֶחְדָּלָה should be read), 139^{8f}. After the 3rd person, Jb 11¹⁷ *though it be dark, &c.* So perhaps also 2 S 22³³ אֶדְרֹכָה *if I determined to pursue, then . . .*, but cf. ψ 18³⁸.

f (c) Likewise in the apodosis of conditional sentences, e. g. Jb 31^{7f} *if my step hath turned out of the way . . . , וְאֶזְרָעָה then let me sow*; cf. 16^{1f}. *I also could speak as ye do, if . . . !* So even when the condition must be supplied from the context, e. g. ψ 40⁶ *else would I declare and speak of them*; 51¹⁸ *else would I (gladly) give it, i. e. if thou didst require it* (cf. the precisely similar וְאֶשָּׂא ψ 55¹³); Jb 6¹⁰. In the 1st plur. Jer 20¹⁰. To the same category belong the cohortatives after the formula expressing a wish כִּי־יִתֶּנִּי , כִּי־יִתְּנֵנִי , e. g. Jer 9¹ *oh, that I had . . . , וְאֶעֱזָבָה then (i. e. if I had) should I (or would I) leave my people, &c.*; Ju 9²⁹; without *Wāw* Is 27⁴, ψ 55⁷, Jb 23⁴ (cf. also verse 7).

g Rem. 1. The question, whether a resolution formed under compulsion (a necessity) is also expressed by the cohortative (so, according to the prevailing opinion, in Is 38¹⁰ אֶעֱזָבָה; Jer 3²⁵, 4^{19,21}, 6¹⁰, ψ 55^{3,18} (?); 57⁵, where, however, with Hupfeld, אֶעֱזָבָה should be read; 77⁷, 88¹⁶, and in the 1st plur. Is 59¹⁰), is to be answered in the sense that in these examples the cohortative form is used after its meaning has become entirely lost, merely for the sake of its fuller sound, instead of the ordinary imperfect. This view is strongly

supported by the rather numerous examples of cohortative forms after *wāw* consec. of the imperfect (cf. § 49 e, as also ψ 66⁶ $\text{וַיִּשְׂמְחוּ שָׁם}$ *there did we rejoice*¹; ψ 119¹⁶³ וַיִּתְעַבְּבָה ; Pr 7⁷), which can likewise only be explained as forms chosen merely for euphony, and therefore due to considerations of rhythm.

2. The cohortative is strange after $\text{עַד־} \psi$ 73¹⁷ *until I went . . . אֲבִינָה I con-* h
sidered their latter end; possibly a pregnant construction for 'until I made up my mind, saying, I will consider', &c. (but אֲבִינָה Pr 7⁷ is still dependent on the preceding וְעַד־אֲבִינָה Pr 12¹⁹ is at any rate to be explained in the same way (in Jer 49¹⁹, 50⁴⁴ we have $\text{כִּי־אֶ$ with a similar meaning), as long as I (intentionally) *wink with the eyelashes* (shall wink). On the other hand, in Ex 32⁸⁰ אֶכְפֹּר is to be read, with the Samaritan, instead of אֶכְפֹּרָה after אֵילֵי .

§ 109. Use of the Jussive.

As the *cohortative* is used in the 1st pers., so the *jussive* is especially *a* found in the 2nd and 3rd pers. sing. and plur. to express a more or less definite desire that something should or should not happen (cf. for its form, which frequently coincides with that of the ordinary *imperfect*,² § 48 f, g). More particularly its uses may be distinguished as follows:

1. The *jussive* standing alone, or co-ordinated with another jussive:

(a) In affirmative sentences to express a command, a wish (or a *b* blessing), advice, or a request; in the last case (the optative or precative) it is frequently strengthened by the addition of נָא . Examples: Gn 1³ יְהִי אוֹר *let there be light*! Gn 1^{6.9.11}, &c. (the creative commands); Nu 6²⁶ *the Lord lift up his countenance upon thee, and give thee peace*! cf. verse 25. After particles expressing a wish, Gn 30³⁴ לֹא יִהְיֶה *I would it might be*; ψ 81⁹ אִם־תִּשְׁמַע־לִי *if thou wouldst hearken unto me*! As a humble request, Gn 44³³ . . . וְהָעֶרֶךְ יָעַל . . . $\text{יִשְׁבַּרְנָא עֲבָדְךָ}$ *let thy servant, I pray thee, abide, &c., and let the lad go up, &c.*, Gn 47⁴.

(b) In negative sentences to express prohibition or dissuasion, *c* warning, a negative wish (or imprecation), and a request. The prohibitive particle used before the jussive (according to § 107 o) is almost always אַל (in negative desires and requests frequently

¹ Analogous to this cohortative (as equivalent to the imperfect) after שָׁם is the use of the historic imperf. after נָא , § 107 c.

² With regard to verbs לָחַד , it is true that the full form of the imperfect is frequently used with the meaning of the jussive (as also for the cohortative, see § 108 a, note 2), e.g. אֶל־יִרְאָה Jb 3⁹ (but previously יִבֹּן *let it look for*!): especially *in* (Neh 2³) and immediately *before* the principal pause, Gn 1⁹ תִּרְאָה ; Ju 6³⁹ יִהְיֶה , but previously יִהְיֶה־נָא ; Is 47³ תִּרְאָה , previously תִּגָּל ; ψ 109⁷. On the attempt to distinguish such jussives from the imperfect by means of a special meaning הִנֵּה , see § 75 *hh*.

אֵלֶּנָּה); e.g. Ex 34³ אִישׁ אֶל־יִרְאֵה neither let any man be seen! Pr 3⁷ be not (אֶל־תִּהְיֶה) wise in thine own eyes! Jb 15³¹ אֶל־יֶאֱמֵן ne confidat. In the form of a request (prayer), Dt 9²⁶ אֶל־תִּשְׁחַת destroy not! 1 K 2²⁰, ψ 27⁹, 69¹⁸.

d Rem. 1. The few examples of אֶל with the jussive could at most have arisen from the attempt to moderate subsequently by means of the jussive (voluntative) form what was at first intended to be a strict command (אֶל with imperf. indic.); probably, however, they are either cases in which the defective writing has been misunderstood (as in 1 K 2⁶, Ez 48¹⁴), or (as in Gn 24⁸) instances of the purely rhythmical jussive form treated below, under k. Moreover, cf. יִסְכֶּה לֹא Jo 2² and from the same verb Gn 4¹² (unless it is to be referred to ה) and Dt 13¹. The same form, however, appears also to stand three times for the cohortative (see below), and in Nu 22¹⁹ for the ordinary imperfect (but see below, i). Thus it is doubtful whether an imaginary by-form of the ordinary imperf. is not intended by the Masora in all these cases, and whether consequently יִסְכֶּה, &c., should not be restored.—On לֹא־תַחֲרוֹם עֵינֶיךָ, &c., Dt 7¹⁶, 13⁹, &c., Ez 5¹¹, &c., cf. § 72 r, according to which תַּחֲרוֹם should probably be read in every case.—The jussive appears in the place of the cohortative after אֶל 1 S 14³⁰ (וְלֹא־יִשְׁאַר) co-ordinated with two cohortatives), 2 S 17¹²; cf. Is 41²³ Kth. (וְנִרְאָה, i.e. וְנִרְאָה, after another cohortative); also (see above) אֶסְכֶּה לֹא Dt 18¹⁶, Ho 9¹⁵, and even without אֶל Ez 5¹⁸.

e 2. אֶל with the jussive (or imperf., cf. § 107 p) is used sometimes to express the conviction that something cannot or should not happen; cf. Is 2⁹ (where, however, the text is very doubtful) וְאֶל־תִּשְׁכַּח לָהֶם and thou canst not possibly forgive them [R.V. therefore forgive them not]; ψ 34⁶, 41⁸, 50³, 121³ (אֶל־יִיָּחַד); Pr 3²⁵, Jb 5²² אֶל־תִּירָא neither needest thou be afraid; 20¹⁷, 40³².

f 2. The jussive depending on other moods, or in conditional sentences:

(a) Depending¹ (with Wāw) on an imperative or cohortative to express an intention or an assurance of a contingent occurrence, e.g. Gn 24⁵¹ take her and go, and let her be (וְתִהְיֶה prop. and she will be) . . . ; 30³, 31³⁷, 38²⁴, Ex 8⁴, 9¹³, 10¹⁷, 14², Jos 4¹⁶, Ju 6³⁰, 1 S 5¹¹, 7³, 1 K 21¹⁰, ψ 144⁵, Pr 20²², Jb 14⁶. Also after interrogative sentences, which include a demand, Est 7² (say) what is thy desire . . . , וְתֵשֶׁשׁ and it shall (i.e. in order that it may) be granted! 1 K 22²⁰, Is 19¹², Jb 38^{34f}. Depending on a cohortative, e.g. Gn 19²⁰ אֶפְלֹטָה נָא שָׁמָּה oh, let me escape thither . . . וְיִתְּחִי נַפְשִׁי that my soul may live; even after a simple imperf. (cf. below, g), 1 K 13³³ whosoever would, he consecrated him . . . וְיִהְיֶה that he might be a priest (read פֹּהֵן) of the high places, but probably the LXX reading וְיִהְיֶה is to be preferred.

¹ This does not include the cases in which the jussive is not logically dependent on a preceding imperat., but is merely co-ordinated, e.g. Gn 20⁷, ψ 27¹⁴, &c.

Rem. In 2 Ch 35²¹ a negative final clause with וְאֵלֹהִים is dependent on an *imperative*, *forbear from* (meddling with) *God . . . that he destroy thee not*. As a rule, however, negative final clauses are attached to the principal sentence by means of וְלֹא and a following imperfect; so after an imperative, Gn 42², 1 K 14², 18⁴⁴; after a jussive, Ex 30²⁰, Neh 6²; after a perfect consec., Ex 28^{35,48}, 30¹², Nu 18⁵; after לֹא with an imperfect, Lv 10⁶, Nu 18³, Dt 17¹⁷ *neither shall he multiply wives unto himself* ($\text{וְלֹא יִכְבֵּר לְבָבּוֹ}$) *that his heart turn not away*; 1 S 20¹⁴, 2 S 21¹⁷, Jer 11²¹; after אַל with jussive, Lv 10⁹, 11⁴⁸, 16², 2 S 13²⁵, Jer 25⁶, 37²⁰, 38^{24 f.}; after the asseverative אִם with the impft., Gn 14²³; even after a simple imperfect, Jer 10⁴ *with nails . . . they fasten it* (וְלֹא יָפִיק) *that it move not*; after a participle, Jb 9⁷.

(b) Frequently in conditional sentences (as in Arabic), either in the *protasis* or in the *apodosis*, cf. ψ 45¹² יִתְאוּ *should he desire . . . then . . .*; 104²⁰ וְיָהִי . . . שָׁחַךְ *if thou makest darkness, then it is night*; so also in the protasis, Ex 22⁴, Lv 15²⁴, Is 41²⁸, Ez 14⁷ (וְעָל), Jb 34²⁹; in the apodosis, Ex 7⁹ *then will it* (not, *then shall it*) *become a serpent*; Pr 9⁹ after an imperat. in the protasis; Jb 10¹⁶, 13⁵, 22²⁸. In a negative apodosis, Gn 4¹² (לֹא-תִיָּהָר), but see above, d). In 2 K 6²⁷ אֶל-יִשְׁעָךְ (*if the Lord do not help thee, &c.*) is to be explained as a jussive in a negative protasis.

Rem. Undoubtedly this use of the jussive (in conditional sentences) is based on its original *voluntative* meaning; let something be so and so, then this or that must happen as a consequence. Certain other examples of the *jussive*, however, show that in the consciousness of the language the *voluntative* has in such cases become weakened almost to a *potential* mood, and hence the *jussive* serves to express facts which may happen *contingently*, or may be expected, e.g. Nu 22¹⁹ מִדֹּבָרְךָ , but cf. above, d); Jb 9³⁸ *there is no daysman betwixt us, that might lay* (יִשֹּׁן), hence plainly a *subjunctive* = *qui ponat*; also in Nu 23¹⁹ וְיִכְבֹּד *that he should lie* is probably intended as a jussive); Ec 5¹⁴; so after interrogative sentences, Jer 9¹¹ *who is the wise man*, וְיָבֵן *qui intelligat hoc?*; Ho 14¹⁰.

Moreover, in not a few cases, the jussive is used, without any collateral *k* sense, for the ordinary imperfect form, and this occurs not alone in forms, which may arise from a misunderstanding of the defective writing, as Dt 28^{21,36}, 32⁸, 1 K 8⁴, Is 12¹, Mi 3⁴, 5⁸, ψ 11⁶, 18¹², 21² מִדֹּבָרְךָ (וְיָבֵן), 25⁹, 47⁴, 90³, 91⁴, 107²⁹, Pr 15²⁵, Jb 13²⁷, 15³³, 18⁹, 20^{23 b}, 27²², 33¹¹, 36¹⁴, 38²⁴, Ec 12⁶ (verse 7 יִשָּׁב), but immediately afterwards (וְתִשָּׁב), Dn 8¹²—but also in shortened forms, such as יָהִי Gn 49¹⁷ (Sam. יִהְיֶה), Dt 28⁸, 1 S 10⁵, 2 S 5²⁴, Ho 6¹, 11⁴, Am 5¹⁴, Mi 1², Zp 2¹⁵, Ze 6⁵, ψ 72^{16 f.} (after other jussives), 104²¹, Jb 18¹², 20^{23,26,28}, 27⁸, 33²¹, 34²⁷, Ru 3⁴. This use of the jussive can hardly be due merely to poetic licence, but is rather to be explained on rhythmical grounds. In all the above-cited examples, in fact, the jussive stands at the beginning of the sentence (and hence removed as far as possible from the principal tone), in others it is immediately before the principal pause (Is 42⁶, 50², ψ 68¹⁵, Pr 23²⁵, Jb 24¹⁴, 29³, 40¹⁹), or actually in pause (Dt 32¹⁸, Jb 23^{9,11}, La 3⁵⁰), and is then a simply rhythmical shortening due to the strong influence of the tone. Moreover, since the jussive in numerous cases is not distinguished in form from the imperfect (§ 48 g), it is frequently doubtful which of the two the writer intended. This especially applies to those cases, in which a *subjunctive* is to be expressed by one or other of the forms (cf. § 107 k and m-x).

§ 110. The Imperative.

Mayer Lambert, 'Sur la syntaxe de l'impératif en hébreu,' in
REJ. 1897, p. 106 ff.

- a* 1. The imperative,¹ which, according to § 46, is restricted to the 2nd pers. sing. and plur., and to *positive* commands, &c., may stand either alone, or in simple co-ordination (as in 1 K 18⁴⁴, Is 56¹, 65¹⁸) with other imperatives:

(*a*) To express real commands, e.g. Gn 12¹ *get thee out of thy country*; or (like the jussive) mere admonitions (Ho 10¹²) and requests, 2 K 5²², Is 5³; on the addition of נָּ see below, Rem. 1. The imperative is used in the sense of an ironical challenge (often including a threat) in 1 K 2²³ *ask for him the kingdom also*; 22¹⁵, Ju 10¹⁴, Is 47¹² (with נָּ), Jer 7²¹, Ez 20³⁹, Am 4⁴, Jb 38³⁴, 40¹⁰, La 4²¹. The imperative has a concessive sense in Na 3¹⁵ (though thou *make thyself many*, &c.), and in the cases discussed under *f*, e.g. Is 8⁹, 29⁹.

- b* (*b*) To express permission, e.g. 2 S 18²³ after previous dissuasion, (then) *run* (as far as I am concerned)! Is 21¹², 45¹¹.

- c* (*c*) To express a distinct assurance (like our expression, *thou shalt have it*)² or promise, e.g. Is 65¹⁸ *but be ye glad*, &c. (i.e. ye will have continually occasion to be glad); and Is 37³⁰, ψ 110²; in a threat, Jer 2¹⁹. So especially in commands, the fulfilment of which is altogether out of the power of the person addressed, e.g. Is 54¹⁴ *be far from anxiety* (meaning, thou needst not fear any more); Gn 1²⁸, &c. (for other examples, such as 1 K 22¹², 2 K 5¹³, see below, *f*). Most clearly in the case of the *imperative Niphal* with a passive meaning, e.g. Gn 42¹⁶ וְאַתָּם הָאֲסָרִי וְאֶתְּכֶם וְיִשְׁבְּרוּ and ye shall be bound; Dt 32⁵⁰, Is 49⁹ (Is 45²², see below, *f*).

- d* Rem. 1. The particle אָּ age! (§ 105) is frequently added to the imperative, as to the jussive, sometimes to soften down a command, or to make a request in a more courteous form (see above, *a*), Gn 12¹³, 24², sometimes to strengthen an exhortation uttered as a rebuke or threat (Nu 16²⁸, 20¹⁰) or in ridicule (Is 47¹²).

- e* 2. The imperative after the desiderative particle לֵּי Gn 23¹⁸ (at the end of verses 5 and 14 also read לֵּי for לֵּי and join it to the following imperative) is due to an anacoluthon. Instead of the imperfect which would be expected here after לֵּי, the more forcible imperative is used in a new sentence.

- f* 2. The imperative in logical dependence upon a preceding imperative, jussive (or cohortative), or an interrogative sentence, serves to

¹ On the close relation between the imperative and jussive (both in meaning and form), cf. § 46 and § 48 *i*.

² Like the threatening formulae in the Latin comic writers, e.g. *vapula*, Ter. Phorm. v. 6, 10 = *vapulare te iubeo*, Plaut. Curc. vi. 4, 12.

express the distinct assurance or promise that an action or state will ensue as the certain consequence of a previous action. So especially:

(a) The imperative when depending (with *wāw copulative*) upon another imperative. In this case the first imperative contains, as a rule, a condition, while the second declares the consequence which the fulfilment of the condition will involve. The imperative is used for this declaration, since the consequence is, as a matter of fact, intended or desired by the speaker (cf. *divide et impera*), e.g. Gn 42¹⁸ וְאַתָּה עֲשֵׂה *this do, and live*, i. e. thus shall ye continue to live. Gn 17¹, 1 K 22¹², 2 K 5¹³, Is 36¹⁶, 45²² (וְהַיִּשְׁעִי), Jer 6¹⁶, Am 5^{4,6}, ψ 37²⁷, Pr 3^{3f}, 4⁴, 7², 13²⁰ *Keth.*, Jb 2⁹, 2 Ch 20²⁰; in Jer 25⁵, Jb 22²¹ נָתַן is added to the first imperative. In other cases, the first imperative contains a mocking concession, the second an irrevocable denunciation, e.g. Is 8⁹ רָעוּ עַמִּים וְהָרִי (continue to) *make an uproar, O ye peoples, and ye shall be broken in pieces*; cf. verse 9 b.

Rem. 1. If a promise or threat dependent on an imperative be expressed in *g* the 3rd pers. then the jussive is naturally used instead of the 2nd imperative Is 8¹⁰, 55².

2. In Pr 20¹³ the second imperative (containing a promise) is attached by *h* asyndeton; elsewhere two imperatives occur side by side without the copula, where the second might be expected to be subordinated to the first, e.g. Dt 24⁴ רָשׁ הָחֵל (where רָשׁ is virtually, as it were, an object to הָחֵל) *begin, take in possession for to take in possession* (cf., however, Ju 19⁶ הוֹאֵל-נָא וְלֵין *be content, I pray thee, and tarry all night*, and on this kind of co-ordination in general, cf. § 120 d). But such imperatives as לָךְ (לְכֹ), קָם (קָמֹ), when immediately preceding a second imperative, are for the most part only equivalent to interjections, *come! up!*

(b) The imperative, when depending (with *wāw copulative*) upon *i* a jussive (cohortative), or an interrogative sentence, frequently expresses also a consequence which is to be expected with certainty, and often a consequence which is intended, or in fact an intention; cf. Gn 20⁷ *and he shall pray for thee*, וְחָיָה *and thou shalt live*; cf. Ex 14¹⁶, 2 K 5¹⁰, Jb 11⁶, ψ 128⁵ *the Lord bless thee . . . so that* (or *in order that*) *thou seest*, &c.; Ru 1⁹, 4¹¹; after a cohortative, Gn 12², 45¹⁸, Ex 3¹⁰ וְהוֹצֵאת *that thou mayest bring forth*; Ex 18²², 1 S 12¹⁷, 1 K 1¹²; Jer 35¹⁵ (after imperative and jussive); after an interrogative sentence, 2 S 21³ *wherewith shall I make atonement*, וְיָבִיכֵי *that ye may bless*, &c.—In Nu 5¹⁹ the imperative without *!* (in 32²⁸ with *!*) is used after a conditional clause in the sense of a definite promise.

Rem. The 2nd sing. masc. occurs in addressing feminine persons in Ju 4²⁰ לְ (עֲמֹר, according to Qimhi an infinitive, in which case, however, the infinitive absolute עֲמֹר should be read; but probably we should simply read עֲמָרִי with Moore), Mi 1¹³ and Zc 13⁷ (after עֲמָרִי); and in Is 23¹, the 2nd plur. masc. (On

the four forms of the 2nd fem. plur. imperative in Is 32¹¹, erroneously explained here in former editions, see now § 48 i). In Na 3¹⁵ the interchange of masc. and fem. serves to express totality (the nation in all its aspects). Cf., moreover, § 145 p on other noticeable attempts to substitute the corresponding masculine forms for the feminine.

§ 111. The Imperfect with Wāw Consecutive.

- a 1. The *imperfect with wāw consecutive* (§ 49 a-g) serves to express actions, events, or states, which are to be regarded as the temporal or logical sequel of actions, events, or states mentioned immediately¹ before. The *imperfect consecutive* is used in this way most frequently as the *narrative tense*, corresponding to the Greek *aorist* or the Latin *historic perfect*. As a rule the narrative is introduced by a perfect, and then continued by means of imperfects with *wāw consecutive* (on this interchange of tenses cf. § 49 a, and especially § 112 a), e.g. Gn 3¹ now the serpent was (הָיָה) more subtil . . . and he said (וַיֹּאמֶר) unto the woman; 4¹, 6^{9f.}, 10^{9f.}, 15¹⁹, 11^{12ff. 27ff.}, 14^{5f.}, 15^{1f.}, 16^{1f.}, 21^{1ff.}, 24^{1f.}, 25^{19ff.}, 36^{2ff.}, 37².
- b Rem. 1. To this class belong some of the numerous *imperfects consec.* after various expressions of time, whenever such expressions are equivalent in meaning to a perfect² (viz. הָיָה it came to pass), e.g. Is 6¹ in the year that king Uzziah died, I saw (וַיֵּרָא), &c.; Gn 22⁴, 27⁸⁴, Ju 11¹⁶, 1 S 4¹⁹, 17⁵⁷, 21⁶, Ho 11¹: on the use of וַיֵּרָא to connect expressions of time, see below, g.—It is only in late books or passages that we find the simple *perfect* in a clause following an expression of time, as 1 S 17⁵⁵ (cf. Driver on the passage), 2 Ch 12⁷, 15⁸, &c., Dn 10¹¹, 15¹⁹; the *Perfect* after וַיֵּרָא and the subject, 2 Ch 7¹.
- c 2. The continuation of the narrative by means of the *imperfect consec.* may result in a series of any number of such imperfects, e.g. there are forty-nine in Gn. 1. As soon, however, as the connecting *Wāw* becomes separated from the verb to which it belongs, by the insertion of any word, the perfect necessarily takes the place of the imperfect, e.g. Gn 1⁵ and God called (וַיִּקְרָא) the light Day, and the darkness he called (וַיִּקְרָא) Night; verse 10, 2²⁰, 11³ and frequently.
- d 3. Of two co-ordinate *imperfects consecutive* the former (as equivalent to a temporal clause) is most frequently subordinate in sense to the latter, e.g. Gn 28^{1f.} וַיֵּלֶךְ . . . וַיֵּרָא עֵשָׂו when Esau saw that . . . , he went, &c.; so also, frequently וַיִּשְׁמַע, &c., Gn 37²¹, &c. On the other hand, a second *imperfect consecutive* is seldom used in an explanatory sense, e.g. Ex 2¹⁰ וַיֹּאמֶר for she said; cf. 1 S 7¹². Other examples of the *imperfect consecutive*, which apparently represent a progress in the narrative, in reality only refer to the same time, or explain what precedes, see Gn 2²⁵ וַיִּהְיוּ they were; but Jos 4⁹, 1 K 8⁸ they are; Gn 36¹⁴ וַיֵּלֶךְ, 36³² וַיִּשְׁמַע, 1 K 1⁴⁴.

¹ On an apparent exception (the *imperf. consec.* at the beginning of whole books) see § 49 b note.

² Cf. Is 45⁴, where the *imperf. consec.* is joined to an abrupt statement of the cause, and Jb 36⁷, where it is joined to an abrupt statement of the place.

4. The imperfect consecutive sometimes has such a merely external connexion with an immediately preceding perfect, that in reality it represents an antithesis to it, e.g. Gn 32³¹ *and (yet) my life is preserved*; 2 S 3⁸ *and yet thou chargest me*; Jb 10⁸, 32³; similarly in dependence on noun-clauses, Pr 30²⁵ ff.

2. The introduction of independent narratives, or of a new section *f* of the narrative, by means of an *imperfect consecutive*, likewise aims at a connexion, though again loose and external, with that which has been narrated previously. Such a connexion is especially often established by means of וַיְהִי (καὶ ἐγένετο) *and it came to pass*, after which there then follows either (most commonly) an *imperfect consecutive* (Gn 4^{3,8}, 8⁶, 11², Ex 12²⁹, 13¹⁷, &c.), or *Wāw* with the perfect (separated from it), Gn 7¹⁰, 15¹², 22¹, 27³⁰, or even a perfect without *Wāw* (Gn 8¹³, 14¹⁴, 40¹, Ex 12⁴¹, 16²², Nu 10¹¹, Dt 1³, 1 S 18³⁰, 2 K 8²¹, &c.), or finally a noun-clause introduced by *Wāw*, Gn 41¹.

Rem. 1. This loose connexion by means of וַיְהִי¹ is especially common, *g* when the narrative or a new section of it begins with any expression of time, see above, *b*; cf., in addition to the above-mentioned examples (e.g. Gn 22¹ *and it came to pass after these things, that God did prove Abraham*), the similar cases in Gn 19³⁴, 21²², 1 S 11¹¹, Ru 1¹. Elsewhere the statement of time is expressed by אֲזַי or אֲזַי with an infinitive (Gn 12¹⁴, 19^{17,29} 39¹³, 15^{18f.}, Ju 16²⁵) or by an independent sentence with the perfect (equivalent to a pluperfect, cf. § 106*f*), e.g. Gn 15¹⁷, 24¹⁵, 27³⁰, or by a temporal clause introduced by כִּי *when*, Gn 26⁸, 27¹, Ju 16¹⁶, פֶּאֱשֶׁר *when*, Gn 12¹¹, 20¹³, מֵאָז *from the time that*, Gn 39⁵; or, finally, by a noun-clause (cf. § 116 *u*), e.g. 2 K 13²¹ וַיְהִי הֵם קִבְּרִים אִשִּׁי *and it came to pass, as they were (just) burying a man (prop. they burying), that . . .*; Gn 42³⁵, 2 K 2¹¹ (the apodosis in both these cases being introduced by וְהָיָה); 1 S 7¹⁰, 2 S 13³⁰, 2 K 6^{5,26}, 19³⁷ (= Is 37³³).—In 1 S 10¹¹, 11¹¹, 2 S 2²³, 15² a noun standing absolutely follows וַיְהִי (as the equivalent of a complete sentence; see below, *h*), and then an *imperfect consecutive* follows.

2. Closely related to the cases noticed in *g* are those in which the *imperfect consecutive*, even without a preceding וַיְהִי, introduces the apodosis either—(a) to whole sentences, or (b) to what are equivalent to whole sentences, especially to nouns standing absolutely. As in certain cases of the *perfect consecutive* (see § 112 *x*), so the *imperfect consecutive* has here acquired a sort of independent force. Cf. for (a) 1 S 15²³ *because thou hast rejected the word of the Lord, וַיִּמְאָדֶךָ he hath rejected thee* (cf. Nu 14¹⁶, Is 48⁴, where the causal clause precedes in the form of an infinitive with preposition), Ex 9²¹; for (b) Gn 22²⁴ וַפִּילִשְׁתִּי *and (as to) his concubine . . .*, וַתֵּבֶרֶךְ *she bare*, &c.; Ex 38²⁴, Nu 14^{36f.}, 1 S 14¹⁹, 17²⁴, 2 S 4¹⁰, 19⁴¹ *Keth.*, 21¹⁶, 1 K 9^{20f.}, 12¹⁷, 2 K 25²², Jer 6¹⁹, 28⁸, 33²⁴, 44²⁵, 2.—In 1 K 15¹³, 2 K 16¹⁴ the preceding noun, used absolutely, is even regarded as the object of the following imperfect consecutive, and is therefore introduced by אֲחֵרֶךְ.

¹ Exhaustive statistics of the use of וַיְהִי in its many and various connexions are given by König in ZAW. 1899, p. 260 ff.

² Cf. the Méša' inscription, l. 5 (Omri) the king of Israel, וַיַּעֲנוּ *he oppressed Moab*, &c.—The peculiar imperfect consecutive in Gn 30^{27b} (in the earlier editions explained as equivalent to an object-clause) arises rather from a pregnant brevity of expression: *I have observed and have come to the conclusion, the Lord hath blessed me*, &c.—In Gn 27³⁴ read, with LXX, וַיְהִי before בִּשְׁמִי.

- i 3. The *imperfect consecutive* serves, in the cases treated under *a-h*, to represent either expressly, or at least to a great extent, a *chronological* succession of actions or events; elsewhere it expresses those actions, &c., which represent the logical consequence of what preceded, or a result arising from it by an inherent necessity. Thus the *imperfect consecutive* is used—
- k (a) As a final summing up of the preceding narrative, e.g. Gn 2¹, 23²⁰ וַיֵּהָרֶם הַשָּׂדֶה וַיְהִי לְאִמְלָכָה (in this way) *the field became (legally) the property of Abraham, &c.*; 1 S 17⁵⁰, 31⁶.
- l (b) To express a logical or necessary consequence of that which immediately precedes, e.g. Gn 39², Jb 2³ and *he still holdeth fast his integrity*, וַיְהִי כִּי הָיָה כֵּן וַיִּתְּנֵהוּ לְפָנָיו *so that thou thus (as it now appears) groundlessly movedst me against him*; ψ 65⁹ *so that they are afraid . . .*; even a consequence which happens conditionally, Jer 20¹⁷ וַיִּהְיֶה כִּי יָמָּה *so that my mother should have been . . .* Another instance of the kind perhaps (if the text be correct) is Jer 38⁹ וַיָּמָת *so that he dies (must die)*.
- m Rem. Such consecutive clauses frequently occur after interrogative sentences, e.g. Is 51¹² *who art thou (i.e. art thou so helpless)*, וַיִּתְּנֵהוּ לְפָנָיו *that thou art (must needs be) afraid?* ψ 144³ (cf. ψ 8⁵, where in a very similar context כִּי *that* is used with the imperfect); Gn 12¹⁹ (וַיִּשְׁלַח) וַיִּשְׁלַח *so that I might have sent thee away*.
4. As regards the range of time it is to be carefully noticed—
- n (a) That the *imperfect consecutive* may represent all varieties in the relations of tense and mood, which, according to § 107 *a*, follow from the idea of the imperfect;
- o (b) That the more precise determination of the range of time to which an *imperfect consecutive* relates must be inferred in each case from the character of the preceding tense (or tense-equivalent), to which it is attached, in a more or less close relation, as temporal or logical sequence. Thus the *imperfect consecutive* serves—
- p (1) To represent actions, events, or states, which are *past* (or were repeated in past time), when it is united with tenses, or their equivalents, which refer to an actual past.
- q Cf. the examples given above, under *a* and *f*, of the *imperfect consecutive* as an historic tense. The *imperfect consecutive* also frequently occurs as the continuation of a perfect (*preterite*) in a subordinate clause; e.g. Gn 27¹, Nu 11²⁰, Dt 4²⁷, 1 S 8⁹, 1 K 2⁸, 11³⁸, 18¹³, &c.; also in Is 49⁷ וַיִּבְרָךְ is the continuation of a preterite, contained, according to the sense, in the preceding וַיִּשָּׂא. —In Jb 31^{26,34} the *imperfect consecutive* is joined to an imperfect denoting the past in a conditional sentence. An *imperfect consecutive* occurs in dependence on a perfect which has the sense of a pluperfect (§ 106 *f*), e.g. in Gn 26¹⁸, 28⁶, 31^{19,34} (now Rachel had taken the teraphim, וַיִּשָּׂא and had

put them, &c.); Nu 14³⁶, 1 S 28³, 2 S 2²³, Is 39¹. Finally there are the cases in which an infinitival or participial construction representing past time, according to § 113 *r*, § 116 *x*, is taken up and continued by an imperfect consecutive.

(2) To represent *present* actions, &c., in connexion with tenses, or *r* their equivalents, which describe actions and states as being either present or lasting on into the present (continuing in their effect); so especially,

(a) In connexion with the present perfects, described in § 106 *g*, e.g. ψ 16⁹ *therefore my heart is glad* (שִׂמְחָה) *and my glory rejoiceth* (וַיִּגַּל); Is 3¹⁶ (parallel with a simple imperfect). Cf. also such examples as ψ 29¹⁰ וַיֵּשֶׁב (prop. he sat down, *and has been enthroned ever since*), ψ 41¹³.

(β) In connexion with those perfects which represent experiences *s* frequently confirmed (see § 106 *k*), e.g. Jb 14² *he cometh up* (צָמַח) *like a flower, and is cut down* (וַיִּכָּל); *he fleeth* (וַיִּבָּרַח) *also as a shadow, and continueth not*; Jb 20¹⁵, 24^{2,11}, Is 40²⁴, Pr 11².

(γ) In connexion with imperfects which, in one of the ways *t* described in § 107. 2, are used in the sense of the present; e.g. Jb 14¹⁰ *but man dieth* (יָמִית) *and becometh powerless* (וַיִּהְיֶה לַשָּׁוְיָ), &c., i. e. remains powerless; Jb 4⁵, Ho 8¹³, Hb 1^{9f}, ψ 55¹⁸, 90³, Jb 5¹⁵, 7¹³, 11³ (*when thou mockest*), 12²⁵, 34²⁴, 37⁸ (parallel with a simple imperfect); 39¹⁵. In the apodosis of a conditional sentence, ψ 59¹⁶, so also after an interrogative imperfect, 1 S 2²⁹, ψ 42⁶ וַתִּהְיֶינִי (for which in verse 12 and in 43⁵ we have וַיִּמְחַר-תַּהְיֶינִי *and why art thou disquieted?*).

(δ) In dependence on participles, which represent what at present *u* continues or is being repeated, e.g. Nu 22¹¹, 1 S 2⁶, 2 S 19² *behold the king weepeth* (בָּכָה) *and mourneth* (וַיִּתְאַבֵּל) *for Absalom*; Am 5⁸, 9^{5f}, Na 1⁴, ψ 34⁸, Pr 20²⁶, Jb 12^{22ff}, but cf. e.g. Jb 12⁴ קָרָא לְאֱלֹהֵימָהּ *who called upon God*, וַיַּעֲנֶהוּ *and he answered him*.

(ε) In dependence on other equivalents of the present, as in Is 51¹², υ ψ 144³ (see above, *m*); Jb 10²². So especially as the continuation of an infinitive, which is governed by a preposition (cf. § 114 *r*), Is 30¹², Jer 10¹³, ψ 92⁸, &c.

(3) To represent *future* actions, &c., in dependence on—(a) an *w* imperfect which refers to the future, ψ 49¹⁵, 94^{22f};—(β) a perfect consecutive, or those perfects which, according to § 106 *n*, are intended to represent future events as undoubtedly certain, and therefore as though already accomplished (*perf. propheticum*); cf. Is 5¹⁵ (parallel with a simple imperfect separated from ו); 5¹⁶ (cf. 2^{11,17}, where the same threat is expressed by the perfect consecutive); 5²⁵, 9^{6,10f},

13^{15, 17 ff.}, 22^{7 ff.}, Jo 2²³, Mi 2¹³, Ez 33^{4, 6}, ψ 7¹³, 64^{8 ff.};—(γ) a future participle, Jer 4¹⁵.¹

α Rem. An imperfect consecutive in dependence on a perfect or imperfect, which represents an action occurring only conditionally, is likewise used only in a hypothetical sense, e.g. Jb 9¹⁶ וְיַעֲנֵנִי וְיִשְׁמַחַ אֱלֹהִים אִם אֶמְדַּע אֲנִי *if I had called, and he had answered me, yet . . .*; ψ 139¹¹ וְאִם אֶמְדַּע אֲנִי *if I should say* (previously, in verse 8 f., hypothetical imperfects are used).—In Is 48^{18 f.} an imperfect consecutive occurs in dependence on a sentence expressing a wish introduced by וְיִהְיֶה *utinam* (וְיִהְיֶה *and it, or so that it were, equivalent to then should it be*). Cf. also the examples mentioned above, under *l* (Jer 20¹⁷) and *m* (Gn 31²⁷), where the imperfect consecutive expresses facts occurring contingently.

§ 112. The Perfect with Wāw Consecutive.

G. R. Berry, 'Waw consecutive with the perfect in Hebrew,' in *Bibl. Lit.*, xii. (1903), pp. 60–69.

a 1. The perfect, like the imperfect (§ III), is used with *wāw consecutive* (cf. § 49 a; on the external differentiation of the perfect consecutive by a change in the position of the tone, see § 49 h) to express actions, events, or states, which are to be attached to what precedes, in a more or less close relation, as its *temporal* or *logical* consequence. And as, according to § III a, the narrative which begins with a perfect, or its equivalent, is continued in the imperfect consecutive, so, vice versa, the perfect consecutive forms the regular continuation to a preceding imperfect, or its equivalent.

b Rem. 1. This alternation of perfect and imperfect or their equivalents is a striking peculiarity of the *consecutio temporum* in Hebrew. It not only affords a certain compensation for the lack of forms for tenses and moods, but also gives to Hebrew style the charm of an expressive variety, an action conceived as being still in progress (*imperfect, &c.*), reaching afterwards in the perfect a calm and settled conclusion, in order to be again exhibited in movement in the imperfect, and vice versa.² The strict regularity of this

¹ Also in Jer 51²⁰ the imperfects consecutive are attached to the threat virtually contained in the preceding imperatives. On the other hand וְיִשְׁמַחַ אֱלֹהִים Ho 8¹⁰ would be very remarkable as expressing a future; the text is, however, certainly corrupt, and hence the Cod. Babyl. and the Erfurt MS. 3 endeavour to remedy it by וְיִשְׁמַחַ, and Ewald reads וְיִשְׁמַחַ. —In Ez 28¹⁶ (cf. Jer 15^{6 f.}) וְאֶחָדָם appears to announce an action irrevocably determined upon, and therefore represented as already accomplished; cf. the prophetic perfects in verse 17 ff.

² It is difficult to give a proper explanation of this phenomenon (according to § 49 a, note, to be found only in the Canaanitish group of languages), when we have given up the theory of a special *wāw conversivum* in the unscientific sense mentioned in § 49 b, note, at the end, and if we accept the fact that the perfect and imperfect consecutive cannot possibly be used in a way which contradicts their fundamental character as described in §§ 106 and 107. In other words, even the perfect consecutive originally represents a finally completed action, &c., just as the imperfect consecutive represents an action which

alternation belongs indeed rather to the higher style, and even then it depends upon the view and intention of the speaker, whether he wishes the action, &c., to be regarded as the logical consequence of what has preceded, or as simply co-ordinate with it, and so in the same tense.

2. A succession of any number of other *perfects consecutive* may be co-ordinated with a *perfect consecutive* (cf. e.g. Ez 14¹⁸, Am 5¹⁹, Ru 3³, four perfects in each case, Is 8⁷ five, Ex 6^{6f.} eight). It is true, however, of the perfect (as conversely of the *imperfect*, § 111 c), that as soon as the *Wāw* is separated by any intervening word from the verb to which it belongs, an *imperfect* necessarily takes the place of the *perfect*, e.g. Gn 12¹² *when the Egyptians shall see thee, they shall say* (וַיֹּאמְרוּ), *This is his wife: and they will kill me* (וַיִּהְיוּ אֹתִי) *but thee they will save alive* (וַיִּחְיֶיךָ).

2. The perfect consecutive, like the imperfect consecutive, always *d* belongs to the period of time expressed by the preceding tense, or its equivalent, with which it is connected as the temporal or logical consequence. The particular cases may be classed under three heads: (a) the perfect consecutive in *immediate* dependence (see *e*), (b) in loose connexion (see *x*) with the preceding, and (c) the perfect consecutive at the beginning of the apodosis to other sentences, or their equivalents (see *ff*).

3. The perfect consecutive in immediate dependence on the pre-*c*eding tense, or its equivalent, serves

(a) As a frequentative tense to express *past* actions, &c., i.e. actions repeatedly brought to a conclusion in the past, and follows tenses, or their equivalents, representing actions which have *continued* or been *repeated in the past*:

(a) After a simple imperfect, e.g. Gn 2⁶ וַיֵּצֵא אֱלֹהִים מִן הָאָרֶץ there went up a mist (again and again) from the earth, וַיִּשְׁקֶה and watered (as it were, and ever watered afresh), &c. This frequentative use of the perfect consecutive is equally evident after frequentative imperfects, Gn 2¹⁰ (וַיְהִי) and it became again every time; וַיְהִי would mean, and it became so once for all); 29^{2f.} (four perfects consecutive referring to actions repeated daily); Ex 33⁷⁻¹¹ וַיֵּלֶךְ he used to take at each new encampment the tent, וַיִּנָּח and to pitch it again every time without the camp; notice, amongst the numerous frequent. perff. consec., the imperf. in vv. 7, 8, 9, 11, always in a frequentative sense; 34^{3f.}, Nu 9^{19,21} (among several simple imperfects), 10¹⁷, Ju 2¹⁹, 1 S 2¹⁹ וַיִּשְׁפֹּךְ

is only beginning, becoming or still continuing, and hence in any case incomplete. The simplest view is to suppose, that the use of the *perfect consecutive* originated from those cases, in which it had to express the conclusion (or final consequence) of an action which was continued (or repeated) in *past time* (see the examples above), and that this use was afterwards extended to other cases, in which it had to represent the temporal or logical consequence of actions, &c., still in progress, and thus in the end a regular interchange of the two tenses became recognized.

she used to make . . . וְהֵעֲלָתָהּ and brought it to him from year to year; 27⁹ (וְלִלְכָה), 1 K 14²⁸, 2 K 3²⁵, 12¹⁵ (in verses 16⁴ imperfects occur again). So also in dependent sentences, Gn 6⁴ (וְיִלְדוּ) as a continuation of וְיִבְאוּ, Jb 31²⁹.¹

f (β) After an imperfect consecutive, e. g. Ex 39³ (וְקָצְצוּ), 1 S 5⁷ (? see § 112 rr), 7¹⁶, 2 S 15^{2,5}, 16¹³ and he threw stones at him, וְעָפַר and cast dust continually; 12^{16,31}, 2 K 6¹⁰, 12^{11 ff.} 15, Jer 37¹⁵, Jb 1⁵.

g Rem. The frequentative perfect consecutive is sometimes joined even with imperfects consecutive which simply express one single action or occurrence in the past; thus Ex 18²⁶, 4c^{31 f.}, 1 S 1⁴, 2 S 15^{1 f.}, 1 K 14²⁷ (cf. verse 28); 1 K 18⁴, 2 K 12¹⁰. For other examples of a loosely connected frequentative perfect consecutive, see below, *dd*.

h (γ) After a perfect, Gn 37³ (וְעָשָׂה לוֹ), i. e. as often as he needed a new garment)²; Gn 31⁷, Nu 11⁸, 1 S 16¹⁴, 2 K 3⁴, ψ 22⁶;³ in interrogative sentences, 1 S 26⁹ who has ever, &c.; ψ 80¹³, Jb 1^{1,4}, Ru 4⁷.

i (δ) After an infinitive, Am 1¹¹ עַל-רַדְפּוֹ because he did pursue his brother, וְשָׁחַח and (on each occasion) did cast off all pity (then an imperfect consecutive); after an infinitive absolute, Jos 6¹³, 2 S 13¹⁹, Jer 23¹⁴.

k (ε) After a participle, Is 6³ (וְזָכַר), &c., frequentative, as a continuation of עֲמִידִים, verse 2); 1 S 2²², 2 S 17¹⁷.⁴

l (ζ) After other equivalents of tenses, e. g. Gn 47²² the priests had a portion from Pharaoh, וַאֲכָלוּ and did eat (year by year), &c.; 1 K 4⁷.

m (b) To express present actions, &c., as the temporal or logical consequence of actions or events which continue or are repeated in the present, especially such as have, according to experience, been at all times frequently repeated, and may be repeated at any time:

(a) After a simple imperfect, e. g. Gn 2²⁴ therefore a man leaves (וַיֵּצֵא is accustomed to leave) . . . וְרִבְקָה and cleaves, &c., here, as frequently elsewhere, clearly with the secondary idea of purpose, i. e. in order to cleave; Is 5¹¹ (if וְהָיָה is to be taken as a continuation

¹ Also in Ez 44¹² (where Stade, *ZAW.* v. 293, would read וְשִׁרְתוּ and וַיִּהְיוּ) the unusual tenses may have been intentionally chosen: because they continually ministered and so always became afresh . . .

² Driver, on this passage, rightly refers to 1 S 2¹⁹.

³ Am 4⁷ would also come under this head, if וְהִמְטִירָתִי is really intended, and the statement refers to the past; כִּנְעָתִי might, however, also be a perfect expressing positive assurance (§ 106 m), and the passage would then come under s.

⁴ That וְהֵלְכָה, &c., are frequentatives (the maidservant used to go repeatedly and tell them) may be seen from וַיֵּלְכוּ (necessarily an imperfect, since it is separated from וְ by הֵם) and וַיִּבְלֶה; on the other hand in verse 18 וַיִּרְאֵהוּ and וַיִּלְכְּבוּ of actions which happened only once.

of (וַיִּלְכֶם); Is 28²⁸, Jer 12³, Ho 4³, 7⁷, ψ 90⁶, Jb 14⁹; also in dependent clauses, Lv 20¹⁸, Is 29^{6, 11f}, Am 5¹⁸.

(β) After a participle, as the equivalent of a sentence representing *n* a contingent action, &c., e.g. Ex 21¹² מִכָּה אִישׁ וְקָחַת (instead of מִכָּה מִכָּה there is in verse 20, &c. (וְכִי יִכֶּה אִישׁ) if one smite a man and (so that) he die, &c., Ex 21¹⁶, Is 29¹⁵, Am 6¹, Hb 2¹².

(γ) After an infinitive absolute, Jer 7^{9f}. *will ye steal, murder, and O commit adultery* (simple infinitives absolute; cf. § 113 ee), וּבֹאֲתֶם and then come and stand before me . . . and say, &c.; cf. below, u.

(c) To express *future* actions, &c., as the temporal or logical consequence of tenses, or their equivalents, which announce or require such future actions or events. Thus—

(a) After imperfects in the sense of a simple future, e.g. Am 9^{3f}. מִשֶּׁם יִצְחָק וְלִקְחֵם I will search and take them out thence, &c.; Gn 4¹⁴, 40¹³, Ex 7³, 1 S 17³², 2 K 5¹¹, Jb 8^{6f}. (also with a change of subject, Gn 27¹², Ju 6¹⁵, &c.); and in interrogative sentences, Gn 39⁹, Ex 2⁷, 2 S 12¹⁸, 2 K 14¹⁰, Am 8³, ψ 41⁶; cf. also Ru 1¹¹; in sentences expressing a wish, 2 S 15⁴; as well as in almost all kinds of dependent clauses. Also in conditional clauses after אִם Gn 32⁹, Ex 19⁵, 1 S 11¹, or כִּי Gn 37²⁶, or הִנֵּן Jer 3¹; in final clauses after לְמַעַן Gn 12¹³, Nu 15⁴⁰, Is 28¹³; after אֲשֶׁר Dt 2²⁵, or כִּי Gn 3²², 19¹⁹, 32¹², Is 6¹⁰, Am 5⁶; in temporal clauses, Is 32¹⁵, Jer 13¹⁶; and in relative clauses, Gn 24¹⁴, Ju 1¹², 1 S 17²⁶.

(β) After the jussive (or an imperfect in the sense of a jussive or optative) or cohortative, with the same or a different subject, e.g. Gn 1^{14f}. וְהָיוּ . . . מְאֹרֹת יְהִי let there be lights . . . and let them be, &c.; Gn 24⁴, 28³, 31⁴⁴, 1 K 1², 22¹³, Ru 2⁷, 1 Ch 22¹¹; after a jussive expressing an imprecation, ψ 109¹⁰.

(γ) After an imperative, also with the same or a different subject, γ e.g. 2 S 7⁵ וְאָמַרְתָּ לָהּ go and tell (that thou mayst tell), &c., and often, *perf. consec.* after לָהּ (as also the *perf. consec.* of אָמַר and דָּבַר very frequently follows other imperatives); Gn 6¹⁴, 8¹⁷, 27^{43f}, 1 S 15^{3, 18}, 1 K 2²⁶, Jer 48²⁶.

(δ) After perfects which express a definite expectation or assurance *s* (cf. § 106 m and n), e.g. Gn 17²⁰ אֲהַבְרִיתִי אֹתוֹ וְהִפְרֵיתִי אֹתוֹ behold, I have blessed him, and will make him fruitful, &c.; Is 2¹¹, 5¹⁴; on Am 4⁷ see above, note 3 on h; in an interrogative sentence, Ju 9⁹, 11¹³.

(e) After a participle, e.g. Gn 7⁴ for yet seven days, אֲנִי מְבַרֵךְ and I will cause it to rain . . . וְהָרַגְתִּי and I will (i.e. in order to) destroy, &c.; Jer 21⁹; also with a different subject, Gn 24^{43f}. the

maiden which cometh forth (הַיָּצֵאתָ) . . . , וְאָמְרָתִי אֵלֶיהָ, *to whom I shall say . . . , וְאָמְרָהּ and she (then) shall say, &c.* This use of the perfect consecutive is especially frequent after a participle introduced by הִנֵּה, e.g. Gn 6¹⁷; with a different subject 1 K 20³⁶, Am 6¹⁴; after a complete noun-clause introduced by הִנֵּה (cf. § 140), Ex 3¹³ *behold, I come* (i.e. if I shall come) . . . , וְאָמְרָתִי לָהֶם *and shall say unto them . . . , וְאָמְרוּ and they (then) shall say, &c.*; 1 S 14^{8ff.}, Is 7¹⁴, 8^{7f.}, 39⁶.

u (ζ) After an infinitive absolute, whether the infinitive absolute serves to strengthen the finite verb (see § 113 *t*), e.g. Is 31⁵, or is used as an emphatic substitute for a cohortative or imperfect (§ 113 *dd* and *ee*), e.g. Lv 2⁶, Dt 1¹⁶, Is 5⁵, Ez 23^{46f.}.

υ (η) After an infinitive construct governed by a preposition (for this change from the infinitive construction to the finite verb, cf. § 114 *r*), e.g. 1 S 10⁸ לְךָ יְהוָה וְהוֹדַעְתִּי אֵלַי עַד-בֹּאִי *till I come unto thee* (prop. until my coming) *and show thee, &c.*; Gn 18²⁵, 27⁴⁵, Ju 6¹⁸, Ez 39²⁷; cf. 1 K 2^{37,42}.

ω Rem. To the same class belong 1 S 14²⁴, where the idea of time precedes, *until it be evening and until I be avenged, &c.*, and Is 5⁸, where the idea of place precedes, in both cases governed by עַד.

x 4. The very frequent use of the perfect consecutive in direct dependence upon other tenses (see above, *d-v*) explains how it finally obtained a kind of independent force—especially for the purpose of announcing future events—and might depend loosely on sentences to which it stood only in a wider sense in the relation of a temporal or logical consequence. Thus the perfect consecutive is used—

(a) To announce future events, &c., in loose connexion with a further announcement, e.g. Gn 41³⁰ וְקָמִי *and two co-ordinate perfects consecutive, equivalent to but then shall arise, &c.*; frequently so after הִנֵּה with a following substantive (1 S 9⁸), or a participial clause (cf. the analogous instances above, under *t*), e.g. 1 S 2³¹ *behold, the days come, וְהִנֵּה that I will cut off, &c.*; Is 39⁶, Am 4², 8¹¹, 9¹³, and very often in Jeremiah; after an expression of time, Ex 17⁴, Is 10²⁵, 29¹⁷, Jer 51³³, Ho 1⁴. Further, when joined to a statement concerning present or past facts, especially when these contain the reason for the action, &c., expressed in the perfect consecutive; cf. Is 67 *lo, this hath touched thy lips, וְכָר therefore thine iniquity shall be taken away, &c.* (not copulative *and it is taken away*, since it is parallel with a simple imperfect), Gn 20¹¹, 26²², Ju 13³ (here in an adversative sense); Ho 8¹⁴. In loose connexion with a noun-clause, a long succession of perfects consecutive occurs in Ex 6^{6ff.}. Also in Amos 5²⁶ וְשָׂאתֶם *yea, ye shall take up*; but cf. below, *rr*.

Rem. 1. Very frequently the announcement of a future event is attached *y* by means of וְהָיָה¹ and it shall come to pass (cf. the analogous continuation in the past by means of וְהָיָה, § 111, 2), after which the event announced (sometimes after a long parenthesis) follows in one or more (co-ordinate) perfects consecutive, Gn 9¹⁴, 12¹² (וְהָיָה כִּי) = *if*, as in 46³³, Ex 1¹⁰, 22²⁶ and frequently), 1 K 18¹², Is 14^{9 f.}, Am 8⁹; or in the imperfect, Gn 4¹⁴, Is 2², 3²⁴, 4³, 7^{18.21 ff.} (cf. 29⁶); or in the jussive, Lv 14⁹. It very rarely happens that the verb which is thus loosely added, agrees in gender and number with the following subject, as in Nu 5²⁷, Jer 42¹⁶ וְהָיְתָה (before הָתָרַב), and in Jer 42¹⁷ וְהָיָה (before בְּלִהְיֵם נַשִּׁים).

2. The jussive form וְהָיָה occurs (in the sense described in *y*) instead of וְהָיָה² in 1 S 10⁵, 2 S 5²⁴ (1 Ch 14¹⁵), 1 K 14⁵, Ru 3⁴, although in the first three places a jussive is wholly inadmissible in the context, and even in Ru 3⁴ (where an admonition follows) וְהָיָה would be expected (see below, *bb*). In 1 K 14⁵ the form is a textual error, and the pointing should simply be וְהָיָה. In the other passages וְהָיָה (always before an infinitive with a preposition) stands at the beginning of the sentence at an unusually long distance from the principal tone, and hence is certainly to be explained according to § 109 *k*, except that in 1 S 10⁵, &c., the simply rhythmical jussive form takes the place, not of the full imperfect form, but (exceptionally) of the perfect consecutive.

(b) To introduce a command or wish: Dt 10¹⁹ *love ye therefore the aa stranger*; 1 S 6⁵, 24¹⁶, 1 K 2⁶ (in Gn 40¹⁴ the precative perfect consecutive, as elsewhere the cohortative, jussive, and imperative, is strengthened by means of לֵאמֹר). So, also, in loose connexion with participial and other noun-clauses (see above, *x*), Gn 45^{12 f.}, 1 K 2^{2 f.}, Ru 3^{3 f.}, 3⁹.—In Gn 17¹¹ the perfect consecutive (וַיִּמְלֹךְ and *ye shall be circumcised*, &c.) is used to explain a preceding command.

Rem. As in the cases mentioned above under *y*, the connexion may be made by means of וְהָיָה. Thus with a following perfect consecutive, e.g. Gn 46³³, 47²⁴, Ju 4²⁰. Cf. also Gn 24¹⁴, where the real wish, at least as regards the sense, is contained in the next sentence.

(c) To introduce a question, whether in loose connexion with *cc* another interrogative sentence (see above, *p*), e.g. Gn 29¹³ *art thou my brother* (equivalent to, *Surely thou art*), וַעֲבַדְתִּי, and *shouldst thou then serve me for naught?* or with a positive statement, e.g. Ex 5⁵ (וְהַשְׁבַּתָּם) *will ye then make them rest?*; Nu 16¹⁰, 1 S 25¹¹, and (if it is *Mil'ra'*) ψ 50²¹ (וְהִחַרְשֵׁתִי).

(d) To introduce actions frequently repeated (hence analogous to *dd* the numerous examples of a frequentative perfect consecutive, above, under *e*), e.g. 1 S 1³ (וַעֲלֶה of annual festival journeys); 13²¹ (where, however, the text appears radically corrupt); 27⁹ (וְהָפָה, i.e. every time, therefore continued by means of וְהָיָה יְהִי); 1 K 5⁷ (וְכִלְכִּלְיָי).

¹ On the various combinations with וְהָיָה see König's statistics in ZAW. xix. 272 ff.

parallel with a simple imperfect); 9²⁵, Jer 25⁴, Ho 12¹¹, Dn 8⁴.—In Jb 1¹⁴ a series of frequentative perfects consecutive is interrupted by an imperfect consecutive, while a simple imperfect (as the *modus rei repetitae*) forms the conclusion. In Jer 6¹⁷ a similar perfect is expressly marked, by placing the tone on the final syllable (according to § 49 *h*), as parallel with the real perfects consecutive.

ee Rem. The loose connexion of *tempora frequentativa* by וְהָיָה (cf. the Rem. on *y* and *bb*) is also very common in this sense; thus with a following perfect consecutive, Gn 30⁴¹ (but in verse 42^a, where the verb is separated from the *Waw* by an insertion, we find לֹא יִשֶׂים he used not to put them in, according to § 107 *e*); Gn 38⁹, Ex 17¹¹, 33⁷ (see above, *e*), Nu 21⁹, Ju 6⁸, 19³⁰, 1 S 16²³ (followed by five perfects consecutive); 2 S 15⁵; with a following imperfect (as the *modus rei repetitae*), Ju 2¹⁹, 2 S 14²⁶.—In Ju 12⁶, וְהָיָה, contrary to what would be expected, is continued by means of the imperfect consecutive, and in 1 S 13²² by לָלֶךְ with the perfect (instead of the imperfect).

ff 5. Finally the perfect consecutive is very frequently employed with a certain emphasis to introduce the apodosis after sentences (or their equivalents) which contain a condition, a reason, or a statement of time. Such an apodosis, as in the cases already treated, may represent either future events, or commands and wishes, or even events which have been often repeated in the past. Thus—

(a) The perfect consecutive occurs in the apodosis to conditional sentences¹ (§ 159 *g, o, s*):

(a) After דִּם with the imperfect, e.g. 2 K 7^{4b} וּמָתוּ וְהָיָה if they kill us, (well then) we shall but die; here the perfect consecutive is used obviously with greater emphasis than the imperfect (וְהָיָה) which immediately precedes; Gn 18²⁶, 24³⁴, 32⁹, Nu 30¹⁵, Ju 4²⁰, 1 S 11¹, 20⁶, 1 K 3¹⁴, Na 3¹², Ec 4¹¹.

gg (β) After דִּם with the perfect (in the sense of a *futurum exactum*), Nu 5²⁷, 2 K 5²⁰, 7^{4a}, Is 4⁴; as precativ apodosis after אִם־עֲשֶׂה with the *perf. preteritum*, Gn 33¹⁰; as a frequentative perfect consecutive, to represent past events in the apodosis after דִּם with a perfect, Gn 38⁹, Nu 21⁹, Ju 6⁸, Jb 7⁴; after דִּם with imperfect, Gn 31⁸.

hh (γ) After כִּי (in case, suppose that) with the imperfect, Gn 12¹², Ex 18¹⁶, Ju 13¹⁷, Is 58⁷, Ez 14¹³.² Frequentative with reference to the past, after כִּי with frequentative perfect, Ju 2¹⁸, Jb 7¹³.

¹ In a number of the examples of this kind the protasis is already loosely connected by means of וְהָיָה, and hence some of them had to be already mentioned above, under *y, bb, ee*.

² In 1 S 24¹⁹ a question appears to be expressed by the perfect consecutive, for if a man find his enemy, will he let him go well away? Probably, however, with Klostermann, וְהָיָה should be read for כִּי.

(δ) After *אֲשֶׁר* with the imperfect, Gn 44⁹ *וְנִמָּח אִתּוֹ . . . אֲשֶׁר יִמָּצֵא אִתּוֹ* *with whomsoever . . . it be found, let him die*; with the perfect, Ex 21¹³ *and if a man lie not in wait, &c.*; Ju 1¹².

(ε) Very frequently after a perfect consecutive (one or more) containing the condition, e.g. Gn 44²⁹ *וְיִהְיוּ רִגְלֵיכֶם בְּמִצְרָיִם . . . וְיִקְרָהוּם בְּמִצְרָיִם* *and if ye take (or shall have taken) this one also . . . ye shall bring down, &c.*; cf. Gn 33¹³, 42³⁵, 44^{4,22}, 47³⁰, Nu 30¹², Ru 2⁹, and probably also Ez 39²⁸.—Also frequentative in reference to the past, e.g. 1 S 17^{34f.} *וַיָּבֹא הַלֵּוֹיִת . . . וַיֵּצֵא אֹתוֹ* *and when there came (as sometimes happened) a lion . . . I went out, &c.*; Ex 33¹⁰, Nu 10^{17ff.}, 1 K 18¹⁰, Jer 20⁹ (the perfects consecutive being regularly continued in the apodosis by *וְלֹא* with an imperfect¹).

Rem. The perfect consecutive may be used also in the protasis to express a condition when the employment of the perfect consecutive in the apodosis has become impossible, owing to an emphatic word having to stand before it; thus in Ez 14¹⁴ on account of *וְהָיָה*; 33⁴ on account of *וְיָבוֹאוּ*.—In 1 S 14⁵² the imperfect consecutive, contrary to what might be expected, stands in the apodosis, *and when Saul saw any . . . valiant man, he took him unto him*, where *וַיֹּאסֶפְהוּ* suggests the special case, rather than a repeated occurrence; cf. 2 S 15². Conversely, in 1 S 2¹⁶ *וַיֹּאמֶר* perhaps a mere mistake for *וְיֹאמֶר*), 17^{35b} an imperfect consecutive stands in the protasis.

(ζ) After various equivalents of sentences, which contain a condition; *mm* thus, after a substantive standing absolutely, or a participle (a *casus pendens*), Gn 17¹⁴ *וְגֵרְלָהּ וְגֵרְלָהּ . . . וְגֵרְלָהּ* *and the uncircumcised male* (in case such an one be found), *he shall be cut off, &c.*; cf. Gn 30³², Ex 12¹⁶, 2 S 14¹⁰, Is 6¹³, and (after an infinitive with a preposition) 2 S 7¹⁴; in a wider sense also Ex 4²¹, 9¹⁹, 12⁴⁴, Is 9⁴, 56⁵.

(b) The perfect consecutive serves as the apodosis to causal clauses; *nn* thus e.g. after *כִּי* with the perfect, Is 3^{16f.}; after *אֲשֶׁר* with perfect, 1 K 20³⁸; after *עַקֵּב* with perfect, Nu 14²⁴; also after what are equivalent to causal clauses, e.g. *לְמַעַן שְׁמֶךָ . . . וְסִלַּחְתָּ* (25¹¹) *for thy name's sake . . . pardon . . .*; Is 37²⁹ after *לְמַעַן* with an infinitive.

(c) The perfect consecutive occurs as the apodosis to temporal clauses or their equivalents, e.g. 1 S 2¹⁵ *וַיָּבֹא . . . וַיִּבְרָח אֶת־הַחֶלֶב* *before they burnt the fat, the priest's servant came* (used to come), &c., hence a frequentative perfect consecutive relating to the past, as in Ex 1¹⁹; also after participial clauses (§ 116 w), e.g. 1 S 2^{13f.} *וַיָּבֹא . . . כְּלֵי־אִישׁ וְכֵן זָבַח* *when(ever) any man offered sacrifice, then came,*

¹ In all these examples (not only in the frequentative perfects consecutive) the original idea of the perfect, which also underlies the perfect consecutive, comes out very distinctly. Gn 44²⁹ (see above) implies in the mind of the speaker, If it ever shall have come to this, that ye have taken this one also, then ye have thereby brought me down to Sheol.

&c. (so Ju 19³⁰, 2 S 20¹³), with a frequentative perfect consecutive. The perfect consecutive is very frequently used to announce future actions or events after simple expressions of time of any kind; thus Gn 3⁵, Ex 32³⁴ (after בִּינִי with the infinitive), cf. also such examples as Gn 44³¹, Ju 16², Jos 6¹⁰, 1 S 1²², 16²³ (numerous frequentative perfects consecutive after the infinitive with a preposition; so 2 S 15⁵, see above, *ee*); 1 S 20¹⁸, 2 S 14²⁶, 15¹⁰, Is 18⁵; moreover, Ex 17⁴, Is 10²⁵, 29¹⁷, 37²⁶; even after single disconnected words, e. g. Ex 16⁶ וְיָדַעְתֶּם at even (when it becomes evening) then ye shall know; cf. verse 7, Lv 7¹⁶, 1 K 13³¹, Pr 24²⁷.

pp 6. Finally there still remains a number of passages which cannot be classed with any of those hitherto mentioned. Of these, some are due to the influence of Aramaic modes of expression, while in others the text is evidently corrupt.¹ In a few instances we can do no more than merely call attention to the incorrectness of the expression. (We are not of course concerned here with the cases—usually occurring in dependent clauses—in which a 2nd pers. *perf.* with Wāw copulative is simply co-ordinate with what precedes, as in Gn 28⁶, and probably Nu 21¹⁵, Dt 33².)

(a) The influence of the Aramaic construction of the perfect with י as the narrative tense, instead of the Hebrew imperfect consecutive (cf. Kautzsch, *Gramm. des Bibl.-Aram.*, § 71 b), is certainly to be traced in *Qohemoth*, and sporadically in other very late books,² perhaps also in a few passages in the books of Kings, which are open to the suspicion of being due to later interpolation; so probably 1 K 12³² וְהָעֵמִיד; 2 K 11¹ וְהָאֵתָה; 14¹⁴ וְלִכְח (in the parallel passage, 2 Ch 25²⁴, the word is wanting); 2 K 23⁴ וְנִשָּׂא, &c.; verse 10 וְנִשָּׂא, &c.; verse 12 וְהָשִׁיךְ, &c.; verse 15 וְשָׁרָה, &c.³ Cf. also Ez 37²⁻⁷⁻¹⁰.

qq (b) The text is certainly corrupt in Is 40⁶ (read with the LXX and Vulgate

¹ Mayer Lambert, *REJ.* xxvi. 55, is probably right in pointing some of these forms as *infin. abs.* instead of *perfects*.

² In the whole of *Qohemoth* the imperfect consecutive occurs only in 1¹⁷ and 4¹⁻⁷. Several of the perfects with י can no doubt be explained as frequentatives, e. g. 1¹³, 2⁵⁻⁹⁻¹¹⁻¹³⁻¹⁵, 5¹⁸, compared with 6²; but this is impossible in such passages as 9^{14 ff.} In *Ezra*, Driver reckons only six examples of the historical perfect with י, in *Nehemiah* only six, and in *Esther* six or seven.

³ Stade in *ZAW.* v. 291 ff. and in *Ausgewählte akad. Reden*, Giessen, 1899, p. 194 ff. and appendix p. 199, discusses, in connexion with 2 K 12¹², a number of critically questionable perfects with י. He considers that the whole section, 2 K 23⁴ from וְנִשָּׂא to verse 5 inclusive, is to be regarded as a gloss, since the continuation of an imperfect consecutive by means of a perfect with י never occurs in pre-exilic documents, except in places where it is due to corruption of the original text. The theory of frequentative perfects consecutive (even immediately after imperfects consecutive), which has been supported above, under *f* and *g*, by a large number of examples, is quite inconsistent with the character of the action in 2 K 23⁵ וְהָשִׁבִית, verse 8 וְנָתַן, and verse 14 וְשָׁבַר.

וְאִמָּר; Jer 38²⁸, where the narrative breaks off in the middle of the sentence; 40³ (וְהָיָה), &c., wanting in the LXX; also in Ju 7¹³ וְנִפְלְ הָאֱמֶלֶל is altogether redundant; in 1 S 3¹³ read, with Klostermann, the 2nd sing. masc. instead of וְהִגְדִּיתִי; in 1 K 21¹² וְהָיָה is, no doubt, incorrectly repeated from verse 9, where it is an imperative.

Of other questionable instances, (a) the following, at any rate, may also be ^{rr} explained as frequentatives, Gn 21²⁵, 49²⁸, Ex 36³⁸, 38²⁸, 39², 1 S 5⁷, 17²⁰, 24¹¹ (but even so וְאִמָּר would be expected); 2 K 23¹², Is 28²⁸ (parallel with an imperfect); Am 5²⁶ (unless it is rather, *yea, ye shall take up*; see above, x); ψ 26³, Ez 8³⁶.

(B) A longer or constant continuance in a past state is perhaps represented ^{ss} by the perfect with וְ (as a variety of the frequentative perfect with וְ), in Gn 15⁶, 34⁵, Nu 21²⁰, Jos 9¹², 22^{3b}, Is 22¹⁴, Jer 3⁹. But the unusual *perfects consec.* in Jos 15³⁻¹¹, 16²⁻⁸ (ultimately parallel with an imperf. as in 17⁹, 18²⁰), 18¹²⁻²¹, 19^{11-14.22.26-29.34}, are without doubt rightly explained by Bennett (*SBOT*, Joshua, p. 23) as originally containing the directions either of God to Joshua or of Joshua to the people; cf. the evident trace of this in 15^{4b}. A redactor transformed the directions into a description but left the *perfects consec.*, which are to be explained as in *aa*. In the same way וְהָיָה Ex 36²⁹ is most simply explained as repeated from 26²⁵.

(γ) The following are due to errors in the text, or to incorrect modes of *tt* expression: Ex 36²⁹, Ju 3²³, 1 K 16¹⁸ (read וְנִעְלִי), 1 S 4¹⁹, 17³⁸, 2 S 16⁵, 19^{18f}. (read וְנִעְלִי and וְנִעְבְּרִי), 1 K 3¹¹ (where וְשָׁלַח is, no doubt intentionally, assimilated to the four other perfects); 13³, 20²¹; 2 K 14⁷ (where, with Stade, וְאֶת־הַפֶּלֶע should be read); 14¹⁴, 18⁴ (where, at any rate, וְשִׁבַּר might be taken as a frequentative, but not וְכָרַח, &c.; evidently the perfects are co-ordinated only in form with הָיָה הַקִּיר; 18³⁶, 21¹⁵, 24¹⁴, Jer 37¹⁵ (where וְהָיָה, but not וְנִתְּנָה, might be frequentative); Ez 9⁷ (omit וְיִצְאָה with Stade, and read וְהָיָה); 20²² וְהִשְׁבַּחְתִּי *Mitl* before an imperfect consecutive); Am 7⁴ (וְאִכְלָה after an imperfect consecutive); Jb 16¹².

Finally, in 1 S 12¹, 10⁹, 17⁴⁸, 25²⁰, 2 S 6¹⁶, 2 K 3¹⁵, Jer 37¹¹, Am 7² וְהָיָה is to be *uu* read throughout instead of וְהָיָה, but in Gn 38⁵ וְהָיָה with the LXX.

B. THE INFINITIVE AND PARTICIPLE.

§ 113. *The Infinitive Absolute.*

Cf. the dissertation of J. Kahan, and, especially, the thorough investigation by E. Sellin, both entitled, *Ueber die verbal-nominate Doppelnatur der hebräischen Participien und Infinitive*, &c., Lpz. 1889; F. Prätorius, 'Ueber die sogen. Infinit. absol. des Hebr.' in *ZDMG*. 1902, pp. 546 ff.

1. The infinitive absolute is employed according to § 45 to emphasize *a* the idea of the verb in the abstract, i.e. it speaks of an action (or state) without any regard to the agent or to the circumstances of time and mood under which it takes place. As the *name* of an action the infinitive absolute, like other nouns in the stricter sense,

¹ Or does וְנִעְלִי, as a frequentative, imply fastening with several bolts? It is, at all events, to be noticed, that in 2 S 13¹⁸ also וְנִעְלִי follows an imperfect consecutive.

may form part of certain combinations (as a subject, predicate, or object, or even as a genitive,¹ see below); but such a use of the infinitive absolute (instead of the infinitive construct with or without a preposition) is, on the whole, rare, and, moreover, open to question on critical grounds. On the other hand, the infinitive absolute frequently exhibits its character as an expression of the *verbal idea* by taking an object, either in the accusative or even with a preposition.

b Examples of the use of the infinitive absolute:—

(a) As subject, Pr 25²⁷ אָכַל דְּבֶשׁ הָרְבוּת לֹא טוֹב *it is not good to eat much honey*; Jer 10⁵, Jb 6²⁵, Ec 4¹⁷; epexegetically, after a demonstrative pronoun, Is 58^{5f.}, Zc 14¹².

c (b) As predicate, Is 32¹⁷ and the effect of righteousness (is) שָׁקֵט וְנִמְטָה *quietness* (prop. *to find rest*) and confidence.

d (c) As object, Is 1¹⁷ לִמְדֵי הַיָּטֵב *learn to do well*; Is 7¹⁵, Pr 15¹², Jb 9¹⁸; according to the sense also Jer 9²³ 23¹⁴, as well as Is 5⁵ (וְהָיָה) and פָּרַץ virtually depend on the idea of the wish contained in (וְעָשָׂה); Is 22¹³, where a long series of infinitives absolute is governed by הִנֵּה, and 59¹³ (six infinitives governed by יִדְעוּנָם in verse 12); Dt 28⁵⁶ is strange since the object precedes the infinitive absolute which governs it,² also Is 42²⁴, where the statement of place precedes the infinitive absolute.—In Jer 9⁴, Jb 13³ the infinitive absolute as the object of the verb is placed before it for the sake of emphasis (with the verb negated by לֹא in Is 57²⁰, Jer 49²⁸), so also in La 3⁴⁵ where it is the remoter object and co-ordinated with a substantive.

e (d) As genitive, Is 14²³ בְּמִטְאֵמָה הַשְׂמֵר *with the besom of destruction*; so perhaps also 4¹ בְּרִיחַ בָּעָר *cf. further, Pr 1³, 21¹⁰*. The infinitive absolute is never used in immediate connexion with prepositions³ (which as being originally substantives govern the genitive), but always the infinitive construct; but if a second infinitive is co-ordinated by וְ with such an infinitive construct, it has the form of the infinitive absolute (since it is released from the immediate government of the preposition), e.g. I S 22¹³ . . . בְּתַהֲדָךְ לוֹ לָחֵם . . . וְשָׂאוֹל לוֹ בְּאֵלֵהִים *in that thou hast given him bread . . . and hast enquired of God for him*; Ez 36³; I S 25^{26.33} (after מִן); after לְ Ex 32⁶, Jer 7¹⁸, 44¹⁷.

f (e) Governing an accusative of the object, e.g. Is 22¹³ צֹאן וְשֹׂחַת בָּקָר וְשֹׂחַת *slaying oxen and killing sheep*; cf. Ex 20⁸, 23³⁰, Dt 5¹², Is 37¹⁹, Ez 23³⁰, and of the examples in *a-d*, Dt 28⁵⁶, Is 5⁵, 58^{6f.}, Pr 25²⁷, &c.; followed by a preposition, e.g. Is 7¹⁵ מֵאֵם בָּרַע וּבָחַר בַּטּוֹב *to refuse the evil and choose the good*; Pr 15¹² (הוֹכִיחַ לוֹ).

g If the object be a personal pronoun, then, since the infinitive absolute can never be united with a suffix (see the note on *a*), it is affixed by means of the accusative-sign אֶת (את), e.g. Jer 9²³ וְיָדוּעַ אֹתִי *and knoweth me*; Ez 36³.

¹ The infinitive absolute can never be joined with a genitive or a pronominal suffix.

² Perhaps הָיָה according to § 53 *k* should be explained as an infinitive construct, or should be written הָיָה.

³ אֶת אֲחֵרֵי שְׁתָּה I S 1⁹ is impossible Hebrew, and as the LXX shows, a late addition.

2. Analogous to the use of the infinitive absolute as the accusative *h* of the object, mentioned in *d*, is its employment as a *casus adverbialis*¹ in connexion with some form of the finite verb, to describe more particularly the manner or attendant circumstances (especially those of time and place) under which an action or state has taken place, or is taking place, or will take place; e.g. Jer 22¹⁹ *he shall be buried with the burial of an ass*, כָּהוּב וְהִשְׁלַךְ *a drawing and casting forth*, i.e. being drawn and cast forth, &c.; Gn 21¹⁶ (הַרְחֵק *a removing*, i.e. distant; cf. Ex 33⁷, Jos 3¹⁶); Gn 30³³, Ex 30³⁶, Nu 6^{5,23}, 15⁵⁵ (where a subject is added subsequently; see below, *gg*); Jos 3¹⁷, 1 S 3¹² (וְהָלַל וְכָלָה *a beginning and ending*, i.e. from beginning to end); 2 S 8², Is 7¹¹ (הַעֲמֵק and הַגְבִּיהַ, prop. *a making deep . . .*, and *a making high*, i.e. whether thy request extend to the world below or to the height above); 57¹⁷ הַסִּתֵּר *in hiding*, sc. my face); Jer 3¹⁵ הָעֵתָּה וְהַשְׂבִּיל *with knowledge and understanding*); Hb 3¹³ (עֲרוֹת, for the form cf. § 75 *aa*); Zc 7³, ψ 35¹⁶ (הִרָק, to define more precisely קָרְעִי verse 15); Jb 15³.²

Rem. 1. To an adverbial infinitive absolute of this kind, there may further *i* be added a *casus adverbialis* (the accusative of state or circumstance), or even a circumstantial clause, to define more exactly the manner in which the action is performed, e.g. Is 20² *and he did so* וְהָיָה עָרוֹם הֹלֵךְ *walking naked and barefoot*, prop. in the condition of one naked, &c.; Is 30¹⁴ *a breaking in pieces* (acc. to the reading בְּחֹלֹת *in pieces*; the Masora requires בְּחֹלֹת *without sparing*).

2. A few infinitives of this kind, all of which are in Hiph'il, have, through *k* frequent use, come to be treated by the language as simple adverbs; so especially הֲרִיבָה (cf. § 75 *ff*) *multum faciendo*, i.e. *multum*, very frequently strengthened by מְאֹד *very* and even used without connexion with a finite verb (see the Lexicon); also הֵיטִיב *bene faciendo*, i.e. *bene*, used especially to express the careful and thorough performance of an action (e.g. Dt 13¹⁵); in Dt 9²¹, 27⁸ it is added epexegetically to another adverbial infinitive absolute, in Jon 4⁹ it twice precedes the verb for the sake of emphasis. Finally, מְשַׁבֵּחַ *mane faciendo*, i.e. *early in the morning*, then in general *early* with the additional idea of earnestness; in 1 S 17¹⁶ joined with the infinitive absolute וְהָעֶרֶב *a denominative from עָרַב evening (morning and evening, i.e. early and late)*, elsewhere (with the exception of Pr 27¹⁴) always joined with the infinitive absolute of the governing verb, e.g. Jer 11⁷ *for I earnestly protested* (הָעִידִיתִי) *unto your fathers . . .* וְהָעַרְתִּי מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם *rising early and protesting*, i.e. with earnest protestation; Jer 25³, 26⁵ (where י should be omitted before 'ה); Jer 29¹⁹, 32³³, 2 Ch 16¹⁵.

¹ That this *casus adverbialis* also was originally regarded as an accusative, may be seen from classical Arabic, where an infinitive of this kind expressly retains the accusative ending. In Latin the ablative of the gerund corresponds in many ways to this use of the infinitive absolute.

² Also in 2 K 21¹³ for וְהָפַךְ קִחָה read with Stade and Klostermann וְהָפַךְ מִחָה; similarly, with Stade, וְקִשָּׁה in Ju 4²⁴, and on Is 31⁵ cf. *t*.

l 3. The infinitive absolute occurs most frequently in immediate connexion with the finite verb of the same stem, in order in various ways to *define more accurately* or to *strengthen the idea of the verb*.¹

m These infinitives absolute joined immediately to the finite verb belong in a sense to the *schema etymologicum* treated in § 117 p, i.e. they are objects of the finite verb in question, except that the infinitive absolute (as a *nomen abstractum*) lays stress rather on the actual occurrence or the energy of the action (see the examples below), while the noun proper emphasizes the result or extent of the action; cf. e.g. Ex 22²² יָעַץ אֵלַי אִם-יָעֵץ if it actually happens that *he cries to me*, with Gn 27³⁴ (as it were, *he cried*, so that a great cry was heard).

We must further distinguish—

n (a) The infinitive absolute used *before* the verb to *strengthen* the verbal idea, i.e. to emphasize in this way either the certainty (especially in the case of threats) or the forcibleness and completeness of an occurrence. In English, such an infinitive is mostly expressed by a corresponding adverb, but sometimes merely by putting greater stress on the verb; e.g. Gn 2¹⁷ מוֹת תָּמוּת thou shalt surely die, cf. 18^{10,18}, 22¹⁷, 28²², 1 S 9⁶ (cometh surely to pass); 24²¹, Am 5⁵, 7¹⁷, Hb 2³, Zc 11¹⁷; with the infinitive strengthened by אָף Gn 44²⁸ (but 27³⁰ and Jacob was yet scarce gone out, &c.); Gn 43³ הָעֵד הָעֵד בְּנֵי הָעֵד he did solemnly protest unto us; 1 S 20⁶ נִשְׁאַל נִשְׁאַל David earnestly asked leave of me; Jos 17¹³, Ju 1²³ וְהוֹרִישׁ לֹא הוֹרִישׁוּ and did not utterly drive them out; especially typical instances are Am 9⁸ I will destroy it from off the face of the earth וְלֹא הִשְׁמִיר אֶשְׁמִיר saving that I will not utterly destroy, &c.; Jer 30¹¹ and will in no wise leave thee unpunished; cf. further Gn 20¹⁸, 1 K 3²⁶, Jo 1⁷, Jb 13⁵.

o The infinitive absolute is used before the verb with less emphasis:

(1) Frequently at the beginning of the statement; cf. Driver on 1 S 20⁶. However, in these cases a special emphasis on the following verb is sometimes intended; cf. above, n, on Gn 43³, 1 S 20⁶; also Gn 3¹⁶, 26²⁸, 32¹⁷, 1 S 14²⁸, 20³. Elsewhere the infinitive absolute is evidently used only as possessing a certain fullness of sound (hence for rhythmical reasons, like some uses of the separate pronoun, § 135 a), as in Gn 15¹³, 43^{7,20}, Ju 9⁸, 1 S 10¹⁶, 23¹⁰, 2 S 1⁶, 20¹⁸.

(2) Very frequently in conditional sentences after אִם, &c. The infinitive absolute in this case emphasizes the importance of the con-

¹ Cf. A. Rieder, *Die Verbindung des Inf. abs. mit dem Verb. fin . . . im Hebr.,* Lpz., 1872; also his *Quae ad syntaxin Hebraicam . . . planiorem faciendam ex lingua Graeca et Latina afferantur*, Gumbinnen (Programm des Gymnasiums), 1884. G. R. Hauschild, *Die Verbindung finiter und infinitiver Verbalformen desselben Stammes in einigen Bibelsprachen*, Frankfurt a. M., 1893, discussing especially the rendering of such constructions in the Greek and Latin versions.

dition on which some consequence depends, e.g. Ex 15²⁶ *if thou wilt diligently hearken, &c.*, Ex 19⁵, 21⁵, 22^{3.11^f. 16.22} (see above, *m*); 23²², Nu 21², Ju 16¹¹, 1 S 11¹, 12²⁵; after לִי 1 S 14³⁰.

The infinitive absolute is used to give emphasis to an antithesis, e.g. p 2 S 24²⁴ *nay; but I will verily buy* (בָּקַנְתִּי וְאֶקְנֶה) *it of thee, &c.* (not receive it as a gift); Ju 15¹³ *no; but we will bind thee fast . . . but surely we will not kill thee*; cf. further Gn 31³⁰ (thou art indeed gone =) *though thou wouldst needs be gone* (Vulg. *esto*), *because thou sore longedst, &c.*; ψ 118^{13.18}, 126⁶ (the second infinitive absolute as a supplement to the first—see below, *r*—comes *after* the verb).—Hence also, as permissive, Gn 216^f. הָאֵכֶל תֹּאכַל *thou mayest freely eat, but, &c.* (so that verse 16 is in antithesis to verse 17); or concessive, 1 S 2³⁰ *I said indeed . . .*, 14⁴³.

The infinitive absolute is used to strengthen a question, and *q* especially in impassioned or indignant questions, e.g. Gn 37⁵ הֲתִמְלִךְ עָלֵינוּ *shalt thou indeed reign over us?* Gn 37¹⁰, 43⁷, Ju 11²⁸, 1 S 2²⁷, 2 S 19⁴³, Jer 3¹, 13¹², Ez 28⁹, Am 3⁵, Zc 7⁵; but cf. also Gn 24⁵ *must I needs bring again?*

(*b*) The infinitive absolute *after the verb*, sometimes (as in *n*) to *r* intensify¹ the idea of the verb (especially after imperatives and participles, since the infinitive absolute can never precede either, e.g. Nu 11¹⁵, Jb 13¹⁷, 21², 37² שְׁמַעוּ שְׁמַעוּ *hearken ye attentively*; Jer 22¹⁰; after participles, e.g. Is 22¹⁷, also elsewhere, e.g. Nu 23¹¹, 24¹⁰ *thou hast altogether blessed them*; Jos 24¹⁰, 2 K 5¹¹, Dn 11¹⁰, and with the infinitive absolute strengthened by means of בְּ Gn 31¹⁵, 46⁴, Nu 16¹³); sometimes to express the long *continuance* of an action; here again after an imperative, Is 6⁹ שְׁמַעוּ שְׁמַעוּ *hear ye continually*; after a perfect, Jer 6²⁹; after a participle, Jer 23¹⁷; after an imperfect consecutive, Gn 19⁹, Nu 11³².

To this class belong especially those cases in which a second infinitive absolute is co-ordinated with the first; the latter then expresses either an accompanying or antithetical action or the aim to which the principal action is directed; e.g. 1 S 6¹² הֵלְכֵי הָלָךְ וְנָעוּ *loving as they went* (loving continually; so after a participle, Jos 6^{13b} *Qerê*); Gn 8⁷ *it went forth to and fro*²; Is 19²² *smiting and* (i. e. but also) *healing again*; Jo 2²⁶ (see above, *m*).

Rem. 1. Instead of a second infinitive absolute (see above) there is sometimes found a perfect consecutive (Jos. 6^{13a} and 2 S 13¹⁹ [but Stade's וַיִּקְרַע is

¹ In Arabic also, the intensifying infinitive regularly stands *after* the verb, but in Syriac *before* the verb.

² Also in Ez 1¹⁴ for the distorted form רָצוּא reads simply רָצוּאִי רָצוּאִי.

is preferable], in both places as perfect frequentative; Is 31⁵ referring to the future, unless with Stade, *ZAW.* vi. 189, we read וְהָיָה לְיָמֵינוּ and וְהָיָה לְיָמֵינוּ, or an imperfect consecutive (1 S 19²³, 2 S 16¹⁵) or participle (2 S 16⁵); cf. also u.

- u 2. The idea of long continuance is very frequently expressed by the verb הָלַךְ to go, along with its infinitive absolute, or even by the latter alone, and this occurs not only when it can be taken in its literal sense (to go, to walk, as in the examples given above, Jos 6^{9,13}, 1 S 6¹², 2 S 3¹⁶, 13¹⁹; cf. also, Is 3¹⁶, where both infinitives stand before the verb, and ψ 126⁶, where הָלֹךְ precedes), but also in cases where הָלַךְ in the sense of to go on, to continue, merely performs the function of an adverb. The action itself is added in a second infinitive absolute, or sometimes (see above, t) in a participle or verbal adjective. Examples, Gn 8⁸ וַיָּשֹׁב הַלֹּךְ וַיָּשֹׁב הַמַּיִם . . . and the waters returned . . . continually; Gn 8⁶, 12⁹, Ju 14⁹, 2 K 2¹¹; with a participle following, Jer 41⁶ (unless we read וַיָּבֹלָה, as in 2 S 3¹⁶); with an adjective following, Gen 26¹³, Ju 4²⁴, 1 S 14¹⁹, 2 S 5¹⁰ (1 Ch 11⁹), 2 S 18²⁵.¹

On the other hand, in 1 S 17⁴¹ the participle הֹלֵךְ is used instead of the infinitive absolute. Of a different kind are the instances in which the participle הֹלֵךְ is used as predicate along with the co-ordinate adjective (Ex 10¹⁹, 1 S 2²⁶, 2 S 3¹, 15¹², Est 9⁴, 2 Ch 17¹²) or participle (1 S 17¹⁵, Jon 1¹¹, Pr 4¹⁸, Ec 1⁶).

- v 3. The regular place of the negative is between the intensifying infinitive absolute and the finite verb,² e.g. Ex 5²³ וְהָיָה לְךָ הַעֲלֵתָ neither hast thou delivered at all, Ju 15¹³, Jer 13¹², 30¹¹; cf. Mi 1¹⁰ (אֵל). Exceptions are Gn 3⁴ (where the negation of the threat pronounced in 2¹⁷ is expressed in the same form of words); Am 9⁸, ψ 45⁸.

- w 4. With a finite verb of one of the derived conjugations, not only the infinitive absolute of the same conjugation may be connected (Gn 28²² Pī'el; 17¹³, Ex 22⁸, Ez 14⁸ Niph'al; Gn 40¹⁵ Pu'al; Ho 4¹⁸ Hiph'il; Ez 16⁴ Hoph'al), but also (especially with Niph'al, rarely with Pī'el and Hiph'il; see Driver on 2 S 20¹³) that of Qal as the simplest and most general representative of the verbal idea, 2 S 20¹⁸ (with Pī'el; but in Gn 37³⁵, 44²⁸ בָּרַךְ is a passive of Qal, § 52 e); 46⁴ (with Hiph'il); Ex 19¹³, 21²⁰, 2 S 23⁷, Is 40³⁰, Jer 10⁶, Jb 6² (with Niph'al); Is 24¹⁹ (with Hithpo'el; רָעָה in the same verse must also, according to the Masora, certainly be the infinitive absolute Qal; see § 67 o), and so always מוֹת יָבִיחַ he shall surely be put to death. Elsewhere the infinitive absolute of a conjugation with kindred meaning is found, Lv 19²⁰, 2 K 3²³ Hoph'al for Niph'al (but most probably we should read, with Driver, the *infin. Niph.* in both places, הִפְרִיחַ and הִפְרִיחַ); 1 S 2¹⁶ (Pī'el for Hiph'il, unless יִקְטְרוּן is to be read); Ez 16⁴ (Hoph'al for Pu'al).³ Finally, the infinitive absolute may

¹ Cf. in French, *Le mal va toujours croissant, la maladie va toujours en augmentant et en empirant*, 'continually increases and becomes worse and worse.'

² Cf. Rieder, *Quo loco ponantur negationes* לֹא et אַל . . . (*Zeitschrift für Gymn.-Wesen*, 1879, p. 395 ff.).

³ In three passages even the infinitive absolute of another stem of like sound occurs; in Is 28²³ אֲדֹנָיִשׁ is no doubt a mere textual error for דֹּנָיִשׁ, and in Jer 8¹³, according to § 72 aa, we should read אֲסַפִּים, and in Zp 1² אֲסַפִּה. Barth, *Nom.-bildung*, § 49 b, sees in אֲדֹנָיִשׁ and אֲסַפִּים infinitives Hiph'il, exactly corresponding in form to *qām[a]* the Aram. *infin. 'Aph'el* of קָאֵם; but there is no more evidence for a Hiph. of דֹּנָיִשׁ in Hebrew than for a stem אֲדֹנָיִשׁ.

equally well be represented by a *substantive* of kindred stem.¹ In Is 29¹⁴ the substantive intensifying the verb is found *along with* the infinitive absolute.

5. Instead of the infinitive absolute immediately connected with the finite *x* verb, an infinitive construct form appears (cf. § 73 *d*), in Nu 23²⁰ (נָסַח לָב; cf. Ru 2¹⁶ נָסַח שָׁל; Jer 50⁸⁴ (רִיב יָרִיב); Pr 23¹ (בֵּין תִּכְבֵּן)). In the last instances the infinitive is probably assimilated to the imperfect, like the infinitive Niph'al in the forms noticed in § 51 *k* and note.—Cf. also 2 K 3²⁴ נִיבְּאֵי בָא (read so with the LXX) before א, hence, no doubt due to the dislike of a hiatus; so in ψ 50²¹, Neh 1⁷ (תִּבְלֵ), all in rapid style; *after* the verb, Jos 7⁷, unless הֶעֱבִיר is intended.

4. Finally the infinitive absolute sometimes appears as a *substitute y* for the finite verb, either when it is sufficient simply to mention the verbal idea (see *z*), or when the hurried or otherwise excited style intentionally contents itself with this infinitive, in order to bring out the verbal idea in a clearer and more expressive manner (see *aa*).

(*a*) The infinitive absolute as the continuation of a preceding finite *z* verb. In the later books especially it often happens that in a succession of several acts only the first (or sometimes more) of the verbs is inflected, while the second (or third, &c.) is added simply in the infinitive absolute. Thus after several perfects, Dn 9⁵ (cf. verse 11) *we have sinned . . . and have transgressed thy law*, וְסוֹר *and have turned aside* (prop. *a turning aside* took place); so after a perfect Ex 36⁷ (?), 1 S 2²³, Is 37¹⁹, Jer 14⁵, 19¹³, Hag 1⁶ (four infinitives), Zc 3⁴ (but read with Wellhausen, after the LXX, וְהִלָּכְשִׁי אִתּוֹ), 7⁵, Ec 8⁹, 9¹¹, Est 3¹³, 9^{6, 16, 18}, 12^{6x}, Neh 9^{8, 13}, 1 Ch 5²⁰, 2 Ch 28¹⁹; ² after the perfect consecutive, Zc 12¹⁰; after the perfect frequentative 1 K 9²⁵ (unless וְהִקְטִיר be intended); after the simple imperfect, Lv 25¹⁴, Nu 30³, Jer 32⁴⁴ (three infinitives), 36²³, 1 Ch 21²⁴; after a cohortative, Jos 9²⁰; after the imperfect consecutive, Gn 41⁴³ (as a continuation of וְיִרְכַּב); Ex 8¹¹, Ju 7¹⁹, Jer 37²¹, Neh 8⁸, 1 Ch 16³⁶, 2 Ch 7³; with אִם or after the jussive, Dt 14²¹, Est 2³, 6⁹; after the imperative, Is 37^{30b}, Am 4^{4f.}; after the participle, Hb 2¹⁵ (strengthened by אִם, and regarded, like the participle itself, as an adverbial accusative); Est 8⁸.

(*b*) At the beginning of the narrative, or at least of a new section *aa* of it. The special form of the finite verb which the infinitive absolute represents must be determined from the context. The infinitive

¹ On these substantives (and on the use of the infinitive absolute generally as absolute object, see above, *m*), cf. the *schema etymologicum* treated in connexion with the government of the verb in § 117 *p, q*.

² In Ez 7¹⁴ a perfect appears to be continued by means of an infinitive construct; but the text is quite corrupt; Cornill reads תִּקְעֵי תִקּוֹעַ הַכִּינֹר הַזֶּה.

absolute is most frequently used in this way, corresponding to the infinitive of command in Greek, &c.¹:—

bb (a) For an emphatic imperative,² e.g. שָׁמֹר (thou shalt, ye shall), observe Dt 5¹²; זָכוֹר (thou shalt) remember, Ex 13³, 20⁸ (the full form occurs in Dt 6¹⁷ שָׁמֹר תִּשְׁמְרֶנּוּ; 7¹⁸ זָכוֹר תִּזְכְּרֶנּוּ; Lv 2⁶, Nu 4², 25¹⁷, Dt 1¹⁶, 2 K 5¹⁰, Is 38⁵, Jer 2³, followed by a *perfect consecutive*; Jos 1¹³, 2 K 3¹⁶, Is 7⁴, 14³¹ (parallel with an *imperative*; in Na 2² three imperatives follow). But הִבִּיטָהּ 142⁵ may be only an incorrect spelling of הִבִּיט imperative.³

cc (β) For the jussive, Lv 6⁷, Nu 6⁵, 2 K 11¹⁵, Ez 23⁴⁶; cf. also Pr 17¹² (*let it rather meet*).

dd (γ) For the cohortative, Is 22^{13b} אֲבֹלֶה וְשָׂתֵה (the exclamation of the mocker); Ez 21³¹, 23^{30,46}; perhaps also Jer 31² (הִלֹּךְ).⁴

ee (δ) For the imperfect in emphatic promises, e.g. 2 K 4⁴² ye shall eat and leave thereof; 19²⁹ (Is 37³⁰), 2 Ch 31¹⁰; also in indignant questions, Jb 40² shall he that cavilleth contend with the Almighty? ⁵ (on the addition of the subject cf. the Rem. below); Jer 3¹ and thinkest thou to return again to me? Jer 7^{9a}. (six infinitives, continued by means of the *perfect consecutive*; cf. § 112 o).

ff (ε) For any historical tense (like the Latin *historic* infinitive) in lively narration (or enumeration) and description, even of what is still taking place in present time, e.g. Hos 4² swearing and breaking faith, and killing, and stealing, and committing adultery (in these they are busied); 10⁴ (after a *perfect*); Is 21⁵, 59⁴, Jer 8¹⁵, 14¹⁹, Jb 15³⁵; cf. further Jer 32³³, Ec 4².—In Ez 23³⁰, Pr 12⁷, 15²², and 25⁴, the infinitive absolute is best rendered by the passive.

¹ Cf. also such infinitives in French as *voir* (page so and so, &c.), *s'adresser*..., *se méfier des voleurs*!

² Prätorius, *op. cit.*, p. 547: the extraordinarily common use of the infinitive form *qāṭl* in the sense of an imperative, jussive, or cohortative has long since caused it to be compared with the Arab. *fa'āl*. It thus appears that the infin. *qāṭl* in Hebrew could be used from early times as a kind of fixed, invariable word of command.

³ In Ez 21³¹, for the infinitives construct הִסִּיר, הָרִים, הִשְׁפִּיל (beside הִנְבִּיחַ) read with Cornill the infinitives absolute הִסֵּר, &c. The K^ethibh probably intends הִסִּיר, &c.

⁴ In 2 S 3¹⁸ the infinitive construct appears to be used instead of the cohortative, but אֶשִׂיעַ should certainly be read for הִשִּׁיעַ. Also in 1 K 22³⁰ (2 Ch 18²⁹), which was formerly included under this head (I will disguise myself and go into the battle), read אֶתְחַפֵּשׂ וְאֵבֹא.

⁵ In Jb 34¹⁸ in a similar question instead of the infinitive constr. we should rather expect the infinitive absolute (הִתְאַמֵּר), unless with the LXX and Vulg. the participle with the article (הַתְּאַמֵּר) is to be read.

Rem. The subject is sometimes added to the infinitive absolute when it takes the place of the finite verb, e. g. Lv 6⁷, Nu 15³⁵, Dt 15², ψ 17⁵, Pr 17¹², Jb 40², Ec 4², Est 9¹. So, probably, also in Gn 17¹⁰, Ex 12⁴⁸, although here כָּל-יֹכֵר according to § 121 a might also be taken as an object with a passive verb; cf. Est 3¹³. In 1 S 25^{26,33} the subject follows an infinitive absolute which is co-ordinated with an infinitive construct, see above, e.

§ 114. The Infinitive Construct.

1. The infinitive construct, like the infinitive absolute, may also *a* represent a *nomen verbale* (§ 45 a), but of a much more flexible character than the infinitive absolute (cf. § 113 a). Its close relation with nouns properly so called is especially seen in the readiness with which the infinitive construct may be used for any case whatever; thus,

(a) As the nominative of the subject, e. g. Gn 2¹⁸ לֹא-טוֹב הָיְתָה לְבָדּוֹ הָאָדָם, literally, *not good is the being of man in his separation*; Gn 30¹⁵, 1 S 23²⁰, Is 7¹³, Pr 17²⁶, 25^{7,24} (but cf. 21⁹ לֹא-טוֹב לְשָׁכֶנָּה לְשִׁבְתָּהּ in the same statement); ψ 32⁹ prop. *there is not a coming near unto thee*, but the text is probably corrupt. With a *feminine* predicate, 1 S 18²⁸, Jer 2¹⁷.

(b) As genitive, e. g. Ec 3⁴ עֵת כְּפֹד וְעֵת רִקּוֹד a *time of mourning b* and a *time of dancing*; Gn 2¹⁷, 29⁷, Neh 12⁴⁶, 2 Ch 24¹⁴. This equally includes, according to § 101 a, all those cases in which the infinitive construct depends on a preposition (see below, d) [and Driver, *Tenses*, § 206].

(c) As accusative of the object, e. g. 1 K 3⁷ לֹא יָדַעְתִּי צֵאת וְבֹא I *know c* not the going out or the coming in (*I know not how to go out and come in*); Gn 21⁶, 31²⁸, Nu 20²¹, Is 1¹⁴, 37²⁸ (even with אֵת), Jer 6¹⁵, Jb 15²² (cf. for the use of the infinitive absolute as object, § 113 f); as accusative with a verb expressing fullness, Is 11⁹.

2. The construction of the infinitive with prepositions (as in Greek, *d* ἐν τῷ εἶναι, διὰ τὸ εἶναι, &c.) may usually be resolved in English into the finite verb with a conjunction, e. g. Nu 35¹⁹ בְּפָגַע-בּוֹ in *his meeting him*, i. e. if (as soon as) he meets him; Gn 27⁴⁵ (עַד-שִׁיב) because ye despise; Jer 23³⁵ עַל-אִמְרֶךָ because thou sayest; Gn 27¹ and his eyes were dim מִרְאָה from seeing, i. e. so that he could not see.

This use of the infinitive construct is especially frequent in connexion with אֲדָּ or אֲפִי to express time-determinations (in English resolved into a temporal clause, as above the combination of the infinitive with יָעַן or עַל-יְהִי is resolved into a causal clause), especially after יְהִי (see the

examples, § 111 g), e.g. 1 S 27 בְּהִיָּתָם בְּמִצְרַיִם when they were in Egypt; Gn 24³⁰ וַיְהִי כִּרְאֹת אֶת־הַפֶּתָּם . . . וַיִּשְׁמְעוּ וְג' and it came to pass, when he saw (prop. in the seeing) the ring . . . , and when he heard (prop. in his hearing), &c.

f But by far the most frequent is the connexion of the infinitive construct with לְ.¹ Starting from the fundamental meaning of לְ, i. e. *direction towards something*, infinitives with לְ serve to express the most varied ideas of purpose or aim, and very commonly also (with a weakening or a complete disregard of the original meaning of the לְ) to introduce the object of an action, or finally even (like the infinitive absolute used adverbially, § 113 h, and the Latin gerund in *-ndo*) to state motives or attendant circumstances. See the instances in the Remarks.

g Rem. 1. The original meaning of the לְ is most plainly seen in those infinitives with לְ which expressly state a purpose (hence as the equivalent of a final clause), e.g. Gn 11⁵ and the Lord came down, לְרֹאֵת אֶת־הָעִיר to see the city; also with a change of subject, e.g. 2 S 12¹⁰ and thou hast taken the wife of Uriah the Hittite לְרֹאֵת לְךָ לְאִשָּׁהּ to be (i. e. that she may be) thy wife; cf. Gn 28⁴, Jer 38²⁶ (לְכוֹת).—If there is a special emphasis on the infinitive with לְ, it is placed, with its complement, before the governing verb, e.g. Gn 42⁹, 47⁴, Nu 22²⁰, Jos 2³, 1 S 16² with בּוֹא; Ju 15¹⁰, 1 S 17²⁵ with עָלָה.

h 2. Just as clearly the idea of aiming at a definite purpose or turning towards an object may be seen in the combination of the verb הָיָה to be, with לְ and an infinitive. In fact הָיָה לַעֲשׂוֹת may mean, either (a) *he was in the act of, he was about to* (as it were, he set himself), *he was ready, to do something*, or (b) *he or it was appointed or compelled, &c., to do the action in question*. In the latter case הָיָה לַעֲשׂוֹת corresponds to the Latin *faciendum erat*, cf. also the English *I am to go*. In both cases הָיָה (as elsewhere when copula) is often omitted.

i Examples of (a) Gn 15¹² וַיְהִי הַשֶּׁשֶׁשׁ לְבֹא and when the sun was going down (just about to set); 2 Ch 26⁵ וַיְהִי לְרִשׁ אֱלֹהִים and he set himself to seek God (here with the secondary idea of a continuous action); with the omission of הָיָה Is 38²⁰ הָיָה לְהוֹשִׁיעַנִי the Lord is ready to save me; 1 S 14²¹ (?), Jer 51⁴⁰, ψ 25¹⁴ (et foedus suum manifestaturus est eis); Pr 18²⁴ (?), 19⁸ (לְמַנְא consecuturus

¹ Cf. § 45 g, according to which the close union of the לְ with the first consonant of the infinitive (לְכַתֵּב with a firmly closed syllable, as opposed to כָּתַב, כָּתַבְתָּ, &c.) seems to point to the formation of a special new verbal form. Quite distinct are the few examples where the infinitive with לְ serves to express time, as Gn 24⁶⁸ לְפָנֹת עָרֵב at the eventide (prop. at the time of the return of evening); cf. Dt 23¹², Ex 14²⁷, Ju 19²⁶; 2 S 18²⁰ when Joab sent the king's servant.

est, unless we simply read יִמָּצֵא with the LXX)¹; 2c²⁵, Ec 3¹⁵ לְהִיּוֹת אֲשֶׁר quod futurum est; 2 Ch 11²², 12¹² (in a negative statement); in a question, Est 7⁸ (will he even . . . ?). Cf. also 1 S 4¹⁹.

Of (b) Jos 2⁵ וַיְהִי הַשַּׁעַר לִסְגוֹר and the gate was to be shut (had to be shut); ² Is 37²⁶, ψ 109¹³.² Mostly with the omission of הָיָה, e.g. 2 K 4¹³ מָה לַעֲשׂוֹת הָיִשׁ לְפָנֶיךָ what is to be done for thee? הָיִשׁ לְפָנֶיךָ wouldst thou be (lit. is it to be) spoken for to the king, &c.? 2 K 13¹⁹ לְהַכּוֹת it was to smite equivalent to thou shouldst have smitten; Is 5⁴, ψ 32⁹, 68¹⁹ (?), Jb 30⁶ (habitandum est iis), 1 Ch 9²⁵, 10¹³, 22⁵, 2 Ch 8¹³ (?), 11²², 19², 36¹⁰ (?), Ho 9¹³, Hb 1¹⁷. In a question 2 Ch 19²; after לֹא 1 Ch 5¹, 15²; after אֵין 1 Ch 23²⁶, 2 Ch 5¹¹ and frequently.

Of the same kind also are the cases, in which the infinitive with ל depends on the idea of an obligation or permission (or prohibition); especially in such forms of expression as 2 S 18¹¹ עָלַי לָתֵת לְךָ וְגִ' it was upon me, i. e. it would have been my duty to give thee, &c.³; cf. Mi 3¹ (2 Ch 13⁵) it is not for you to (i. e. are ye not bound to) ?⁴ with a negative, 2 Ch 26¹⁸ לֹא לְךָ וְגִ' it pertaineth not unto thee, Uzziah, to burn incense unto the Lord, but only to the priests; also אֵין ל with an infinitive expresses it is not permitted (nefas est), may not, e.g. Est 4² לֹא יָבֹאוּ אֵין לְכָבוֹד for none might enter; 8⁸, 1 Ch 15²; ⁵ אֵין ל with an infinitive is used in a somewhat different sense, equivalent to it is not feasible, not possible, e.g. in ψ 40⁶, Ec 3¹⁴, 2 Ch 5¹¹.⁶—With either meaning לֹא can be used instead of אֵין, e.g. Am 6¹⁰ לֹא לְהַקִּיף nefas est, to make mention of the name of the Lord: but Ju 1¹⁹ for it was not possible to drive out, &c., perhaps, however, the text originally stood as in Jos 17¹² לֹא יִכְלֹו לָהּ; 1 Ch 15².

¹ P. Haupt (SBOT., Proverbs, p. 52, lines 10 ff.; Critical Notes on Esther, p. 17c, on 7⁸) considers it possible that here and in Pr 2⁸, 6²⁴, 7⁵, 16³⁰, 30¹⁴, as well as in 14³⁵, 17²¹ before a noun, the ל is a survival of the emphatic ל with an imperf., which is especially common in Arabic. In that case לִמָּצֵא must be read לִמָּצֵא, i. e. ל + יִמָּצֵא. But all the above instances can be taken as infinitives with ל without difficulty.

² Somewhat different are the cases where לְהִיּוֹת with the infinitive (which is then used exactly as a substantive) implies to become something, i. e. to meet with a particular fate, as Nu 24²² (cf. Is 5⁵, 6¹³) לְהָדָר for roasting, for which elsewhere frequently לְשַׂמֵּה and the like; probably also לְבָלוֹת 49¹⁵ is to be explained in this way, the הָיָה being omitted.

³ 2 S 4¹⁰ (cui dandum erat mihi) appears to be similar; it may, however, be better, with Wellhausen, to omit the אֲשֶׁר.

⁴ But in 1 S 23²⁰ after וְלָנוּ and our part shall be the infinitive without ל stands as the subject of the sentence.

⁵ Quite different of course are such cases as Is 37³ וְכֵן אֵין לְלָרֶה and there is not strength to bring forth; cf. Nu 20⁵, Ru 4⁴.

⁶ In 2 S 14¹⁹ אִישׁ (= שׁ it is, there is) is used in a similar sense after אִם, the negative particle of asseveration, of a truth it is not possible to turn to the right hand or to the left.

m 3. A further class comprises the very numerous cases, in which the infinitive with ל is used as the object¹ of a governing verb, hence, again, for the direction which an action takes. The verbs (or conjugations) which occur most frequently in this combination with ל and an infinitive are: הָחֵל (with an infinitive without ל, e.g. Dt 25³¹, Jos 3⁷), הוֹאִיל to begin, הוֹסִיף, הוֹסִיף (prop. to add) to continue, very frequently, even in prose, with an infinitive without ל, as Gn 4¹², 8^{10.12}, 37⁵, 1 S 3⁸, Jb 27¹, &c.; הָרַל to cease from, to desist; בָּלָה to complete, to make an end of; תָּמַם to be finished; הִקְרִיב to come near to, Gn 12¹¹; מָהֵר to hasten (with an infinitive without ל Ex 2¹⁸); אָבָה to be willing (with an infinitive without ל Is 28¹², 30⁹, Jb 39⁹); חָפֵץ to will, to desire; מָאָן to refuse (to be unwilling); בָּקֵשׁ to seek; יָכַל to be able (with an infinitive without ל, e.g. Gn 24⁵⁰, 37⁴, Ex 2⁸, 18²⁸, Nu 22³⁸, Jb 4²); נָתַן with an accusative of the person in the sense of to give up to some one, to cause, or permit him to do something, e.g. Gn 20⁶, ψ 16¹¹ (with an infinitive abs. Jb 9⁴⁸, see § 113 d), יָדַע to understand how to do something (in Jb 3⁸ הִעָרְוִים עָרַר is analogous); לָמַד to learn; קָנָה to wait, expect (with a change of subject, e.g. Is 5² and he waited for it to bring forth grapes).

n We must further mention here a number of verbs in Hiph'il (partly denominatives), which express an action in some definite direction (cf. § 53 f), as הִגְדִּיל to do greatly, הִשְׁפִּיל to make (it) low, הִנְבִּיחַ to make (it) high, הִעֲמִיק to make (it) deep, הִרְחִיק to make (it) far, distant, הִיטִיב to make (it) good (with an infinitive without ל ψ 33⁸, but 1 S 16¹⁷, in the same combination, with ל); הִשְׁפִּיעַ to do anything early (ψ 127², along with its opposite אֶחָר to do something late, with an infinitive without ל); הִרְבֶּה to make (it) much, הִפְלִא to make (it) wonderful (even with a passive infinitive 2 Ch 26¹⁵),² &c.

¹ This view is based upon the fact, that in numerous expressions of this kind (see the examples above) the ל may be omitted, and the infinitive consequently stand as an actual accusative of the object (see above, c). However, the connexion of the verb with the object is in the latter case closer and more emphatic (hence especially adapted to poetic or prophetic diction), than the looser addition of the infinitive with ל; thus לֹא אָבוּ שְׁמוֹעַ Is 28¹² is equivalent to they desired not obeying (לֹא אָבוּ) also with the infin. abs. in Is 42²⁴; cf. § 113 d); but לֹא אָבוּ לְשָׁמֹעַ Ez 20⁸ rather expresses they could not make up their mind as to hearkening. When connected with ל, the governing verb has a more independent sense than when it directly governs the accusative of the object.

² In almost all these examples the principal idea is properly contained in the infinitive, whilst the governing verb strictly speaking contains only a subordinate adverbial statement, and is therefore best rendered in English by an adverb; e.g. Gn 27²⁰ how is it that thou hast found it so quickly? (prop. how thou hast hastened to find!), Gn 31²⁷ wherefore didst thou flee secretly? So frequently with הִרְבֶּה (= often, abundantly), Ex 36⁵, 1 S 11², 2 K 21⁶, Is 55⁷, Am 4⁴, ψ 78³⁸, &c.; with שֵׁב (= again), Dt 30⁹, 1 K 13¹⁷, Ho 11⁹, Ezr 9¹⁴; cf. also 2 S 19⁴, Jer 1¹², Jn 4², and the analogous instances in § 120 g; also 2 K 2¹ thou hast asked a hard thing.

4. Finally, the infinitive with $\dot{\text{ל}}$ is very frequently used in a much looser O connexion to state motives, attendant circumstances, or otherwise to define more exactly. In English, such infinitive constructions (like the Latin gerund in *-do*; cf. *f*) must frequently be turned by *that* or a gerund; e.g. 1 S 12¹⁷ $\text{לְשֹׂאֵל לְכֶם מֶלֶךְ}$ *in asking you a king*; 14³³, 19⁵, 20³⁶, Gn 3²², 18¹⁹, 34^{7,15}, Ex 23², Lv 5^{4,22,26}, 8¹⁵, Nu 14³⁶, 2 S 3¹⁰, 1 K 2^{3f}, 14⁸, Jer 44^{7f}, ψ 63³, 78¹⁸, 101⁸, 103²⁰, 104^{14f}, 111⁶, Pr 2⁸, 8⁸⁴, 18⁵, Neh 13¹⁸. Sometimes the infinitive with $\dot{\text{ל}}$ is used in this way simply by itself, e.g. 1 Ch 12⁸ *as the roes upon the mountains* לְמַהֵר (as regards hasting) *in swiftness*; Gn 2⁵, 2 S 14²⁵ (לְהָלֵל); Is 21¹ (לְחַלּוֹף); Jo 2²⁶, Pr 2², 26² and so very frequently the infinitive לֵאמֹר *dicendo* which has become stereotyped as an adverb to introduce direct narration (in the sense of *thus, as follows*).¹

5. In a number of instances—especially in the later books—the infin. P constr. with $\dot{\text{ל}}$ appears to be attached by *Wāw* (like the infinitive absolute, § 113 2), as the continuation of a previous finite verb. In most examples of this kind it is, however, evident that the infinitive with $\dot{\text{ל}}$ virtually depends on an idea of intention, effort, or being in the act of, which, according to the sense, is contained in what has preceded, whilst the copula, as sometimes also elsewhere, is used in an emphatic sense (*and that too*); thus e.g. Ex 32²⁹ (if the text be right) *fill your hand to-day* (sc. with an offering) *for the Lord . . . and that to bring a blessing upon you*, i.e. that ye may be blessed; cf. 1 S 25³¹ (otherwise in verses 26 and 33 where the infinitive absolute is used, see § 113 e); ψ 104²¹,² Jb 34⁸, Ec 9¹, Neh 8¹³, 2 Ch 7¹⁷.—In Lv 10^{10f} $\text{וְלִהְיוֹתֶיךָ לְחֵרֶם}$ might be regarded as an explanatory addition to the command contained in verse 9 b (= this prohibition of wine before the service shall ye observe, and that in order to put a difference, &c.); but probably the text has been disturbed by a redactor.—In 2 Ch 30⁹ וְלִשְׁבֹּחַ depends on the idea of receiving a favour which lies in לְרַחֲמֵם . On the other hand, in 1 S 8¹² it is sufficient to explain and in order to appoint them unto him for captains of thousands (sc. he will take them). In Is 44²⁸ translate *and he (Cyrus) shall perform all my pleasure, and that in saying of Jerusalem, &c.*

3. The period of time to which an action or occurrence represented Q by the infinitive construct belongs, must sometimes be inferred from the context, or from the character of the principal tenses; cf. e.g. Gn 2⁴ *these are the generations of the heaven and of the earth*, בְּהִבְרָאֵם *when they were created* (prop. in their being created); Ju 6¹⁸ וְעַד-בֹּאִי *until*

¹ לֵאמֹר is very often so used after וַיִּדְבֹּר in the Priestly document (Gn 8¹⁵, 17⁸, &c., and numberless times in the legal parts of Exod., Lev., and Num.)—a pleonasm which is not surprising considering the admittedly prolix and formal style of the document.

² When Delitzsch on ψ 104²¹, referring to Hb 1¹⁷, explains the infinitive with $\dot{\text{ל}}$ as an elliptical mode of expressing the *coniugatio periphrastica* (equivalent to *flagitaturi sunt a deo cibum suum*), this is, in point of fact, certainly applicable to this and a few other places mentioned above; but all these passages, in which the infinitive with $\dot{\text{ל}}$ follows, are to be distinguished from the cases treated above under *h*, where the infinitive with $\dot{\text{ל}}$ without *Wāw* corresponds to a Latin gerundive, or is actually used to express the *coniugatio periphrastica*.

I come unto thee, and bring forth, &c. Cf. 1 S 18¹⁹ (= *when she should have been given*); 2 K 2¹, Ho 7¹.

7^r Rem. 1. The constructions of the infinitive with a preposition, described above under *d*, are almost always continued in the further course of the narrative by means of the *finite verb*, i. e. by an independent sentence, not by a co-ordinate infinitive. Such a finite verb *we* regard as governed by a conjunction, which corresponds to the preposition standing before the infinitive. Thus the infinitival construction (frequently even with a change of subject) is continued by a perfect (with לָ), Jer 9¹² *because they have forsaken* (עָלְעָזְבָם) *my law* . . . וְלֹא שָׁמְעוּ and *have not obeyed my voice*; Gn 39¹⁰, 1 S 24¹², Am 1⁹; without לָ Jb 28²⁵ (perf. after לָ and infin.); by a perfect with וְ (cf. § 112 i and v) Am 1¹¹ וְעָלְהֶרְפוּ *because he did pursue his brother with the sword*, וְשָׁחַת and *did cast off continually all pity* (a frequentative perfect; for examples of the perfect consecutive proper see Gn 27⁴⁵, Ju 6¹⁸, 1 S 10⁸, 2 K 18⁸² [Is 36¹⁷], always after עַד-בֹּאִי *until I come*); by a simple imperfect, e. g. Pr 1²⁷ (after בְּ); Is 36²⁵ (after בְּיוֹם *in the day*, a temporal phrase which has here become equivalent to a preposition); Is 5²⁴ (after בְּ), 10², 13⁹, 14²⁵, 45¹, 49⁵, 1 S 2⁸, Pr 2⁸, 5², 8²¹ (always after לָ) ¹; by an imperfect consecutive, e. g. Gn 39¹⁸ and *it came to pass*, וַיִּקְרָא קוֹלִי בְּהָרִימִי *as I lifted up my voice and cried, that . . .*; 1 K 10⁹, Jb 38¹⁸ (after לָ); 1 K 18¹⁸, Is 38⁹, Jb 38⁷⁻⁹ (after בְּ); Is 30¹², Jer 7¹³, Ez 34⁸ (after וְעָן).

8 2. The negation of an infinitive construct, on account of the predominance of the noun-element in its character, is effected not by the verbal negative לֹא (except in the compound בְּלֹא, which has come to be used as a preposition, *without*, Nu 32²³, Pr 15²), but by בְּלֹאִי, originally a substantive (see the Lexicon), with לָ prefixed (but also Nu 14¹⁶ (מִבְּלֹאִי), e. g. Gn 3¹¹ אֶכְלֵ-מִמֶּנּוּ *not to eat of it*; in a final sense, 4¹⁵ *lest any finding him should smite him*; only in 2 K 23¹⁰ is לָ repeated before the infinitive. In ψ 32⁹ (if the text be right) בְּלֹא negatives, not the infinitive, but the predicate which is understood.

§ 115. Construction of the Infinitive Construct with Subject and Object.

a 1. Like the infinitive absolute (see § 113 a), the character of the infinitive construct as a *verbal noun* is shown by its power of taking the case proper to its verb, and hence in transitive verbs ² the *accusative of the object*, e. g. Nu 9¹⁵ בְּיוֹם הַקִּים אֶת-הַמִּשְׁכָּן *on the day the*

¹ The great frequency of examples of this kind, especially in the poetical books, is due to a striving after what is called *chiasmus* in the arrangement of the parallel members in the two halves of the verse, i. e. in the instances given, the finite verb *at the end* of the second (co-ordinate) clause is parallel with the infinitive *at the beginning* of the first. In this way the verbal form necessarily became separated from the לָ, and consequently the imperfect had to be used instead of the perfect consecutive. Such a parallelism of the *external* and *internal* members of a verse is frequent also in other cases, and was evidently felt to be an elegance of elevated—poetic or prophetic—style.

² For examples of the accus. of the object with a pass. infin., see § 121 c.

tabernacle was reared up; 1 S 19¹ אֶת־דָּוִד לְהָמִית that they should slay David; Gn 14¹⁷, 19²⁹, Ex 38²⁷, 1 K 12¹⁵, 15⁴; with a negative, e.g. Lv 26¹⁵ אֶת־כָּל־מִצְוֹתַי לִבְלִי עֲשׂוֹת so that ye will not do all my commandments; with the accusative of the personal pronoun, e.g. Dt 29¹² לְמַעַן לְהָקִים־אֹתְךָ that he may establish thee; Gn 25²⁶, Jer 24⁷; with a verbal suffix, e.g. Ex 2¹⁴ לְהָרְגֵנִי to kill me; Jer 38²⁶ לְבִלְתִּי הָשִׁיבֵנִי that he would not cause me to return (on the suffix, cf. c). In Is 49⁶ the object even precedes the infinitive with ל; on this order cf. the note on § 114 r.—If the verb governs a double accusative, the infinitive may also take the same, e.g. Gn 41³⁹ אֶת־כָּל־זֹאת אֲחֵרִי הוֹדִיעַ אֵלָהִים אֲחֵרִי forasmuch as God hath showed thee all this; Dt 21¹⁶.

Rem. 1. The object after the infinitive construct must also always be *b* regarded as in the accusative, even when it is not expressly introduced (as in all the above examples) by the *nota accusativi* אֶת, and when therefore the substantive in question might easily be taken as the *genitive of the object* governed by the infinitive (the usual construction in Arabic), e.g. Pr 21¹⁵ עֲשׂוֹת מִשְׁפָּט to do judgement. Against regarding it as a *genitive*, which is in itself possible (*the doing, the executing of judgement*), is the fact (a) that elsewhere the *nota accusativi* is so frequently added; (b) that in such a case the secondary forms of the infinitive, such as רָאָה (פָּנִיךָ) Gn 48¹¹ (cf. ψ 101³, Pr 16¹⁶), would be unintelligible; (c) that certain infinitive forms, if they were to be regarded as in the construct state, could hardly retain the pretonic Qames without exception, whereas, when connected with suffixes (i.e. with real genitives; cf. § 33 c), this Qames necessarily becomes *S'ewā*; e.g. Gn 18²⁵ לְהָמִית צַדִּיק to slay the righteous (never as לְהָמִית; cf., on the other hand, above, הָשִׁיבֵנִי; 2 K 21⁸, Ez 44³⁰). Similarly in such cases as Is 3¹³ (ψ 50⁴) instead of לְרִין עַמִּים we should rather expect לְרִין, if the infinitive were regarded as in the construct state, and עַמִּים as the *genitive*. Hence also in cases like Is 58⁹ (שָׁלַח שְׂלָחָה) we must assume, with Sellin, op. cit., p. 78, a merely 'external phonetic connexion' and not the genitive construction.

2. The verbal suffixes added to the infinitive are (with the exception of C להוֹצִיאָהוּ Jer 39¹⁴) only the suffix of the 1st pers. sing. (besides the above examples cf. also 1 S 5¹⁰, 27¹, 28⁹, Ru 2¹⁰, 1 Ch 12¹⁷, &c.) and plural; e.g. לְהַשְׁמִיחַנִּי to destroy us, Dt 1²⁷ (immediately after אֲחֵנִּי, so that נִי is doubtless a *verbal* not a *noun*-suffix, although in form it might be either); לְהַמְלִיחַנִּי Nu 16¹³, Ju 13²³ (after הִפִּיץ). Elsewhere the pronominal object is appended either by means of the accusative sign (e.g. Gn 25²⁶ אֹתָם בְּלִיָּהוּ prop. *in the bearing them*; לִרְעֵת אֹתִי to know me, Jer 24⁷) or in the form of a *noun*-suffix (as *genitive of the object*). The latter occurs almost always, whenever the context excludes the possibility of a misunderstanding; e.g. 1 S 20³³ לְהַבְּתוֹ (prop. for his smiting) to smite him, not, as the form might also mean, *in order that he might smite*; cf. 1 K 20³⁵; with the suffix of the 3rd sing. fem. Nu 22²⁵; of the 3rd plur. Jos 10²⁰, 2 S 21², &c. Hence also the suffixes of the 2nd sing. with the infinitive, as לְהַבְּתִיךָ Jer 40¹⁴, cf. Mi 6¹³, and even נִפְלֵךְ to magnify thee, Jos 3⁷, must certainly be regarded as *nominal* not *verbal* suffixes. The connexion of the *noun*-suffix, as *genitive of the object*, with the infinitive,

was so fully established, that it could be used not only in such strange cases, as Gn 37⁴ לֹא יִכְלוּ דַבֵּר לְשָׁלֹם they could not speak to him peaceably, cf. Ze 3¹ לְשֹׁנִי to be an adversary to him, but ultimately even in the 1st sing., as in Nu 22¹³ לְתַתִּי to give me leave [Dt 25⁷ לֹא אֶבְיֵא יָמַי he will not perform the duty of a husband's brother unto me; 1 Ch 4¹⁰ עֲצָבִי לֹבְלֵתִי that it may not grieve me!]

d 3. The power of governing like a verb is also retained in those verbal nouns which, although originally secondary forms of the infinitive, have fully acquired the value of nouns, e. g. Is 11⁹ דָּעָה אֶת־יְהוָה (prop. to know the Lord) the knowledge of the Lord; לִירָאָה אֹתִי to fear me, Dt 4¹⁰, 28⁶, 10¹²; an accusative follows לְאִהְבָה Dt 10^{12,15}, Is 56⁶ (cf. also 1 K 10⁹, Ho 3¹); לְהִנָּפֵחַ Is 30²⁸; אֲהַנֵּי Is 12⁷; after verbal nouns formed with the prefix ו (cf. § 45 e), Nu 10², Is 13¹⁹, Am 4¹¹, Ez 17⁹. The accusative of the object likewise remains after infinitives (or their secondary forms) which have the article, e. g. Gn 2⁹, Jer 22¹⁰, or a suffix, e. g. Gn 5⁴, &c., 28^{4,6}, 29^{19 f}, 30¹⁵, 38⁵, 2 S 3¹¹, Is 29¹³.

e 2. The subject of the action represented by the infinitive is mostly placed immediately¹ after it, either in the *genitive* or *nominative*. The subject is in the genitive (§ 33 c) whenever it has the form of a noun-suffix, and also when the infinitive has the termination of the constr. st. fem. sing. (see *f*); probably also in many other cases, where the infinitive in form and meaning is used more like a substantive, and accordingly governs like a noun. On the other hand, the subject of the infinitive is certainly to be regarded as a *nominative*, when it is separated from the infinitive by any insertion, and according to certain indications (see *g*) very probably in many other instances.

f Rem. 1. Examples of genitives of the subject after infinitives in the connective form are Dt 12⁷ בִּשְׂנֵאתַי יְהוָה אֹהֵבִי prop. in the Lord's hating us; cf. 7⁸, Gn 19¹⁶, 1 K 10⁹, Is 13¹⁹, 47⁹, Ho 3¹, Am 4¹¹. The subject of the infinitive is probably also to be regarded as genitive in such cases as Ex 17¹ and there was no water לְשִׁתּוֹת הָעָם for the people to drink (prop. for the drinking of the people), and in cases like Gn 16¹⁶ (בְּלֶדְתָּ הָהִיא); Gn 16², Ex 19¹, Nu 20^{3,4}, 33³⁸, 1 K 6¹, ψ 133¹, 2 Ch 7², &c.

g 2. Examples in which the subject is separated from the infinitive by an insertion, and hence must certainly be regarded as a *nominative*, are Jb 34²² לְהַסְתֵּר שָׁם פְּעָלֵי אֱוֹן that the workers of iniquity may hide themselves there (prop. for the hiding themselves there the workers of iniquity); cf. Gn 34¹⁵, Nu 35⁶, Dt 19³, Ju 9², 2 S 24¹³, ψ 76¹⁰, and below, *i*. The subject is likewise to be regarded as a *nominative*, whenever the *Lamedh* is prefixed to the infinitive by means of a pretonic Qameṣ (cf. *b* above), e. g. 2 S 19²⁰ לְשׂוֹמְרֵי הַמִּלִּךְ אֶל־לְבָבוֹ,

¹ In Gn 24³⁰ the subject of בָּרָאָה is wanting (but בִּשְׂמֵעוֹ follows); the original reading was undoubtedly בָּרָאתִי, and the text is now in a state of confusion; verse 30a should come before verse 29b. In Gn 19²⁹, 25²⁶, Ex 9¹⁶, 13²¹, 1 S 18¹⁹, Jer 41⁶, ψ 42⁴ the subject, although not indicated, is easily supplied from the context. The infinitive in such cases is best rendered in English by a passive.

since, if the infinitive were used as a *nomen regens*, we should rather expect לְשׁוֹם according to § 102 f. That the subject of the infinitive is regarded elsewhere also as nominative is again (see above, b) probable, since in such forms as הָיָה דִּתְּנִיחַ Dt 25¹⁹, Is 14³, הָמִיר ψ 46³, &c., the pretonic Qameṣ is retained without exception, whereas on the analogy of הָיָה עִזְיָה Ez 24¹³, Jer 23²⁰, &c., we should expect הָיָה הָמִיר, &c., if the infinitive were regarded as a *nomen regens*. Or was the retention of the Qameṣ (assuming the thorough correctness of the Masoretic punctuation) rendered possible even before a following genitive, because that vowel was characteristic of the form? It is at all events certain that owing to the lack of case-endings,¹ a distinction between the genitival and nominative constructions could not have been consciously made in the case of most infinitives, e. g. in unchangeable forms like קָטַל, קָם, &c.

3. When both a *subject* and an *object* are connected with the *h* infinitive, the rule is, that the subject should immediately follow the infinitive, and then the object. The latter, in such a case, is necessarily in the accusative, but the subject (as in *e*) may be either in the genitive or in the nominative. The noun-suffixes again are, of course, to be regarded as genitives, e. g. Gn 39¹⁸ בָּהִירָתִי קוֹלִי as *I lifted up my voice* (cf. 1 K 13²¹, and the examples, Gn 5⁴, &c., enumerated above, under *d*), and so also substantives which follow a connective form, Dt 1²⁷, &c.; see above, *d* and *f*.

On the other hand, the subject appears necessarily to be in the *i* nominative in such cases as Is 10¹⁵ שָׁכַם אֶת־מְרִיטָיו כְּהִנִּיף as *if a rod should shake them that lift it up* (for the plur. מְרִיטָיו cf. § 124 *k*), not כְּהִנִּיף, as would be expected (see *g* above), if שָׁכַם were in the genitive; cf. 2 S 14¹³, Jb 33¹⁷. And so probably also in other cases, as Gn 5¹, 13¹⁰, Jos 14⁷, 1 K 13⁴, 2 K 23¹⁰, Is 32⁷. The subject is separated from the infinitive by an insertion (and consequently must necessarily be in the nominative; see *g* above), e. g. in Jer 21¹.

Rem. Less frequently the object is placed immediately after the infinitive, *k* and then the nominative of the subject, as a subsequent complement, e. g. Is 20¹ בָּשַׁלְחָה אֹתוֹ סַרְגֹּן when *Sargon sent him*; Gn 4¹⁵, Jos 14¹¹, 2 S 18²⁹, Is 5²⁴, ψ 56¹, Pr 25⁸. In Nu 24²⁸ the subject follows an infinitive which has a noun-suffix in place of the object.

§ 116. *The Participles.*

Cf. Sellin (see above at the head of § 113), p. 6 ff., and Kahan, p. 11 ff.

1. Like the two infinitives, the participles also occupy a middle *a* place between the noun and the verb. In form they are simple nouns,

¹ In Arabic, where the case-endings leave no doubt as to the construction, it is equally possible to say either *qatlu Zaidin* (gen. of subj.) '*Amran* (acc.), literally *Zaid's killing Amr*, or *qatlu 'Amrin* (gen. of obj.) *Zaidun* (nom. of subj.), or even *el-qatlu* (with article) *Zaidun* (nom. of subj.) '*Amran* (acc. of obj.).

and most nearly related to the adjective; consequently they cannot in themselves be employed to represent definite relations of tense or mood. On the other hand, their verbal character is shown by their not representing, like the adjectives, a fixed and permanent quality (or state), but one which is in some way connected with an *action* or *activity*. The *participle active* indicates a person or thing conceived as being in the continual uninterrupted *exercise* of an activity. The *participle passive*, on the other hand, indicates the person or thing in a state which has been brought about by external *actions*.

b Rem. That the language was fully conscious of the difference between a state implying action (or effected by external action) and mere passivity, is seen from the fact, that participles proper cannot be formed from the purely stative Qal, but only verbal adjectives of the form *qāṭel* (קָטֵל, &c.) or *qāṭōl* (קָטֹל, &c.), whereas the *transitive* Qal שָׂנֵא *to hate*, although it coincides in form with the intransitive Qal (as a verb middle *e*), nevertheless forms a participle active שֹׂנֵא, and participle passive שְׁנוּא (cf. the feminine שְׁנוּיָה).—In cases where the participle proper and the verbal adjective both occur, they are by no means synonymous. When the Assyrians are called in Is 28¹¹ שְׂפִי שֹׁפֵה *men of stammering lips*, a character is ascribed to them which is inseparably connected with their personality. On the other hand לֵבָה לֵעַג *Jer 20⁷*, describes those about the prophet as continually engaged in casting ridicule upon him. Cf. also שֹׁפֵה (שְׂפִיחִי) with שְׁנוּא (שְׂפִיחִי) 50²².

c On the difference between the participle as expressing *simple* duration and the imperfect as expressing *progressive* duration, cf. what has been stated above in § 107 *d*. Nevertheless the participle is sometimes used—especially in the later books, cf. e.g. Neh 6¹⁷, 2 Ch 17¹¹—where we should expect the action to be divided up into its several parts, and consequently should expect the finite verb. But the substitution of the participle for the *tempus historicum*, which becomes customary in Aramaic (cf. Kautzsch, *Gramm. des Bibl.-Aram.*, § 76. 2, *d* and *e*), is nevertheless quite foreign to Hebrew.

d 2. The period of time indicated by (*a*) a participle active, either as an attribute or predicate, must be inferred from the particular context. Thus יָמָת may mean either *moriens* (Zc 11⁹), or *mortuus* (so commonly; with the article הַיָּמָת regularly=*the dead man*), or *moriturus* (Dt 4²²); בָּא coming, come Gn 18¹¹, &c., *venturus* 1 S 23¹, &c.; נָפַל falling, but also fallen, Ju 3²⁵, 1 S 5³, and ready to fall (threatening ruin, Is 30¹³, Am 9¹¹). For other examples of perfect participles see Gn 27³³, 43¹⁸ הַשֹּׁבֵר that was returned; cf. Ezr 6²¹, &c., הַשֹּׁבִים which were come again from the captivity); Gn 35³, Ex 11⁵, Zc 12¹, ψ 137⁷, Pr 8⁹, Jb 12⁴ (קָרָא), and see *m* below. For future participles see Gn 41²⁵, 1 K 18⁹, Is 5⁵, Jon 1³, &c., probably also לִקְחִי Gn 19¹⁴. On the *futurum instans* (esp. after הִנֵּה) see *p* below.

e (*b*) Of the passive participles, that of *Qal* (e.g. כְּתוּב scriptus) always corresponds to a Latin or Greek perfect participle passive, those of the other conjugations, especially *Niph'al*, sometimes to

a Latin gerundive (or to an adjective in *-bilis*), e. g. נִרְאָה *metuendus*, to be feared, ψ 76⁸, &c.; נִחְמָד *desiderandus* (*desiderabilis*) Gn 3⁶, ψ 19¹¹, &c.; נִבְרָא *creandus* ψ 102¹⁹; נוֹלָד, usually *natus*, but also (like הַיִּילָד Ju 13⁸) *procreandus, nasciturus* 1 K 13², ψ 22²³; נִעְרָץ *terribilis* ψ 89⁸; נִתְעַב *abominable* Jb 15¹⁶; נִחְשָׁב *aestimandus* Is 2²²; נִגְאָלֶת that may be eaten (an animal) Lv 11⁴⁷. In פִּיֹּאֵל מְהֻלָּל *laudandus*, worthy to be praised ψ 18⁴. In Hoph'al, 2 S 20²¹ מִשְׁלָךְ; 2 K 11² הַמִּוֹמְתִים; Is 12⁵ מוֹדֵעַת Qerê¹

3. The participles active, in virtue of their partly verbal character, *f* possess the power of governing like verbs, and consequently, when used in the absolute state, may take after them an object either in the accusative, or with the preposition with which the verb in question is elsewhere usually construed, e. g. 1 S 18²⁹ אִיב אֶת־דָּוִד *hating David*; Gn 42²⁹; with the suffix of the accusative, e. g. עָשִׂנִי that made me Jb 31¹⁵; מִי רֹאֵנוּ *who seeth us?* Is 29¹⁵ (in Is 47¹⁰ רֹאֵנִי is abnormal); רֹמֵם *ruling them* ψ 68²⁸, sometimes also with the article, e. g. ψ 18³³ הַמֵּאַרְגֵּנִי that girdeth me (LXX ὁ παραῖων με); Dt 8¹⁴⁻¹⁶, 13^{6,11}, 20¹, 2 S 1²⁴, Is 9¹² (where, however, Cheyne omits the article), 63¹¹, ψ 81¹¹, 103⁴, Dn 11⁶; followed by a preposition, e. g. 1 K 9²³ בָּעָם הָרֹדִים *which have rule over the people*; 2 K 20⁶ לִדְרֹשׁ רִפְאִי *behold, I will heal thee*.²

By an exhaustive examination of the statistics, Sellin (see the title at the head of § 113), p. 40 ff., shows that the participle when construed as a *verb* expresses a single and comparatively transitory act, or relates to particular cases, historical facts, and the like, while the participle construed as a *noun* (see *g*) indicates repeated, enduring, or commonly occurring acts, occupations, and thoughts.

So also the verbal adjectives of the form *qāṭēl* may take an accusative of the person or thing, if the finite verb from which they are derived governs an accusative, e. g. Dt 34⁹ רֵיחַ חֲכָמָה מְלֵא *full of the spirit of wisdom*; ψ 5⁵ הַפֶּן רֵשַׁע *that hath pleasure in wickedness*.

As a sort of noun the participle may, however, also exercise the *g* same government as a noun, being in the construct state, and followed by the object of the action in the genitive (see § 89 *a*; and cf. § 128 *x*), e. g. ψ 5¹² שִׁמְךָ אֲהַבִּי *that love thy name*; cf. ψ 19^{6f}; also when a verbal adjective, e. g. Gn 22¹² and often אֶלֶהִים יִרָא *one fearing*

¹ Such examples as נִרְאָה, נִחְמָד, מְהֻלָּל show plainly the origin of this gerundive use of the participle passive. A person or thing *feared, desired, or praised* at all times is shown thereby to be *terrible, desirable, or praiseworthy*, and therefore also to be *feared, &c.*

² On the other hand, in Is. 11⁹ as the waters לָיִם מְכַסִּים *covering the sea*, the ל serves only to introduce the object preceding the participle [cf. the Arabic parallels cited by Driver, *Tenses*, § 135, 7 *Obs.*]. Cf. Hab. 2¹⁴.

God; Hb 2¹⁵; with an infinitive, ψ 127²; with a noun-suffix (which, according to § 33 c, also represents a genitive), e.g. Gn 4¹⁴ כֹּל־מֵצֵאִי *whosoever findeth me* (prop. my finder; cf. עֹשִׂי *my maker*); 12³ מְבַרְכֶּךָ *that bless thee*, מְקַלְלֶךָ *that curseth thee* (but read either מְקַלְלֶךָ or מְבַרְכֶּךָ in the preceding clause); 27²⁹, 1 S 2³⁰, Is 63¹³, ψ 18⁴⁹. In Jer 33²² read מְשַׁרְתִּים אֵתִי.¹

h Rem. To the class of objective genitives belong also specifications of place after the participles בָּא *inens* and יֵצֵא *egrediens*, since the verbs בּוֹא and יֵצֵא, in the sense of *ingredi*, *egredi*, can be directly connected with an accusative; e.g. Gn 23^{10.18} בָּאִי נָשַׁעַר עִירוֹ *that went in at the gate of his city*; La 1⁴; after יֵצֵאִי, Gn 9¹⁰, 34²⁴, 46²⁸, &c.—In poetic language the participle in the construct state may be connected not only with a genitive of the object, but also with any other specifications (especially of space) which otherwise can only be made to depend on the verb in question by means of a preposition; cf. Is 38¹⁸, and frequently, יוֹרְדֵי-בֹר, *they that go down into the pit* (the grave); ψ 88⁸ שֹׁכְבֵי קֶבֶר *that lie in the grave*; Dt 32²⁴ (Mi 7¹⁷); 1 K 2⁷, 2 K 11^{5.7.9} *those that came in* (or *went out*) on the sabbath, Pr 2⁷, 1 Ch 5¹⁸, &c.; instead of the construction with מִן, e.g. Is 59²⁰ *(those who turn from transgression)*, Mi 2⁸.

i These genitives of nearer definition appear also in the form of a noun-suffix, e.g. ψ 18^{40.49} קָמִי (for קָמִים עָלַי) *that rise up against me*; cf. Ex 15⁷, Dt 33¹¹, ψ 44⁶, Ex 3²⁵, Is 1²⁷ שֹׁבֵיהָ *her converts*; ψ 53⁶ (הַנֶּחֱדָה); Pr 2¹⁹ כָּל-צִבְיֹתָהּ *all that go unto her*; the construction is especially bold in Is 29⁷ כָּל-צִבְיֹתָהּ וּמַעֲרֹתָהּ *all that fight against her and her stronghold* (for 'עָלֶיהָ וְעַל-מִ' *against her and against her*); ψ 102⁹ even with a participle Po'al, מְהוֹלְלֵי *they that are mad against me* (?), but read perhaps with Olshausen מְהוֹלְלֵי *who pierce me*.—In Is 1³⁰ as a terebinth עֹלֶה נֹבֶלֶת *fading as regards its leaf*, it remains doubtful whether נֹבֶלֶת is in the absolute state, and consequently עֹלֶה in the accusative, or whether it is to be regarded as construct state, and עֹלֶה as the genitive. In the latter case it would be analogous to Pr 14² (see k).

k 4. The passive participles also may either be in the absolute state, and take the determining word in the accusative,² or may be connected

¹ When, as in Jb 40¹⁹, the participle with the noun-suffix הָעֹשִׂי *he that made him*, also has the article (cf. § 127 i), the anomaly is difficult to understand, since a word determined by a genitive does not admit of being determined by the article.—No less remarkable is the use of the constr. st. of the participle before the accusative in Jer 33²² מְשַׁרְתִּי אֵתִי *that minister unto me* (for which there is מְשַׁרְתִּי in verse 21). In Am 4¹³ an accusative of the product follows the genitive of the object, עֹשֶׂה שָׁחַר עֵיפָה *maker of the morning into darkness*. In Jer 2¹⁷ בָּעֵת מוֹלֶכְךָ *is supposed to mean at the time when he led thee*; perhaps the perfect (חֹלֵל) should be read as in 6¹⁵. In Ez 27³⁴, the ancient versions read עֵתָּה נִשְׁבַּרְתָּ *now thou art broken*, instead of the difficult עֵת נִשְׁבַּרְתָּ. In 1 K 20⁴⁰ read עֹשֶׂה before הִנֵּה וְהִנֵּה.

² On the proper force of this accusative when retained in the passive con-

with it in the construct state, e.g. Ju 18¹¹, 1 S 2¹⁸, Ez 9² לְבוּשׁ בְּדִים קָרוֹעַ *clothed in linen*, cf. verse 3 הַלְבַּשׁ הַבְּדִים; (even with a suffix *rent as regards his coat* 2 S 15³²; with the participle following Ju 1⁷); but Ez 9¹¹ לְבוּשׁ הַבְּדִים *the one clothed with linen*; 2 S 13³¹ קָרַע בְּגָדֵיהֶם *rent in respect of clothes*, equivalent to *with their clothes rent* (cf. Jer 41⁵); Nu 24⁴, Dt 25¹⁰, Is 3³, 33²⁴, Jo 1⁸, ψ 32¹ נְשִׁי-צָשַׁע *forgiven in respect of transgression*, כָּסִי הַטָּאָה *covered in respect of sin*); with a suffix to the noun, Pr 14² נָלוֹךְ דְּרָכָיו *he that is perverse in his ways*.

Rem. The passive participle occurs in the construct state before a genitive *l* of the cause, e.g. in Is 1⁷ אֵשׁ שָׂרְפוֹת *burnt with fire*; cf. Gn 41⁶, Ex 28¹¹, Dt 32²⁴; before a genitive denoting the author, e.g. Gn 24³¹ בְּרוּכָה יְהוָה *blessed of the Lord* (but ψ 115¹⁵ לַיהוָה בְּרוּכִים, see § 121 f); cf. Is 53³, ψ 22⁷, Jb 14¹ (15¹⁴, 25⁴); hence also with noun-suffixes (which are accordingly genitive) Pr 9¹⁸ קָרְאֶיהָ *her invited ones*, i.e. those invited by her; cf. 7²⁸, ψ 37²².

5. The use of the participle as predicate is very frequent in noun-*m* clauses (which, according to § 140 e, describe established facts and states), in which the period of time intended by the description must again (see above, d) be inferred from the context. Thus:

(a) As present, in speaking of truths which hold good at all times, e.g. Ec 1⁴ נָבֵא בָּא דִּוְר הַלֵּךְ וְדִוְר הַלֵּךְ *one generation goeth, and another generation cometh*; and the earth *abideth* (עֹלָמְתָּה) *for ever*; cf. verse 7; also to represent incidental (continuous) occurrences which are just happening, Gn 3⁵, 16⁸ (I am fleeing); 32¹², Ex 9¹⁷, 1 S 16¹⁵, 23¹, 2 K 7⁹, Is 1⁷; when the subject is introduced by the emphatic demonstrative הִנֵּה *behold!* (§ 100 o and § 105 b), e.g. Gn 16¹¹ הִנֵּה הָרָה *behold, thou art with child*, &c.; 27⁴²; frequently also in circumstantial clauses (connected by Waw), cf. § 141 e, e.g. Gn 15², &c.

(b) To represent past actions or states, sometimes in independent noun-*o* clauses, e.g. Ex 20¹⁸ וְכָל-הָעָם רָאוּ אֶת-הַקּוֹלֹת *and all the people saw the thunders*, &c.; 1 K 1⁵; in negative statements, e.g. Gn 39^{23a}; sometimes in relative clauses, e.g. Gn 39^{23b}, Dt 3² (cf. also the frequent combination of the participle with the article as the equivalent of a relative clause, e.g. Gn 32¹⁰ הָאִמֶּר *which saidst*; 12⁷, 16¹⁸, 35^{1,3}, 36³⁵, 48¹⁶, 2 S 15³¹, &c.); sometimes again (see n) in circumstantial clauses, especially those representing actions or states which occurred simultaneously with other past actions, &c., e.g. Gn 19¹ *and the two angels came to Sodom* יֹשֵׁב וְלוֹט *and* (i.e. while) *Lot sat*, &c.; 18^{1,8,19,22}, 25²⁶, Ju 13⁹, 2 Ch 22⁹; also with the subject introduced by הִנֵּה *behold* 37⁷, 41¹⁷. (On הִלֵּךְ with a following adjective or participle to express an action constantly or occasionally recurring, cf. § 113 u.)

(c) To announce future actions or events, e.g. 1 K 2², 2 K 4¹⁶ *at this season* p *when the time cometh round*, בֵּן אֶתְּ הַבֶּקֶת *thou shalt embrace a son*; so after a specification of time, Gn 7⁴, 15¹⁴, 17¹⁹, 19¹⁸, Hag 2⁶ (but in Is 23¹⁵, where, after וְהָיָה we should rather expect a perfect consecutive, it is better to explain

struction cf. below, § 117 cc, &c, and § 121 c, d. So also Neh 4¹² is to be understood, *and the builders were girded every one with his sword on his side, and building*.

וְנִשְׁעָהָ, with Qimhi, as the 3rd sing. fem. of the perfect; on the form, cf. § 44 f); or in relative clauses, Gn 41²³, Is 5⁵ *what I am doing*, i.e. am in the act of doing; in a deliberative question, Gn 37³⁰; but especially often when the subject is introduced by הִנֵּה (especially also if the subject be attached as a suffix to הִנֵּה as הִנֵּנִי, הִנֵּךְ, &c.), if it is intended to announce the event as imminent, or at least near at hand (and sure to happen), when it is called *futurum instans*, e.g. Gn 6¹⁷, 15³, 20³, 24^{13f}, 48²¹, 50⁵, Ex 3¹³, 8²⁵, 9³, 34¹⁰, Jos 2¹⁸, Ju 7¹⁷, 9³³, 1 S 3¹¹, 2 K 7³, Is 3¹, 7¹⁴, 17¹, Jer 30¹⁰, Zc 2¹³, 3³; with a participle passive, 2 S 20²¹: cf. also § 112 t.

q Rem. 1. As the above examples show, a noun-clause with a participle as predicate may have for its subject either a substantive or a personal pronoun; in both cases the participle, especially if there be a certain emphasis upon it, may precede the subject. Also in noun-clauses introduced by הִנֵּה the subject may be either a substantive, or (e.g. Gn 37⁷) a separate personal pronoun, or a suffix attached to הִנֵּה. In the same way, the subject may also be introduced by יֵשׁ (*est*, see the Lexicon) with a suffix, and in negative sentences by אֵין (*non est*) with a suffix, e.g. Ju 6²⁶ אִם-יִשְׁעַר מוֹשִׁיעַ if thou wilt save; Gn 43⁵ אִם-אֵין יִשְׁעַר if thou wilt not send; 1 S 19¹¹.—In such cases as Is 14²⁷ יָדוֹ הַנְּטוּיָה יְדוֹ הַנְּטוּיָה is not, like נְטוּיָה in 9^{11,16}, &c., the predicate (in which case the participle could not take the article), but the subject; cf. Gn 2¹¹, 45¹², Is 66⁹, Ez 20²⁹, Zc 7⁶ (cf. § 126 k), where the participle with the article likewise refers to the present, also Nu 7², Dt 3²¹, 4³, &c., 1 S 4¹⁶, where it refers to the past. In 1 K 12⁸ and 21¹¹ even in relative clauses after אֲשֶׁר.

q 2. To give express emphasis to an action continuing in the *past*, the perfect הָיָה in the corresponding person is sometimes added to the participle, and similarly the imperfect יִהְיֶה (or the jussive יִהְיֶה, or the imperfect consecutive) is used to emphasize an action continuing in the *future*, e.g. Jb 1¹⁴ הַבָּקָר הָיָה הֹרֶשֶׁת the oxen (cows) were plowing; Gn 37², 39²², Ex 3¹, Dt 9²⁴, Ju 1⁷, 1 S 2¹¹, 2 S 3³; the same occurs with a passive participle, e.g. Jos 5⁵, Zc 3³; יִהְיֶה with a participle is found e.g. in Is 2²; the jussive in Gn 1⁸, ψ 109¹²;¹ and יִהְיֶה with a participle in Ju 16²¹, Neh 1⁴.

q 3. The *personal pronoun* which would be expected as the subject of a participial clause is frequently omitted, or at least (as elsewhere in noun-clauses, cf. Is 26⁸, ψ 16⁸, Jb 9³²) the pronoun of the 3rd pers. הוּא, e.g. Gn 24³⁰, 37¹⁵, 38²⁴, 41¹, 1 S 10¹¹, 15¹², Is 29⁸ (the participle always after הִנֵּה); cf., moreover, Gn 32⁷, Dt 33³, 1 S 17²⁵, 20¹, Is 33⁵, 40¹⁸, ψ 22²⁸, 33⁵, 55²⁰, Jb 12^{17,19}, 25², 26⁷.—הוּא is omitted in Lv 18²⁸; הִנֵּה in Is 32¹², Ez 8¹², Neh 9³; in a relative clause, Gn 39²², Is 24².—The personal pronoun of the 2nd pers. masc. (אַתָּה) is omitted in Hb 2¹⁰; the 2nd fem. (אַתְּ) in Gn 20¹⁶ (where, however, for the participle הִנֵּה the 2nd fem. perf. וְנִשְׁעָהָ is to be read); the pronoun of the 1st sing. in Hb 1⁵ (?), Zc 9¹², Mal 2¹⁶; the 2nd plur. (אַתֶּם) 1 S 2²⁴ (if the text be right), 6³, Ez 13⁷ (?). But these passages are all more or less doubtful.

t Of a different kind are the cases in which some undefined subject is to be supplied with the participle; e.g. Is 21¹¹ אֵלֵי קָרָא there is one calling unto me (= one calleth; § 144 d); cf. Is 30²⁴, 33⁴.—So with participles in the plur., e.g. Ex 5¹⁶ (אֲמָרִים sc. the taskmasters); Jer 38²³ (in 33⁵ the text is corrupt), Ez 13⁷ (?), 36¹⁸, 37¹¹ (equivalent to *sunt qui dicant*).

¹ A jussive is practically to be supplied also in the formulae of blessing and cursing, בָּרַךְ blessed be . . . Gn 9²⁶, &c.; אָרַר cursed art thou . . . 3¹⁴, &c.

4. We must mention as a special class those noun-clauses which occur at ^u the beginning of a period, and are intended to lay stress upon the fact that the first action still continues on the occurrence of the second (always introduced by וְ); e. g. Jb 1¹⁶ ^f כָּא עוֹד נָה מְדַבֵּר וְנָה בָּא *he was yet speaking, and (= when) another came, &c.*¹; cf. Gn 29⁹, 1 S 9^{11,27}, 2 C³⁶, 1 K 14¹⁷ *she was entering the threshold of the house, when the child died*; 2 K 2²³, 4⁵, Dn 9²⁰^f; also in Ju 19²², 1 S 9¹⁴, 17²³, 1 K 14², Jb 1¹⁸^f, in all which passages the apodosis is introduced by וְהִנֵּה. — On the other hand, in 1 K 1¹⁴ the noun-clause itself is introduced by הִנֵּה (as in verse 22 by וְהִנֵּה), and denotes an action only just impending.² Finally, when the whole sentence is introduced by means of וְיָהִי (cf. § 111 g), and the apodosis by וְהִנֵּה, Gn 42³⁵, 2 K 2¹¹, 13²¹; without הִנֵּה in the apodosis, 1 S 7¹⁰, 2 K 19³⁷ (Is 37³⁸).

Participles active, which are used in the sense of the perfect participle, and ^v also *participles passive*, in accordance with their meaning, express in such noun-clauses a state still continuing on the occurrence of the principal action, e. g. Gn 38²⁵ שְׁלָחָה וְהִיא מוֹצֵאתָּהּ *she was being brought forth, when she sent, &c.*; cf. Gn 50²⁴. [See further in Driver, *Tenses*, §§ 166–169.]

5. Different from the examples treated in ^u and ^v are the instances in ^w which a participle (either alone or as the attribute of a noun) stands at the beginning of the sentence as a *casus pendens* (or as the subject of a compound noun-clause, see § 143 c) to indicate a condition, the contingent occurrence of which involves a further consequence; e. g. Gn 9⁶ שֹׁפֵךְ דָּם הָאָדָם בְּאָרְצוֹ דָּמוֹ יִשָּׁפַךְ *shedding man's blood, i. e. if any one sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed*; Ex 21¹², ψ 75⁴, Pr 17¹⁴, Jb 41¹⁸; so especially if כֹּל precedes the participle, Gn 4¹⁵, 1 S 3¹¹ (2 K 21¹²), 2 S 5⁸ (*whosoever smiteth*), 1 Ch 11⁶. The apodosis is very often introduced by וְ (*vāw* apodosis), e. g. Ex 12¹⁵ (with a following perfect consecutive), Nu 35³⁰; 1 S 2¹³ כָּל־אִישׁ וְזָכָר בְּלִישָׁתָא *when any man offered sacrifice, the priest's servant came, &c.*; 2 S 14¹⁰ (participle with article); 22⁴¹ (where, however, the text is to be emended in accordance with ψ 18⁴¹); 2 S 23³^f, Pr 23²⁴ *Kth*; 29⁹. — As in the instances discussed under ^u, such sentences are sometimes preceded by וְיָהִי, cf. 1 S 10¹¹, 11¹¹, 2 S 2²⁸ וְיָהִי כָל־הַבָּצָא *and it came to pass, that as many as came, &c.* [or by וְיָהִי, frequentative, Ju 19³⁰]. — On the other hand, וְהַנֶּשֶׁבֶר דָּן is a mere catchword (equivalent to *and as for that which was broken*) to call to mind the contents of verse 8.

6. On the use of the participle after the infinitive absolute הָלֹךְ cf. § 113 u.

7. Almost as a rule the participial construction beginning a sentence (like ^w the infinitival constructions according to § 114 r) is continued by means of a finite verb with or without וְ, before which the English construction requires us to supply the relative pronoun implied in the participle; thus,

¹ The independent noun-clause here lays stress upon the simultaneous occurrence (and consequently the overlapping) of the events far more forcibly than could be done by a subordinate expression of time (as e. g. וְיָהִי בְּרַבְרֵי). In English it may be represented by *scarcely had he finished speaking when. . .*. As the above examples show, the apodosis also frequently consists of a noun-clause.

² At the same time the preceding עוֹד still shows that what is announced is not merely a future event, but a future event *contemporaneous* with something else; the case thus entirely differs from the examples given in § 112 t, where הִנֵּה refers to the following participle, while here it belongs properly to the apodosis, before which it is therefore generally placed; see the examples.

continued by means of a perfect, Is 14¹⁷ ^{אֶתְּ}הָרָם וְעָרָיו בְּמִדְבָּר שָׁם תִּבְלֶה that made the world as a wilderness, and overthrow the cities thereof¹; 43⁷, Ez 22³, ψ 136¹³ π., Pr 2¹⁷; by a perfect without Wāw, Gn 49¹¹; by a simple imperfect (as the *modus rei repetitae* in the present), Is 28²⁸, 46⁸, Pr 7⁸, Jb 12^{17.19} π., 24²¹; by an imperfect without Wāw, e. g. 1 S 2⁸, Is 5⁸, Pr 2¹⁴, 19²⁶; by an imperfect consecutive, Gn 27³³, 35³, 1 S 2⁶, Jer 13¹⁰ (after several participles); ψ 18³³, 136¹⁰ f.

C. THE GOVERNMENT OF THE VERB.

§ 117. The Direct Subordination of the Noun to the Verb as Accusative of the Object. The Double Accusative.

L. Kaila, *Zur Syntax des in verbaler Abhängigkeit stehenden Nomens im alttest. Hebr.*, Helsingfors, 1906.

- a 1. The simplest way in which a noun is subordinated to a verbal form is by the addition of an accusative of the object to a transitive verb.² In the absence of case-endings,³ this accusative can now be recognized only from the context, or by the particle אֶת (את), before suffixes also אֹת, אֵת⁴ prefixed to it. The use of this *nota accusativi*

¹ On the parallelism between the *external* and *internal* members, which appears here and in many other examples of this kind, see the note on § 114 r.

² The verb in question may either have been originally transitive, or only have become transitive by a modification of its original meaning. Thus the vocalization shows that הִפִּין (to have pleasure, usually with ב) to desire, מָלֵא (to be full of something, also transitive) to fill, were originally intransitive. Cf. also such cases as בָּקָה to weep (generally with עַל-אֶל- or ל), but also to bewail with an accusative; יָשַׁב to dwell (usually with ב), but also to inhabit with an accusative (cf. further, under u).—The examples are different in which verbs of motion such as בָּוֵא intrare, also aggredi, יָצָא egredi (cf. § 116 h above), שׁוֹב redire, Is 52⁸, take an accusative of the aim of the motion, while בָּוֵא according to the Old Semitic usage, even takes an accusative of the person (at least in poetry, equivalent to בָּוֵא אֶל in prose).

³ On traces of these endings, especially the remains of a former accusative ending in a, cf. § 90 c.

⁴ אֶת (toneless owing to the following Maqqeph), and אֵת (with a tone-long ē, אֵת only in Jb 41²⁶), אֹת or אֵת before the light suffixes (on all these forms cf. § 103 b: the underlying form *āth* was obscured in Hebrew to *ōth*, shortened to *āth* before suffixes beginning with a consonant and then modified to אֶת, whence finally the secondary form אֵת with the tone), Phoenician אֵית i. e. probably *īyyāth* (for the Phoenician form, cf. G. Hoffmann, *Einige phönik. Inschriften*, Göttingen, 1889, p. 39 f.), Punic *yth* or (according to Euting) pronounced even as a mere prefixed t, Arabic, before suffixes, *īyyā*, Aram. יֵת יֵת. It was no doubt originally a substantive, meaning *essence, substance, self* (like the Syriac *yāth*; on the other hand, any connexion with the Hebrew אֵת, Syriac *āth*, Arabic *āyat*, a sign, must, with Noldeke, *ZDMG*. xl. 738, be rejected), but now united in the construct state with a following noun or suffix stands for the pronoun *ipse, autrós*. In common use, however (cf. Wilson, 'The particle אֵת in Hebrew,' *Hebraica*, vi. 2, 3, and the precise statistics of the use

is, however, somewhat rare in poetry, and even in prose it is not invariably necessary but is restricted to those cases in which the accusative of the object is more closely determined by being a proper name, or by having the article, or by a following determinate genitive (hence also by the suffixes), or in some other way (see below, c), e. g. Gn 4¹ and she bare אֵת הָאָדָם *Cain*; 6¹⁰, 1¹ God created אֵת הָאָרֶץ וְאֵת הַשָּׁמַיִם *the heaven and the earth* (but 2⁴ אֵת הָאָרֶץ וְאֵת הַשָּׁמַיִם); 1²⁵ and God made אֵת הַחַיָּה *the beast of the earth*; 2²⁴.

Rem. 1. The rare occurrence of the *nota accusativi* in poetic style (e. g. it never occurs in Ex 15²⁻¹³, Dt 32, Ju 5, 1 S 2, &c., though it is frequent in the late Psalms) may be explained from the fact that in this as in other respects (cf. § 2 q) poetry represents a somewhat more archaic stage of the language than prose. The need of some external means of indicating the accusative could only have been felt after the case-endings had become wholly extinct. Even then the אֵת would probably have been used at first to indicate only an object placed *before* the verb (when it followed, it was already sufficiently characterized by its position as depending on the verb), or proper names.¹ Finally, however, the *nota accusativi* became so customary everywhere in prose, that even the pronominal object was expressed rather by אֵת with suffixes than by verbal suffixes, even when none of the reasons mentioned under c can be assigned for it; cf. Giesebrecht in ZAW. 1881, p. 258 ff., and the statistics of H. Petri, cited above at the head of § 58. Such examples as כָּבַל אֶשְׂרֵי-צִוְּהוּ יְהוָה Gn 6²² in the *Priestly Code*, beside אֶתְּהוּ *in the Jahvist*, are especially instructive.

2. As accusatives determined in other ways, we have in the first place to consider the collectives introduced by כָּל *entirety*, without a following article or determinate genitive, inasmuch as the meaning of כָּל includes a determinative sense, cf. e. g. Gn 1²¹⁻³⁰, 8²¹, Dt 2³⁴, 2 K 25⁹. כָּל-אֶת־כָּל is used absolutely in Gn 9⁸, cf. 39²³; similarly, מִי is determinate of itself, since it always denotes a person, hence מִי-אֶת־מִי *quem?* e. g. Is 6⁸, 37²³, &c., but never אֶת־מִי *quid?* So also the relative אֲשֶׁר in the sense of *eum qui* or *quem*, &c., e. g. 1 S 16⁸, or *id quod*, Gn 9²⁴, &c. Cf. also such examples as Jos 2¹⁰, 1 S 24¹⁹, where אֶת אֲשֶׁר is equivalent to *the circumstance, that*, &c.—Elsewhere אֵת stands before nouns which are determinate in sense, although the article is omitted, which according to § 126 h is very frequently the case in poetic or otherwise elevated style; thus Lv 26⁸, Jos 24^{14,15}, Is 41⁷ (to distinguish the object from the subject); 5c⁴ (with the first of two accusatives, also for the sake of clearness); Ez 13²⁰, 43¹⁰, Pr 13²¹ (where the צִדִּיקִים are to be regarded as a distinct class); Jb 13²⁵

of אֵת on p. 140 ff.), it has so little force (like the oblique cases *αὐτοῦ, αὐτῶ, αὐτῶν*, sometimes also *ipsius, ipsum*, and the Germ. *dessen/len*, &c.) that it merely serves to introduce a determinate object; אֵת הַשָּׁמַיִם prop. *αὐτὸν τὸν οὐρανόν* (cf. *αὐτὴν Χρυσήϊδα*, Iliad i. 143) is no stronger than the simple הַשָּׁמַיִם *τὸν οὐρανόν*. Cf., further, P. Haupt on Pr 18²⁴ in his *Rainbow Bible*, and also in the *Notes on Esther*, p. 191.

¹ Thus, in Dt 33, אֵת occurs only in verse 9 (twice, with an object preceding the verb), in Gn 49 in the blessing of Jacob only in verse 15 with a co-ordinate second object (consequently farther removed from the verb). Of the thirteen instances of אֵת in the Mēša' inscription, seven stand directly and four indirectly before proper names.

(unless, with Beer and others, we read **וְאִם** for **וְאִתָּר**); also Ec 7⁷ may be a quotation of an ancient maxim.

d On the other hand **אֵת** occurs very seldom in prose before a noun actually or apparently undetermined. In 1 S 24⁶ **כִּנְהָ** is more closely defined by means of the following relative clause; in 2 S 4¹¹ **אִישׁ צָדִיק** refers to Ishbo-sheth (as if it were *him, who was an innocent man*); in 1 K 6¹⁶ **עֲשָׂרִים אַמָּה** refers to the particular twenty cubits. In Ex 21²⁸ (otherwise in verse 29) perhaps the **אֵת־** is used in order to avoid the combination **שׁוּר אִישׁ** (as in Nu 21⁹ to avoid the cacophony **אִישׁ הַנֶּשֶׁךְ הַנֶּחָשׁ**); in Lv 7⁸ and 20¹⁰ the accusatives are at any rate defined by the context.—In Nu 16¹⁸ **אֶת־אֶחָד מֵהֶם** probably means *even a single one* (and then *ipso facto* a definite one) of them, as also in 1 S 9⁶ **אֶת־אֶחָד מִהַעֲבָדִים** may refer to some definite one of the men-servants. In Gn 21³⁰ we should read **אֶת־שֵׁבַע הַכְּבָשִׁת** with the Samaritan, since the seven lambs have been already mentioned; in Ex 2¹ translate with Meyer, *Die Israeliten*, p. 79, **אֶת־בֵּת־לֵוִי** the daughter of Levi; in Ex 28⁹ read **הַשֹּׁהֶם** with the Samaritan; in Lv 20¹⁴ **אֶת־אִשָּׁה** is probably a scribal error due to **וְאֶת־אִמָּה**; in 1 S 26²⁰ read **נִפְשִׁי** with the LXX for **אֶחָד**; in 2 S 5²⁴ read **הַצִּעֲרָה** as in 1 Ch 14¹⁵; in 2 S 15¹⁸ the **אֵת־** is incorrectly inserted from 20³, where it refers to the women already mentioned; in 2 S 18¹⁸ read **הַמִּצֵּבֶת**, or omit both **אֵת־** and **אִשָּׁר** with the LXX and Lucian; in 1 K 12³¹ omit **אֵת־**; in 2 K 23²⁰ probably **אֶת־עֲצֻמוֹתֵם** is to be read; in 2 K 25⁹ the text is corrupt. In Ez 16³² **אֶת־זָרִים** might refer to the strangers in question; but see Smend on the passage.

e 3. The pronominal object *must* be represented by **אֵת** with a suffix (instead of a verbal suffix), when (a) it precedes the verb, e.g. Nu 22³³ **אֶתְּכָה הָרִנִּיתִי** **וְאֹתָהּ הִחַיִּיתִי** *I had slain thee and saved her alive*; Gn 7¹, Lv 22²⁸, 1 S 8⁷, Is 43²², 57¹¹, Jer 4^{17, 22}, 7¹⁹; (b) when a suffix is already attached to the verb, and as a rule when a second accusative with **וְ** follows, e.g. 2 S 15²³ **וְהִרְאֵנִי אֹתוֹ** *and he will show me it*; Ex 17³ **לְהָמִית אֹתִי וְאֶת־בְּנֵי** *to kill us and our children*; Nu 16³², 1 S 5¹¹, 2 S 14¹⁶ (but cf. also Dt 11⁶, 15¹⁶, &c., and Driver on 1 S 5¹⁰); (c) after an infinitive absolute, see above § 113 a note; (d) after an infinitive construct, when it is immediately followed by the subject, e.g. Gn 41³⁹, or when the combination of a suffix with the infinitive might lead to a misunderstanding, e.g. Gn 4¹⁵ **לְכַלְתִּי הַבּוֹת־אֹתוֹ** *lest one should smite him*, &c., where **לְכַלְתִּי הַבּוֹת־** might also mean *lest he should smite*.

f 4. The pronominal object is very frequently omitted, when it can be easily supplied from the context; so especially the neuter accusative referring to something previously mentioned (the English *it*) after *verba sentiendi* (**שָׁמַעַתִּי** and **דִּיעַנְדִּי**, e.g. Gn 9²², &c., **וַיֹּאמֶר** *and he told (it)*; also after **נָתַן** *to give*, Gn 18⁷, 24⁴¹, &c., **לָקַח** *to take*, **הָבִי־אֵת** *to bring*, **שָׁיַם** *to lay*, Gn 9²³, &c., **מָצָא** *to find*, Gn 31³³, &c. A personal object is omitted, e.g. in Gn 12¹⁹, 24⁵¹ (after **לָקַח**).—The omission of the plural object is remarkable, because it leaves an opportunity for a misunderstanding, in Gn 37¹⁷ **שָׁמַעְתִּי אֲמָרִים** ¹ *I heard them saying*; perhaps, however, we should read **שָׁמַעְתִּים** with the Samaritan.

g 5. In common formulae the substantival object is also sometimes omitted

¹ According to the ordinary rules of syntax (cf. § 116 *t*) we should translate, *I heard men who said*, &c.

(an elliptical expression); thus e.g. פָּרַת 1 S 20¹⁶, &c. (see the Lexicon) stands for פָּרַת בְּרִית like the English *to close* (sc. a bargain) with any one; נָמַר *to keep* (sc. אַף *anger*) equivalent to *to be resentful*, ψ 103⁹, &c.; so also שָׁמַר Jer 3⁵ (beside נָמַר); נָשָׂא קוֹל for נָשָׂא קוֹל *to lift up the voice*, Is 37; לָקַח עוֹן לְ for לָקַח עוֹן *to take away any one's sin* (to forgive), Gn 18^{24, 26}, Is 2⁹; שָׁלַח *to put forth* (sc. יָד *the hand*) equivalent to *to reach after something*, 2 S 6⁶, ψ 18¹⁷.

6. *Verba sentiendi* may take a second object, generally in the form of a participle or adjective and necessarily indeterminate, to define more exactly the action or state in which the object is perceived, e.g. Nu 11¹⁰ וַיִּשְׁמַע מֹשֶׁה וַיִּרְאֵם אֶת הָעָם וַיִּבְכּוּ *and Moses heard the people weeping*; Gn 7¹ וַיִּרְאֵם אֶתְּךָ וַיִּבְכּוּ *thee have I seen righteous*. Frequently, however, the second object is expressed by a separate clause. This is especially frequent with רָאָה *to see*, e.g. Gn 1⁴ *and God saw the light, that it was good*; Gn 6², 12¹⁴, 13¹⁰, 40¹⁵, Ex 2², ψ 23¹⁹, Pr 23³¹, Jb 22¹², Ec 2²⁴, 8¹⁷; so with יָדַע *to know*, Ex 32²², 2 S 3²⁵, 17⁸ (with two objects); 1 K 5¹⁷.

7. In certain instances אֵל serves apparently to introduce or to emphasize a nominative. This cannot be regarded as a reappearance of the original substantival meaning of the אֵל, since all unquestionable examples of the kind belong to the later Books of the Old Testament. They are rather (apart from textual errors or other explanations) cases of virtual dependence on an implied *verbum regens* understood. The constant use of אֵל to indicate a clause governed by the verb, necessarily led at length to the use of אֵל generally as a defining particle irrespective of a governing verb. So in the Hebrew of the Mishna¹ (see above, § 3 a) אֵל and אֵלֶּה are prefixed even to a nominative without any special emphasis.

Naturally the above does not apply to any of the places in which אֵל is not *the nota accusativi*, but a preposition (on אֵל *with*, cf. § 103 a), e.g. Is 57¹⁵, 1 S 17³⁴ וַיֵּאָחַז הַדּוֹב *and that, with a bear*; אֵלֶּה here, however, has probably been interpolated from verse 36, where it is wanting); nor the places in which the accusative is subordinate to a passive (according to § 121 c) or to a verb of wanting as in Jos 22¹⁷ and Neh 9³², see below, z. In Ez 43¹⁷ קָבִיב אֵלֶּה *about governs like a verb, being followed by אֵלֶּה*.

Other cases are clearly due to attraction to a following relative pronoun in the accusative (Ez 14²², Zc 8¹⁷; but Hag 2^{5a}, to מְצָרִים, must be omitted, with the LXX, as a later addition), or the accusative depends on a verbal idea, virtually contained in what has gone before, and consequently present to the speaker's mind as governing the accusative. Thus Nu 3²⁶ (the verbal idea contained in וַיִּשְׁמְרוּ verse 25 is *they had to take charge of*); in Jos 17¹¹ לָקַח יְהוָה implies *it was given up or they gave him*; 1 S 26¹⁶ *see where* is equivalent to *search now for*; in 2 S 11²⁵ אֵלֶּיךָ בַּעֲנִין is used in the sense of *noli aegre ferre*²; Jer 36³³ *and he had the brazier before him*; in Ec 4³ a verb like *I esteem* is mentally supplied before אֵלֶּה אֲשֶׁר. On Jos 22¹⁷, Neh 9³², see below, aa.—Aposiopesis occurs in Dt 11² *for not your children* (do I mean); still more boldly in Zc 7⁷, where either וַיִּשְׁמְעוּם or וַיִּשְׁמְעוּ (הַתַּעֲשִׂי) is to be supplied.

Setting aside a few undoubtedly corrupt passages³ there still remain the m

¹ Cf. Weiss, *משפט לשון המשנה* (Vienna, 1867), p. 112.

² So also in 1 S 20¹³ the Qal (יִיטֵב) is, with Wellhausen, to be read instead of the Hiph'il.

³ Thus 1 S 26¹⁶, where וַיֵּאָחַז is to be read for וַיֵּאָחַז; 1 K 11²⁵, where at present the predicate of the relative clause is wanting; in 2 K 6⁵ the אֵל is probably

following examples, in which אַתָּה in the later Hebrew manner (almost in the sense of the Latin *quod attinet ad*) introduces a noun with more or less emphasis, Nu 3⁴⁶, 5¹⁰, 35⁶, Ju 20^{44,46}, Ez 17²¹, 20¹⁸, 35¹⁰, 44³, Neh 9^{19,34}, Dn 9¹³, 2 Ch 31¹⁷.—In Ez 47¹⁷⁻¹⁹ (cf. also 43⁷) it is simplest to emend אַתָּה for אַתָּה, according to verse 20. However, even the LXX, who have ταῦτα only in verse 18, can hardly have known any other reading than אַתָּה; consequently in all these passages אַתָּה must be regarded as virtually dependent on some governing word, such as *ecce* (LXX 43⁷ ἐξοφαντας), and 47^{17 ff.} as equivalent to *thou shalt have* as a border, &c.

7. 8. Another solecism of the later period is finally the introduction of the object by the preposition לְ (prop. *in relation to, in the direction of*), as sometimes in Ethiopic¹ and very commonly in Aramaic.² Less remarkable is this looser connexion of the object with a participle, as with אֲכַל La 4⁵, אָפַק Nu 10²⁵, וְקָרָה ψ 145¹⁴ (but cf. 146⁸), צָרַר Nu 25¹⁸, אֲשַׁנֵּיָא and שָׁמַח Jb 12²²; before the participle Is 11⁹.—To introduce an object *preceding* the finite verb לְ is employed in Jb 5² (cf. also Dn 11⁸³); also *after* אָהַב Lv 19^{18,24}; הֶאֱרִיךְ ψ 129³; הִבְדִּיל Ezr 8²⁴, 2 Ch 25¹⁰; הִבִּין ψ 11¹; בָּרַךְ 1 Ch 29²⁰ (immediately before with an accusative); הִנֵּלָה 1 Ch 5²⁶; דָּרַשׁ Ezr 6²¹, 1 Ch 22¹⁹, 2 Ch 17¹³; הִחִיָּה Gn 45⁷, where, however, read פָּלִיטָה with the LXX for לַפְלִיטָה and take לָכֶם as a *dativus commodi*; הִלָּל 1 Ch 16³⁰, 2 Ch 5¹³; הִרְגַּ 2 S 3³⁰, ψ 135¹¹ (verse 10 with accusative), 136^{19 f.}; הִבְשֵׁ (to bind up) Is 61¹ (Ez 34⁴ before the verb); יָרַע ψ 69⁶; בָּבַד ψ 86⁹; לָקַח Jer 40², 2 Ch 23¹; הִמְלִיךְ and מָשַׁח 1 Ch 29²²; נָהַל 2 Ch 28¹⁵; כָּמַחַ ψ 145¹⁴; עֹבַד 1 Ch 16³⁷; הִעֲלָה Ez 26³; פָּתַח ψ 116¹⁶; רָדַף Jb 19²⁸; הִצְדִּיק Is 53¹¹; שָׁכַר 2 Ch 24¹² (previously accusatives); שִׁים 1 S 22⁷ (but probably וְיִבְלַכֶם is to be read); הִשָּׁב (in the connexion לְ הַשִּׁב דָּבָר 1 Ch 10⁶ (but verse 9 and 1 K 12⁹ with an accusative); שָׁחַת Nu 32¹², 1 S 23¹⁰; שָׂחַת ψ 73¹⁸; שָׁלַח Ezr 8¹⁶, 2 Ch 17⁷; שָׁמַר 1 Ch 29¹⁸, 2 Ch 5¹¹.

9. Sometimes the verb, on which an accusative of the object really depends, is contained only in sense in the verb which apparently governs, e.g. Is 14¹⁷ אֲסִירֵי לֹא-פָתַח בֵּיתָהּ *his prisoners he let not loose nor sent them back to their home*. Cf. ψ 74¹⁵ and on this *constructio praeagnans* in general, see § 119 ff.

p 2. With the proper accusatives of the object may also be classed what is called the *internal* or *absolute object* (also named *schema etymologicum* or *figura etymologica*), i.e. the addition of an object in the form

derived from a text which read the Hiph'il instead of נָפַל. In Jer 23³³ instead of the artificial explanation *what a burden* (is, do ye ask?) we should read with the LXX and Vulg. אַתֶּם הַמִּצָּנָה *ye are the burden*. In Ez 10²² מְרִיאֵהֶם וְאוֹתָם is unintelligible; in 37¹⁹ read with Hitzig אֶל-אוֹתָם; in Hag 2¹⁷ for אַתְּכֶם read with the LXX אֲנִיכֶם [or אֲנִיכֶם]; for the אֶל cf. 2 K 6¹¹, Jer 15¹, Ez 36⁹].

¹ Dillmann, *Grammatik der äthiopischen Sprache*, p. 349.

² With regard to Biblical Aramaic, see Kautzsch's *Grammatik des Bibl.-Aram.*, p. 151 f. In other ways, also, a tendency may be observed in later Hebrew to make use of the looser connexion by means of prepositions instead of the closer subordination of the noun in the accusative.

of a noun derived from the same stem,¹ e.g. ψ 14⁵ פָּחַדוּ בְּהֵרֹדֶם *they feared a fear* (i.e. they were in great fear), Pr 15²⁷; also with the object preceding, e.g. La 1⁸ יְרוּשָׁלַם חָטְאָה חֲטָאָה *Jerusalem hath sinned a sin*; with a double accusative (see below, cc), e.g. 1 K 1¹² אֵינִי עֹצֶה נָא עֲצֵה *let me, I pray thee, give thee counsel*; 4 S 1⁶.²

Rom. (a) Strictly speaking the only cases of this kind are those in which the verbal idea is supplemented by means of an *indeterminate* substantive (see the examples above). Such a substantive, except in the case of the addition of the internal object to denominative verbs (see below), is, like the infinitive absolute, never altogether without force, but rather serves like it to strengthen the verbal idea. This strengthening is implied in the indeterminateness of the internal object, analogous to such exclamations as, *this was a man!*³ Hence it is intelligible that some intensifying attribute is very frequently (as in Greek usually) added to the internal object, e.g. Gn 27³⁴ וַיַּעַן עֵצָקָה נִלְכָּה *he cried (with) an exceeding great and bitter cry*; cf. the Greek *ποσὲν νόσον καίην, ἐχάρησαν χαρὰν μεγάλην* (Matt. 2¹⁰); *magnam pugnare pugnam, tutiorem vitam vivere, &c.*

Examples of an internal object *after* the verb, and without further addition, are Ex 22⁹, 2 S 12¹⁰, Is 24²², 35², 42¹⁷, Ez 25¹⁸, 26¹⁸, 27³², Mic 4⁹, Ze 1², Pr 21²⁶; with an intensifying attribute, Gn 27³⁸, Ex 32³¹, Ju 15⁸, 2 S 13³⁶, 1 K 14¹⁰ (cf. Jon 4⁶, 1 Ch 29⁹); Is 21⁷, 45¹⁷, Jon 1¹⁰, Ze 1¹⁴, 8^{2a}, Dn 11³; along with an object proper the internal object occurs with an attribute in Gn 12¹⁷, 2 S 13¹⁸; cf. also Is 14⁶, Jon 4¹.—An internal object without an attribute *before* the verb: Is 24¹⁶, Jer 46⁵, Hb 3⁹, Jb 27¹²; with an attribute *before* the verb: Jer 14¹⁷, Ze 1¹⁵ (cf. also Gn 30⁸, Jer 22¹⁹, 30¹⁴, ψ 139²²). Instead of the substantive which would naturally be expected, another of kindred meaning is used in Ze 8².

(b) Only in a wider sense can the *schema etymologicum* be made to include ⁷ cases in which the denominative verb is used in connexion with the noun from which it is derived, e.g. Gn 11¹, 9¹⁴, 11³, 37⁷, Ez 18², ψ 144⁶, probably also Mi 2⁴, or where this substantive, made determinate in some way, follows its verb, e.g. Gn 30³⁷, Nu 25¹¹, 2 K 4¹³, 13¹⁴, Is 45¹⁷, La 3⁵⁸, 4 and, determinate at least in sense, Jer 22¹⁶; or precedes it, as in 2 K 2¹⁶, Is 8¹², 62⁵, Ze 3⁷; cf. also Ex 3⁹. In both cases the substantive is used, without any special emphasis, merely for clearness or as a more convenient way of connecting the verb with other members of the sentence.

3. Verbs which denote *speaking* (*crying out, weeping*), or any *s* external act, frequently take a direct accusative of the organ or means by which the action is performed. In this case, however, the accusative must be more closely determined by an attributive adjective or a noun in the genitive. This fact shows the close relation between these accusatives and the *internal objects* treated under *p*, which also,

¹ On a kindred use of the infinitive absolute as an *internal object*, see above, § 113 w.

² Cf. βουλὰς βουλευέιν, Iliad x. 147.

³ The Arab grammarians assign to the indeterminate cases generally an intensive sense in many instances; hence the commentators on the Qorān usually explain such cases by adding *and what...*! see § 125 b.

⁴ Also in ψ 13⁴ *lest I sleep the sleep of death*, הַמָּוֶת is only used pregnantly for שְׁנַת הַמָּוֶת (cf. Jer 51³⁹), as צָרְקוֹת Is 33¹⁵ for צָרְקוֹת הַדָּרֶךְ. On the similar use of הַלֵּךְ הַמָּוֶת in ψ 15², see § 118 n.

according to *q*, mostly take an intensifying attribute. On the other hand, they must not be regarded as adverbial (instrumental) accusatives, nor are they to be classed with the second (neuter) subjects treated below in § 144 l.

t Examples of the accusative following the verb are וַיִּנָּק קוֹל־דָּוִד and *I cried a loud voice*, i. e. with a loud voice, Ez 11¹³, 2 S 15²³ (after the proper object, Dt 5¹⁹, 1 K 8⁵⁵); ψ 109² *they have spoken unto me* לְשׁוֹן עֵקֶר a tongue of deceit, i. e. with a lying tongue; Pr 10⁴ *he becometh poor* בְּרִמְיָה עֹשֶׂה dealing a slack hand, i. e. who dealeth with a slack hand; cf. the German *eine schöne Stimme singen*, to sing a fine voice, *eine tüchtige Klinge schlagen*, to smite a trusty sword, *Schlittschuhe laufen*, to run skates (i. e. to skate), and our *to write a good hand*, *to play ball*, &c.—Examples of the accusative preceding are שְׂפִתַי רִנְנוֹת יְהוָה לִפִּי *my mouth shall praise with joyful lips*, ψ 63⁶; cf. ψ 12³, where a *casus instrumenti* with בְּ follows the accusative.

u 4. Many verbs originally intransitive (sometimes even in form; see *a*, note 2) may be used also as transitives, in consequence of a certain modification of their original meaning, which has gradually become established by usage; cf. e. g. רָיַב *to strive*, but also with an accusative *causam alicuius agere* (so even in Is 1¹⁷, &c.; elsewhere with לְ of the person for whom one strives); יָכַל absolutely *to be able*, with an accusative *to prevail over* any one; הִפְצִי *to be inclined* and רָצָה *to have pleasure* (usually with בְּ), with an accusative *to wish for some one or something*; שָׁכַב *cubare*, then in the sense of *concumbere*, originally joined with עִם *cum*, but quite early also with the accusative, equivalent to *comprimere* (*feminam*), &c. So in 2 S 13¹⁴, &c., unless in all or some of the passages the preposition אֵת is intended, e. g. אֶת־הָאִתָּה; in the earlier passages עִם is the more usual.

υ Rem. 1. It is certainly difficult to decide whether some verbs, which were afterwards used absolutely or joined with prepositions, were not nevertheless originally transitive, and consequently it is only the supposed original meaning, usually assigned to them in English, which causes them to appear intransitive.¹ In that case there is of course no syntactical peculiarity to be considered, and a list of such verbs would at the most be requisite only for practical purposes. Moreover, it is also possible that certain verbs were originally in use at the same time both as transitive and intransitive, e. g. perhaps לָבַשׁ *to be clothed* along with לָבַשׁ *to put on* (a garment). Finally the analogy of certain transitives in constant use may have led to intransitives of kindred meaning being also united directly with the accusative, so that, in other words, whole classes of verbs came to be regarded in a particular aspect as transitives. See below, *y*.

¹ Thus e. g. עָנָה *to reply* to (ἀμείβεσθαι τινα), *to answer any one*; צָוָה *to command* (iubere aliquem); זָכַר *to remember*; קָנָה (also with לְ) *to wait for any one* (to expect any one); בָּשָׂר *to bring glad tidings to any one* (see the Lexicon); נֶאֱמָר and נִאֲמָר *to commit adultery* (adulterare matronam); עָבַר *to serve* (colere); עָרַב *to become surety for* . . . , and many others.

2. The modification of the original meaning becomes especially evident ⁷⁰ when even reflexive conjugations (*Niph'al*, *Hithpa'el*, &c.) take an accusative (cf. § 57, note 2); e.g. נָבֵא to prophesy, Jer 25¹³; נָכַב (prop. to put oneself round) to surround, Ju 19²²; נָלַחַם to fight, ψ 109³ (where, however, the *Qal* לָחַמְתִּי should be read; cf. ψ 35¹); also הִתְנַחֵל to shave (something) for oneself, Num 6¹⁰; הִתְנַחֵל to take some one for oneself as a possession, Is 14²; הִתְנַבֵּל to make some one an object of craft, Gn 37¹⁸; הִתְנַצַּל to strip a thing off oneself, Ex 33⁶; הִתְעַפֵּר to bring on oneself the anger of any one, to anger him; הִתְבּוֹנֵן to consider something, Jb 37¹⁴; הִתְפַּרֵּק to break something off from oneself, Ex 32³. In Gn 34⁹ after הִתְחַתְּנוּ make ye marriages, read אֶתְּנִי instead of אֶתְּנִי. Cf. § 54 f.

3. So also it is only owing to a modification of the original meaning of *v* a verb (except where the expression is incorrect, and perhaps derived from the popular language), when sometimes the remoter object (otherwise introduced by ל) is directly subordinated in the form of an accusative suffix, e.g. זָעָה לִּי צִמְתִּי אֵינִי ⁷¹ did ye fast at all unto me, even to me? as though to say, have ye be-fasted me? have ye reached me with your fasting? Still more strange is Jb 31¹⁸ בָּאָב נִרְלִי הָאֵל he (the orphan) grew up to me as to a father; cf. Is 27⁴, 65⁵, Jer 31⁸, and in Aramaic Dn 5⁶; but אֶרְצִי הַנֶּבֶז נִתְּתִי Jos 15¹⁹ is to be regarded as a double accusative after a verb of giving, see ff. In 1 S 2²⁵ read וּפְלָלָהּ for וּפְלָלָהּ; in Is 44²¹, instead of the *Niph'al*, read תִּתְּנִי; in Ez 29⁸ either עֲשִׂיתִי is to be read with Olshausen or עֲשִׂיתִים (and previously יִאֲרִי) with Smend; in ψ 42⁵ אֶדְרֶה or אֶדְרֶם; in ψ 55²⁸ (where König takes יִהְיֶה as he has given it to thee) we must certainly assume a substantive יִהְיֶה (= fate?).

4. Whole classes of verbs, which, according to *v* above, are regarded as *y* transitive, either on account of their original meaning or (for the sake of analogy) by a modification of that meaning, are—

(a) Verba induendi and exuendi, as לָבַשׁ to put on, פָּשַׁט to put off a garment, עָדָה to put on ornaments, to adorn oneself with (cf. also מְשַׁבְּצִים enclosed in gold, Ex 28²⁰). Also in poetic expressions such as ψ 65¹⁴ לָבָשׁוּ כְרִים הַצֹּאן the pastures are clothed with flocks, cf. ψ 109²⁰; 104² (עֲמָה); 65^{14b} (עֲטָה), &c.¹

(b) Verba copiae and inopiae (also called verba abundandi and deficiendi), as צָבַח to be full of something, Ex 8¹⁷; here, and also frequently elsewhere, construed with אֶת, and hence evidently with an accusative; Gn 6¹³; with a personal object, Ex 15⁹ my lust shall be satisfied upon them; with an accusative preceding the verb for the sake of emphasis, e.g. Is 1⁵ your hands מְלֵאֵי דָמִים are full of blood, cf. Is 22²; so also the *Niph.* מְלֵא to fill oneself with something, e.g. Gn 6¹¹, Ex 1⁷ (where the object is connected by אֶת); Is 27⁴, 64, Pr 3¹⁰; נִרְעַע to be fructified with, Nu 5²⁸; שָׂרַץ to swarm with, Gn 1^{20.21} Ex 7²⁸; שָׂבַע (שָׂבַע) to be full of, Is 1¹, Jo 2¹⁹, Pr 12¹¹; נָבַר to become strong, to wax mighty in something, Jb 21⁷; פָּרַץ to overflow with something, Pr 3¹⁰ (with the object preceding); יָרַד prop. to descend, poetically also to pour down, to overflow with something (cf. in Greek *πρὸς εἶν ὑδαρ, δάκρυα στάζειν*), e.g. La 3⁴⁸ מַיִם יִרְדּוּ עֵינַי mine eye runneth

¹ From the idea of covering oneself with something, we might also, if necessary, explain Ex 30²⁰ מִיֵּם יִרְחֲצוּ they shall wash themselves with water; but the reading is simply to be emended to the ordinary מִיֵּם.

down (with) rivers of water; 1¹⁶, Jer 9¹⁷, 13¹⁷, ψ 119¹³⁶; so also הָלַךְ to run over with, to flow with, Jo 4¹⁸; נָגַל to gush out with, Jer 9¹⁷; נָטַף to drop, to overflow with, Ju 5⁴, Jo 4^{18a}; פָּרַח to break forth, Ex 9⁹; שָׁטַף to overflow, but also (transitively) to overflow with, probably in Is 10²²; נָוַב to bud with, Pr 10³¹; so perhaps also עָבַר to pass over, to overflow with, Jer 5²⁸; יָצָא to go forth with, Am 5³.—Especially bold, but still on the analogy of the above examples, is Is 5⁶, where it is said of a vineyard וְשִׁמִּיר וְשִׁמִּיר וְשִׁמִּיר but it shall come up (it shall be overgrown) with briars and thorns; cf. Pr 24³¹, and still more boldly, Is 34¹⁸.

aa With the opposite idea, הָסַר to be in want of, to lack, Gn 18²³; שָׁבַל to be bereaved of (as though it were to lose), Gn 27⁴⁵.—In Jos 22¹⁷ even הִמְעַטְנוּ לָנוּ (prop. was there too little for us of . . . ?) as being equivalent to a verbum inopiae (= had we too little of . . . ?) is construed with an accusative; cf. Neh 9³².

bb (c) Several verbs of dwelling; the accusative in this case expresses either the place or the thing at which or with which any one tarries; thus Gn 4²⁰, ψ 22⁴ after יָשַׁב, cf. § 118 g; Ju 5¹⁷, Is 33¹⁴ after גָּוַר; ψ 57⁵ after שָׁכַב; ψ 68⁷, Pr 8¹², Is 33¹⁶ with שָׁכַן; or even the person (the people) with whom any one dwells or is a guest, as ψ 5⁵, 120⁵ after גָּוַר, Gn 30²⁰ after נָבַל, ψ 68¹⁹ with שָׁכַן.

cc 5. Two accusatives (usually one of the person and one of the thing) are governed by—

(a) The causative conjugations (*Pi'el*, *Hiph'il*, sometimes also *Pilpel*, e.g. בָּלַל Gn 47¹³, &c.) of verbs which are simply transitive in *Qal*, and hence also of *verba induendi* and *exuendi*, &c. (cf. above a and u, and also y, z), e.g. Ex 33¹⁸ נָא אֶת־בְּבִדֶּךָ הַרְאֵנִי show me, I pray thee, thy glory. Thus very frequently הוֹדִיעַ to cause some one to know something; וְיִלְבֹּשׁ אֹתוֹ וְיִלְבֹּשׁ אֹתוֹ docere aliquem aliquid, &c.; cf. further, Gn 41⁴² וַיַּאֲרֵץ אֹתוֹ and he caused him to put on vestures of fine linen (he arrayed him in vestures, &c.); cf. in the opposite sense, Gn 37²³ (both accusatives after הִפְשִׁיט introduced by אֶת); so with מִלֵּא to fill, to fill up with something, Gn 21¹⁹, 26¹⁸, Ex 28³; אָזַר to gird some one with something, ψ 18³³; עָטַר to crown, ψ 8⁶, &c.; חָסַר to cause some one to lack something, ψ 8⁶; הֵאָכִיל to feed some one with something, Ex 16³²; הִשְׁקָה to make some one drink something, Gn 19^{32a}.

dd (b) Many verbs (even in *Qal*) which express an influence upon the object through some external means. The latter, in this case, is attached as a second object. They are especially—

ee (a) Verbs which express covering, clothing, overlaying, חָנַךְ Ex 29⁹, צָפָה Ex 26²⁹, &c., טָוַח Ez 13^{10a}, עָטַר ψ 5¹³; cf. also אָכַן Jos 7²⁵, &c.; hence also verbs which express sowing (זָרַע Jud 9⁴⁵, Is 17¹⁰, 30²³), planting (Is 5²), anointing (ψ 45⁸) with anything.

ff (b) Expressions of giving, thus נָתַן Jos 15¹⁹ where the accusative of the thing precedes; endowing, נָבַד Gn 30²⁰; and its opposite taking away, as קָבַע Pr 22²³; בָּרַךְ to bless some one with something, Gn 49²⁵, Dt 15¹⁴; to give graciously, חָנַן Gn 33⁵; to sustain (i.e. to support, to maintain, to furnish) with anything,

e.g. Gn 27³⁷, ψ 51¹⁴ (כָּמֶן); Ju 19⁵ (כָּעַר); to do something to one, נָמַל Gn 50^{15,17}, 1 S 24¹⁸; cf. also קָדַם to come to meet any one with something, ψ 21⁴, שָׁלַם to repay some one with something (with two accusatives, ψ 35¹², Pr 13²¹), and for the accusative of the person cf. εὖ, κακῶς παράρειν τινα. In a wider sense we may also include such phrases as they hunt every man his brother with a net, Mi 7²; to shoot at one with arrows, ψ 64⁸ (though this is against the accents); Pr 13²⁴ seeks him early (with) discipline, i.e. chastises him betimes, &c.

(γ) Expressions of asking some one for something, desiring something from some one (שָׁאַל Dt 14²⁶, ψ 137⁸); answering any one anything (עָנָה Mi 6⁵, &c.; cf. in the other conjugations הָשִׁיב דָּבָר prop. *verbum reddere*, with an accusative of the person, 1 K 12⁶, &c., also in the sense of announcing; sometimes also הָגִיד to declare something to some one, Jb 26⁴, &c., for (הָגִיד לְ); צִוָּה to enjoin a person something, Ex 34³², Dt 1¹⁸, 32⁴⁶, Jer 7²³.

(δ) Expressions which mean to make, to form, to build something out of some thing; in such cases, besides the accusative of the object proper, another accusative is used for the material of which the thing is made, e.g. Gn 2⁷ וַיִּצְרֶה יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים אֶת-הָאָדָם עֹפֶר מִן-הָאָרֶץ and the Lord formed man of the dust of the ground; so with יָצַר also in 1 K 7¹⁵; further Ex 38⁸ כָּל-כֵּלָיו עָשָׂה נְחֹשֶׁת בְּלִבְיָהּ all the vessels thereof made he of brass (for another explanation of the accusative כְּנֶחֱשֶׁת [into brass], linguistically possible but excluded by the context, see below, ii with *kk*); cf. Ex 25^{18,23}, 26^{14,17,29}, 27¹, 36⁸, 1 K 7²⁷; with a preceding accusative of the material, Ex 25²⁰, 29², Dt 27⁶ אֲבָנִים שְׁלֹמֹת תִּבְנֶה אֶת-מִזְבֵּחַ יְהוָה of unheaven stones shalt thou build the altar of the Lord.

(c) Verbs which express making, preparing, forming into anything, ii along with the object proper, take a second accusative of the product, e.g. Gn 27⁹ וַיַּעֲשֶׂה אֹתָם מִטְעָמִים I will make them (the kids) into savoury meat; cf. Gn 6^{14,16}, Ex 26^{1b}, 30²⁵, 32⁴, Is 44¹⁵, Ho 8⁴, 1 K 18³² וַיִּבְנֶה מִזְבֵּחַ and he built the stones (into) an altar; cf. 10¹². So also אָפַה, with two accusatives, to bake something into something, Ex 12³⁹, Lv 24⁵; שָׂם (prop. to set up for something, cf. Gn 27³⁷, 28¹⁸, ψ 39⁹, and similarly הָרִים Gn 31⁴⁵) to change into something, Jos 8²⁸, Is 50², 51¹⁰, Mi 1⁷, 4¹³; with two accusatives of the person (to appoint, promote any one to the position of a . . .), Is 3⁷; נָתַן is also used in the same sense with two accusatives, Gn 17⁵, and שָׂם 1 K 11³⁴; as a rule, however, the description of the office, and also frequently of the product, is introduced by לְ to, § 119 t; also שָׂם to make a thing so and so (Is 5⁶, 26¹; with a personal object, ψ 21⁷, 191⁹); הָחֹשֶׁךְ to make dark, Am 5⁸. Of the same class also are instances like Jb 28² וַיִּקְרְעֶהָ שְׁנִים עֶשֶׂר a stone they smelt into brass; 1 K 11³⁰ וַיִּקְרַע וַיִּתֵּן אֵיבֵי נַתַּתָּה לִּי עֶרְףְּ and rent it (the garment) into twelve pieces; cf. Is 37²⁶, accusative of the product before the object proper, after לְהַשְׁאִיף to lay waste.

¹ Cf. a very pregnant expression of this kind in ψ 21¹⁸ בִּי תַשְׁחִימוּ נַעֲבֹם thou shalt make them (as) a neck, i.e. thou shalt cause them to turn their necks (backs) to me; similarly ψ 18⁴¹ (2 S 22⁴¹, Ex 23²⁷); וְאֵיבֵי נַתַּתָּה לִּי עֶרְףְּ thou hast given mine enemies unto me as a back; cf. Jer 18¹⁷.

On a second object with *verba sentiendi* (as יָדַע *to know* something *to be* something, Ec 7²⁵; רָאָה *to see, find to be*, Gn 7¹; חָשַׁב *to esteem* one *to be* something, Is 53⁴, elsewhere always construed with לְ or בְ), cf. *h*.

kk Rem. At first sight some of the examples given above appear to be identical in character with those treated under *hh*; thus it is possible, e.g. in 1 K 18³², by a translation which equally suits the sense, *he built from the stones an altar*, to explain מִן־הָאֲבָנִים as the nearer object and אֶת־הָאֵלֹהִים as an accusative of the material, and the construction would then be exactly the same as in Dt 27⁶. In reality, however, the fundamental idea is by no means the same. Not that in the living language an accusative of the material in the one case, and in the other an accusative of the product were consciously distinguished. As Driver (*Tenses*, § 195) rightly observes, the remoter accusative in both cases is, strictly speaking, in apposition to the nearer. This is especially evident in such examples as Ex 26²⁶ *thou shalt not build them* (the stones of the altar) מִן־הָאֵבֶן as *heaven stones*, cf. also Gn 1²⁷. The main point is, which of the two accusatives, as being primarily affected (or aimed at) by the action, is to be made the more prominent; and on this point neither the position of the words (the nearer object, mostly determinate, as a rule follows immediately after the verb), nor even the context admits of much doubt. Thus in 1 K 18³² the treatment of the stones is the primary object in view, the erection of the altar for which they were intended is the secondary; in Dt 27⁶ the case is reversed.

ll (*d*) Finally, the second accusative sometimes more closely determines the nearer object by indicating the part or member specially affected by the action,¹ e.g. פָּסַח *for thou hast smitten all mine enemies* חֵמֶץ (as to) *the cheek bone*, equivalent to *upon the cheek bone*; cf. Gn 37²¹ *let us not smite him* שְׁפַחְנוּ *in the life*, i.e. *let us not kill him*; Dt 22²⁶, 2 S 3²⁷; also with שָׁחַד Gn 3¹⁵; with רָצַח Jer 2¹⁶; in poetry the object specially concerned is, by a bold construction, even placed first, Dt 33¹¹ (with מִחַיִּי).

§ 118. The Looser Subordination of the Accusative to the Verb.

a 1. The various forms of the looser subordination of a noun to the verb are distinguished from the different kinds of the accusative of the object (§ 117) by their specifying not the persons or things directly affected by the action, but some *more immediate circumstance* under which an action or an event takes place. Of such circumstances the most common are those of *place, time, measure, cause*, and finally the *manner* of performing the action. These nearer definitions are, as a rule, placed *after* the verb; they may, however, also precede it.

b Rem. That the cases thus loosely subordinated to the verb are to be regarded as *accusatives* is seen first from the fact that in certain instances the *nota accusativi* (אֵת) is prefixed; secondly from the fact that in one form of

¹ Analogous to this is the σχῆμα καθ' ὅλον καὶ κατὰ μέρος in Greek epic poetry, e.g. ποῦόν σε ἔπος φύγε ἕρκος ὀδόντων.

the *casus loci* a termination (הַ) is employed, in which (according to § 90 c) the old accusative ending is preserved; and finally from the consistency with which classical Arabic puts these nearer definitions in the accusative (which may be recognized by its form) even under circumstances in which one would be rather inclined to expect a nominative in apposition.

The relation subsisting between the circumstantial accusative and the accusative of the object is especially apparent when the former (as e.g. in a statement of the goal after a verb of motion) is immediately connected with its verb. But even the more loosely connected circumstantial definitions are certainly to be regarded as originally objects of a governing word habitually omitted, only that the consciousness of this closer government was at length lost, and the accusative more and more acquired an independent value as a *casus adverbialis*.

2. The accusative serves to define more precisely the *place* (*accus. loci*), either (a) in answer to the question *whither?* after verbs of motion,¹ or (b) in answer to the question *where?* after verbs of *being, dwelling, resting, &c.* (but also after transitive verbs, see the examples), or finally (c) to define more precisely the *extent* in space, in answer to the question *how far? how high? how much?*, &c.

Instead of the simple accusative, the locative (see above, § 90 c)² is frequently found in the cases mentioned under f (sometimes also in those under g) or the preposition אֶל,³ especially before persons as the aim of the movement, or בְּ, usually, to express being at a place.

Examples of (a): יֵצֵא הַשָּׂדֶה let us go out into the field, 1 S 20¹¹; cf. Gn 27⁵, 31⁴, f Jb 29⁷; לָלֶכֶת הַתַּרְשִׁישִׁי to go to Tarshish, 2 Ch 20³⁶; cf. Gn 10¹¹, 13⁹, 24²⁷, 26²³, 31²¹, Ex 4⁹, 17¹⁰, Ju 1²⁶, 2 K 11¹⁹, Na 1⁸ (?), ψ 134²; with לָקַח Nu 23¹⁴; with נָתַן Jos 6²⁴; with the *accus. loci* emphatically preceding (cf. Driver on 1 S 5³), 1 K 2²⁶, Is 23¹², Jer 2¹⁰, 20⁶, 32⁵; with בּוֹא (in the sense of *aggređi*, equivalent to בּוֹא עָלַי, cf. § 117 a, note 2) the *personal aim* also is poetically added in the accusative, Ez 32¹¹, 33¹¹, Pr 10²⁴, 28²², Jb 15²¹, 20²²; but in the last passage it is better taken as an accusative of the object (cf. the German *einen ankommen, überkommen*). See also Nu 10³⁶ (where שׁוֹב can hardly be transitive); Ju 11²⁹, 1 S 13²⁰ (where, however, אֶל has probably fallen out after יִשְׂרָאֵל; so Strack).—Finally, cf. also the use of שָׁמָּה for אֲשֶׁר . . . אֲשֶׁר *whither*, Nu 13²⁷.—The *accus. loci* occurs after a passive, e.g. Gn 12¹⁵.

Examples of (b): Gn 38¹¹ remain a widow אֶבְיָה in thy father's house; cf. Gn 24²⁸, 1 S 17¹⁵, 2 S 2³², Is 3⁶, Hos 12⁵, Mi 6¹⁰, 2 Ch 33²⁰; פָּתַח הָאֹתָן in the tent door, Gn 18¹⁰, 19¹¹, and frequently. As observed by Driver on 1 S 2²⁰, accusatives of this kind are almost without exception (but cf. 1 K 8³², Is 16², 28⁷, 2 Ch 33²⁰) connected with a noun in the genitive. In all the above examples, however, the accusative may have been preferred to the natural construction with בְּ (which is not rare even with בֵּית and פָּתַח) for euphonic reasons, in order to avoid the combination of such sounds as בְּבִב and בְּבִפ; cf., moreover, Gn 2¹⁴, 4¹⁶, Ex 18⁵, Lv 6⁸ הַמִּזְבֵּחַ instead of the usual הַמִּזְבֵּחַהּ.

¹ So commonly in Sanskrit; in Greek only poetically, e.g. Iliad i. 317 *ἀνίστη δ' ὀδρανὸν ἵκει*: in Latin, e.g. *rus ire, Romam proficisci*.

² Hence e.g. in 1 S 9²⁰ the Masora requires הַגָּלָה instead of the Kth. הָגָל.

³ So in Ju 19¹⁸ for אֶת-בֵּית י' the better reading is 'בֵּית.

Ex 29¹³, &c.); Dt 1²¹⁹, 1 2 S 17²⁶, 1 K 7⁸, Pr 8³, 9¹⁴. On Is 1³⁰ see § 116 i; on יָשַׁב, with the *accus. loci*, see § 117 bb. On the other hand, in Dt 6³, according to the LXX, a verb of *giving* has dropped out before אֶת־.

- h Examples of (c): Gn 7²⁰ *fifteen cubits upward did the waters prevail*; Gn 31²³, 41⁴⁰ בָּרַק הַכִּסֵּא אֲנִי בָרְךָ only in the throne will I be greater than thou; Dt 1¹⁹ *we went (through) all that great and terrible wilderness*; cf. Jb 29⁸. Of the same kind also are such cases as Ex 16¹⁶ (according to the number of your persons, for which elsewhere לְמִסְפָּר is used); 1 S 6⁴ (with the *accus. preceding*); 6¹⁸, 2 S 21²⁰, Jb 1⁵.—A statement of weight is put in the accusative in 2 S 14⁵⁶.

- i 3. The accusative is employed to determine more precisely the *time* (*accus. temporis*), (a) in answer to the question *when?* e.g. הַיּוֹם the day, i.e. *on the day* (in question), *at that time*, but also *on this day*, i.e. *to-day*, or finally *by day*, equivalent to יוֹמָם, like עָרַב at evening, לַיְלָה noctu, בֹּקֶר in the morning, early, ψ 5⁴, &c., וְצַהֲרָיִם at noonday, ψ 91⁶; יוֹם אֶחָד on one and the same day, Gn 27⁴⁵; שָׁנָא in sleep, ψ 127²; תְּחִלַּת קְצִיר שְׁעִירִים (Q^{er} בִּתְחִלַּת) at the beginning of barley harvest, 2 S 21⁹; in stating a date, Gn 11¹⁰, 14⁴ in the thirteenth year.

- k (b) In answer to the question *how long?* e.g. Gn 3¹⁴, &c., כָּל־יְמֵי חַיֶּיךָ all the days of thy life; 7⁴ forty days and forty nights; 7²¹, 14⁴, 15¹³, 21³⁴, 29¹⁸, Ex 20⁹ (for six days); 23¹⁵, 31¹⁷; עוֹלָמִים for ever, 1 K 8¹⁸; also with the accusative made determinate, Ex 13⁷ אֶת שִׁבְעַת הַיָּמִים throughout the seven days in question, mentioned immediately before; cf. Ju 14¹⁷, Dt 9²⁵.

- l 4. The accusative is sometimes used of abstract ideas to state the reason (*accus. causae*), e.g. Is 7²⁵ thou shalt not come thither לְפָנֶיךָ שְׁמִירָה for fear of briers.

- m 5. Finally the accusative is used very variously (as an *accus. adverbialis* in the narrower sense), in order to describe more precisely the *manner* in which an action or state takes place. In English such accusatives are mostly rendered by *in*, *with*, *as*, *in the form or manner of* . . . , according to, in relation to, with regard to. For more convenient classification we may distinguish them as—

- n (a) Adjectives expressing *state*, placed after the verb to describe more accurately some bodily or other external condition, e.g. Is 20² walking עָרֹם וְיָתֵף naked and barefoot; cf. verse 3, 8²¹, Gn 15², 33¹⁸ (שָׁלֵם), Ju 6⁴, Mi 1⁸, ψ 107⁵ (but in 15² תָּמִים is rather a substantive directly dependent on הוֹלֵךְ = he that walketh in uprightness; cf. § 117 r, note); Jb 30²³. After an accusative, e.g. Dt 15¹⁸; to specify some mental state, e.g. Gn 37²⁵ (אֲבֵל).—Before the verb (and then with a certain emphasis), Am 2¹⁶, Jb 1²¹, Ec 5¹⁴; Lv 20²⁰, Jb 19²⁵, 27¹⁹, 31²⁶

¹ In ψ 21² דֶּרֶךְ is not to be taken as an *accus. loci* (on the way), but as an *accus. of respect* (with regard to the way); see below, m.

(unless יָקָר be a substantive); Ru 1²¹ מִלְאָה parallel with the adverb רִיקָם). In Mi 2⁷ the text is clearly corrupt.

Those examples are especially instructive in which the adjective expressing a state, although referring to several, is nevertheless used in the singular, e.g. Jb 24¹⁰ עָרֹם הֵפְכוּ נָקֶד naked, i.e. in the condition of one naked, *they go about*; cf. verse 7 and 12¹⁷. In Is 20⁴ the singular occurs *after* a plural object, and in Is 47⁵ the *masc.* after the 2nd sing. *fem.* imperative, which clearly proves that the term expressing the state is not conceived as being in apposition, but as an indeclinable adverb.

(b) Participles, again either *after* the verb, Nu 16²⁷, Jer 2²⁷, 43², ψ 7³, Jb 24⁵, P Ct 2⁸, or *before* it, Gn 49¹¹, Is 57¹⁹, Ez 36³⁵, ψ 56², 92¹⁴, Pr 20¹⁴; cf. also the substantival use of the participles נִפְלְאוֹת in a fearful manner (ψ 139¹⁴) and נִפְלְאוֹת in a wonderful manner, Jb 37⁵, Dn 8²⁴.—Also participles in connexion with genitives, as מְתַהַלֵּה Gn 3⁸ (cf. also בָּאָה 1 K 14⁶), are to be regarded as expressing a state and not as being in apposition, since in the latter case they would have to take the article.—In 2 S 13²⁰, 1 K 7⁷ and Hb 2¹⁰ the explicative Wāw (equivalent to *and that too*) is also prefixed to the participle. In ψ 69⁴ for מִיַּחַל read מִיַּחַל.—On 1 K 11⁸, 2 K 10⁶, 19², Hag 1⁴, cf. the note on § 131 h.

(c) Substantives¹ in the most varied relations: thus, as describing an external state, e.g. Mi 2³ וְלֹא תֵהָיוּ רֹמְמִים neither shall ye walk haughtily (as opposed to שָׂחוֹךְ Is 60¹⁴); Lv 6⁹ (accus. before the verb = as unleavened cakes), Dt 2⁹, 41¹, Ju 5²¹, Is 57², Pr 7¹⁰, Jb 31²⁶, La 1⁹; as stating the position of a disease, 1 K 15²³ he was diseased אֶת־דִּנְגָלָיו in his feet (2 Ch 16¹² בְּדִנְגָלָיו), analogous to the cases discussed in § 117 u and § 121 d (d); as describing a spiritual, mental, or moral state, e.g. Nu 32¹⁴, Jos 9² פֶּה אֶחָד with one accord, 1 K 22¹⁸; cf. Ex 24³, Zp 3⁹, 1 S 15³², 2 S 23³, Is 41³ (unless שְׁלֹם is adjectival, and the passage is to be explained as in n); Jer 31⁷, Ho 12¹⁵, 14⁵, ψ 56³, 58², 75³, Pr 31⁹, Jb 16⁹, La 1⁹; Lv 19¹⁶, &c., in the expression הָלַךְ רָבִיל to go up and down as a tale-bearer; also בְּטֵט unawares, Gn 34²⁵, Ez 30³; מִישְׁרִים uprightly, ψ 58², 75³ (in both places before the verb); as stating the age, e.g. 1 S 2³³ (if the text be right) יָמֹותָם אֲנִישִׁים they shall die as men, i.e. in the prime of life; cf. 1 S 2¹⁸ (נָעַר), Is 65²⁰, and Gn 15¹⁶; as specifying a number more accurately, Dt 4²⁷, 1 S 13¹⁷, 2 K 5², Jer 31⁸ [in Jer 13¹⁹ שְׁלֹמָיִם wholly (?) is corrupt; read שְׁלֹמָיִם with LXX for שֶׁ הָיִלָּת; as stating the consequence of the action, Lv 15¹⁸, &c.

The description of the external or internal state may follow, in poetry, in the form of a comparison with some well-known class, e.g. Is 21⁸ וַיִּקְרָא אַרְיָה and he cried as a lion; cf. ψ 22¹⁴, Is 22¹⁸ כְּדֹרָךְ like a ball; Is 24²², Zc 2⁸, ψ 11¹ (unless צִפּוֹר be vocative); 58⁶ (unless the force of the preceding ב is carried on, as in ψ 90⁴); ψ 144¹², Jb 24⁵ מִפְּרָאִים, before the verb); 41⁷ shut up together as with a close seal.²

6. To the expressions describing a state belong finally those nouns s which are introduced by the comparative particle ב, since the ב is to

¹ Cf. above, § 100 c, on certain substantives which have completely become adverbs; and § 113 h and k on the adverbial use of the infinitive absolute.

² It is, as a matter of fact, permissible to speak of the above examples as *comparatio decurtata*, but it must not be assumed that the comparative particle ב, which is otherwise regularly prefixed (see s), has actually dropped out.

³ On the use of ב as a prefix, cf. § 102 c.

be regarded as originally a substantive¹ in the sense of *amount, kind* (*instar*), standing in the accusative (so that כִּי is equivalent to *as a kind of, after the manner of, according to*), while the following noun represents a genitive governed by the כִּי . From this, which is the proper meaning of the כִּי , may be explained its power of representing a great many pregnant relations, which in English can only be rendered by the help of prepositions.² Thus the comparison may refer to—

t (a) The *place*, e.g. Is. 5¹⁷ כִּי־בָרֶם *after the manner of*, i.e. *as in their pasture*; 23¹⁵ *as (it is said) in the song of the harlot*; 28²¹, 29⁷ כִּי־חִלּוֹם *as in a dream*.

u (b) The *time*, especially in the combination כִּי־יוֹם *after the manner of the day*, equivalent to *as in the day*, Is 9³, Ho 2⁵; כִּי־יָמִי *as in the days of* . . . , Is 51⁹, Ho 2¹⁷, 9⁵, 12¹⁰, Am 9¹¹; cf. moreover, Lv 22¹⁸, Ju 20³⁸, Is 17⁶, Jb 5¹⁴, 29², and the expressions $\text{כִּי־יוֹם כִּי־יוֹם}$ *as day by day = as in the former days*, 1 S 18¹⁰; $\text{כִּי־פָעַם כִּי־פָעַם}$ *as at other times*, 1 S 3¹⁰, &c.; $\text{כִּי־שָׁנָה כִּי־שָׁנָה}$ *as in former years*, 2 K 17⁴; cf. § 123 c. Of a different character is the use of כִּי as a simple particle of time, e.g. Gn 18¹⁰ $\text{כֵּן הָיָה בְּעַת הַזֶּה}$ *at this time* (not about the time), when it lives again, i.e. at the end of a year; $\text{כֵּן הָיָה בְּעַת מָחָר}$ *to-morrow at this time*; cf. Is 23⁵, and the frequent connexion of כִּי with the infinitive construct to express a definite time (in the sense of a pluperfect), Gn 12¹⁴, 27⁸⁴, Ex 9²⁸, &c.

v (c) The *person*, e.g. Gn 34³¹ *should he deal with our sister as with a harlot?*

w (d) The *thing*, e.g. Is 10¹⁴, ψ 33⁷, Jb 28⁵ כִּי־מוֹ־אֵשׁ *as a fire*, i.e. *as it were by fire* (cf. Is 1²⁵ כִּי־בָר *as with hye*); Jb 29²⁸ כִּי־מָטָר *as for the rain* (they waited for me); Jb 38¹⁴ (as in a garment); 38³⁰ כִּי־אֶבֶן *as to stone* (the waters are solidified in freezing).

x Rem. According to the earlier grammarians, כִּי is sometimes used pleonastically, i.e. not to indicate a similarity (as in Lv 14³² *as it were*, i.e. *something like*), but simply to introduce the predicate (*Kaph veritatis*), e.g. Neh 7² *for he was* כִּי־אִישׁ אֱמֻת *a faithful man*; cf. 1 S 20⁸ כִּי־פָשַׁע , La 1²⁰ כִּי־מָוֶת . Such a pleonasm is of course out of the question. At the most a *Kaph veritatis* can only be admitted in the sense that the comparison is sometimes introduced by כִּי with a certain emphasis (equivalent to *in every respect like*); thus כִּי־אִישׁ אֱמֻת in Neh 7² means simply *of the nature of a faithful man*, i.e. as only a faithful man can be; cf. Nu 11¹, Is 1⁷, 13⁶, Ho 4⁴, 5¹⁰, Ob 11, Jb 24¹⁴, 27⁷, La 1²⁰, 2⁴; also כִּי־מְעַט in such passages as ψ 105¹² *yea, very few*; but e.g. in Is 1⁹ *only just, a very small* . . .

¹ Schwabe (כִּי nach seinem Wesen und Gebrauch im alttestam. Canon gewürdigt, Halle, 1883) contests this explanation (which is defended especially by Fleischer and is certainly indisputable). He, with Gesenius and Ewald, places כִּי as a preposition on the same footing as בְּ and לְ , and believes it to be probably connected with the stem בָּן as well as with בִּי and בֵּן . The above view of כִּי as a substantive of course does not imply that the language as we have it is still in every case conscious of the substantival meaning.—On כִּי in numerical statements, in the sense of *about, nearly*, see the Lexicon.

² It would be altogether unsuitable here also (see above, note 2 on כִּי) to assume a loss of the preposition. Such examples as Is 1²⁸ כִּי־בְרָאֲשֵׁנָה and כִּי־בְרָחֵלָה , Lv 26³⁷ (כִּי־בְמִצְנֵי) are to be explained from the fact that here the

§ 119. *The Subordination of Nouns to the Verb by means of Prepositions.*

1. In general. As is the case with regard to the looser subordination of nouns to the verbal idea (§ 118), so also their subordination by means of prepositions is used to represent the more immediate circumstances (of place, time, cause, purpose, measure, association, or separation) under which an action or event is accomplished. In the case of most prepositions some idea of a relation of *space* underlies the construction, which then, in a wider sense, is extended to the ideas of time, motive, or other relations conceived by the mind.

On the origin of the prepositions and the original case-relation in which they stand to the nouns governed by them, cf. § 101, where a list of the prepositions is given with their original meanings. Cf. also § 102 on the prefixes, and § 103 on the union of prepositions with suffixes.

2. A not unimportant part is played in Hebrew by the *compounding* *b* of prepositions to represent more accurately the relations of place, which either precede or follow the action. In the former case מִן, and in the latter (which is not so frequent) אֶחָד occurs before other prepositions of place; cf. e.g. Am 7¹⁵ the Lord took me מֵאַחֲרֵי הָעֵדָן from behind the flock; 2 K 9¹³ turn thee אֶחָד-אַחֲרַי to behind me, i.e. turn thee behind me; כִּעֵם מֵאֵת from being with . . . , as in French *de chez, d'après quelqu'un*.¹ For further examples, see c.

Rem. 1. We must not regard as combined prepositions in the above sense *c* either those substantives which have become prepositions only by their union with prefixes, as לִפְנֵי before, מִפְּנֵי, לְמַעַן on account of (but e.g. מִלִּפְנֵי from before, Gn 4¹⁶, &c., is such a compound); nor adverbs, which are also formed by combining words which were originally substantives (also used as prepositions) with prepositions, as מְהֵרָא without, מִתַּחַת in the sense of below,² מֵעַל

preposition and substantive had already become simply one word before the פ was prefixed. We find also מֵעַל Is 59¹⁸, 63⁷, ψ 119¹⁴, and 2 Ch 32¹⁹; cf. Driver on 1 S 14¹⁴ (פִּבְּחָצִי), where the text is wholly corrupt.

¹ In other cases French, as well as English and German, can only emphasize one of the two combined ideas; thus, such expressions as *il prend le chapeau sur la table*, German *er nimmt den Hut vom Tisch*, he takes his hat from the table, all regard the action from one point of view only; the Hebrew here brings out both aspects of it by means of מֵעַל from upon, cf. e.g. Is 6⁶.

² Hence not to be confounded with מִתַּחַת from under, in such examples as Pr 22²⁷, which is a real compound preposition. In the above-mentioned adverbs also the מִן was originally by no means pleonastic; מִתַּחַת denotes properly the locality, regarded primarily as a place from beneath which something proceeds, and so on. This original sense of the מִן, however, has become so much obscured by its regular combination with words of place to form independent adverbs, that it is even prefixed (evidently only on the analogy of such common adverbs as מֵעַל, מִתַּחַת) in cases where it is really inadmissible, owing to the meaning of the adverb, e.g. in מִלְּבַד, מִלְּבָרֵי.

above (so also in Gn 27⁵⁰, 49²⁵; not from above). These adverbs of place, however, may become prepositions by the addition of לְ, e.g. מִחוּץ לְ outside as regards . . . , i.e. outside of something, in 1 K 21¹³ even after a transitive verb of motion; מִתַּחַת לְ below as regards . . . , i.e. under something (cf. עָד-מִתַּחַת לְ until they came under . . . , 1 S 7¹¹), מֵעַל לְ over something, &c.; לְבַד prop. in separation; לְבַד מִן in separation from, i.e. apart from, besides. Only rarely in such a case is the לְ omitted for the sake of brevity, e.g. Jb 26⁵ מִתַּחַת מִים beneath the waters; Neh 3²⁸ (מֵעַל-).

d 2. Real combinations of prepositions (each retaining its full force) occur—
(a) With מִן, in מֵאַחֲרֵי, מֵאַחֲרֵי (see above) from behind something; מֵאֵת and מֵעֵם from with (see above); מִבֵּין or מִבֵּינֹת from between something (with motion in either direction, see e.g. Gn 49¹⁰); מִלְפָּנֵי from before (see above); sometimes also מִמּוּל Lv 5⁸, &c.; מֵעַל from upon, i.e. off from; מִתַּחַת away from under (see footnote 2 on p. 377).

c (b) With אֶל- in אֶל-אַחֲרֵי to behind, אֶל-בֵּינֹת to between; אֶל-מִבֵּית לְ forth between 2 K 11¹⁵; אֶל-מִחוּץ לְ forth without, i.e. out in front of, Nu 5³; אֶל-תַּחַת down under.¹—In Jb 5⁵ the two prepositions of motion are combined in a peculiarly pregnant construction, אֶל-מִצְּנִים (he goes thither and takes it) out of the thorns, i.e. he taketh it even out of the thorns, but the text is hardly correct.

f 3. A general view of the union of certain verbs, or whole classes of verbs, with particular prepositions, especially in explanation of certain idioms and pregnant expressions.²

g (a) אֶל- (אֵלַי)³ towards, properly an expression of motion or at least direction towards something (either in the sense of up to = עַד, or into = אֶל-תּוֹךְ), is used after verbs not only in answer to the question whither? but by a specially pregnant construction, in answer to the question where? e.g. Jer 41¹² they

without, cf. also such examples as מִבְּלִי, מִמּוּל, מִמִּנְיָד, מִשָּׁם (there), &c. Since a מִן is not usually repeated after מִלְבַּד, it appears as if מִלְבַּד by a transposition of the מִן stood for the usual מִן-לְ. In reality, however, the preposition which forms the adverb into a preposition is omitted here, as in מֵעַל, מִתַּחַת, without a following לְ (see above). Properly מִלְבַּד has a purely adverbial meaning=taken by itself, like מִלְמַעְלָה מִמֶּעַל (Syriac men le'el) above (adv.), as distinguished from לְ מִמֶּעַל or מֵעַל-לְ (Syriac le'el men), over, upon something.—Also לְ מִן from . . . onward is not for מִן-לְ, but the לְ serves merely (just like the Latin usque in usque a, usque ad, usque ex) to indicate expressly the starting-point, as an exact terminus a quo (of place or time).

¹ Also in 1 S 21⁶ אֶל-תַּחַת לְ by a pregnant construction is virtually dependent on the idea of coming into, contained in the preceding אֵין.

² A summary of all the relations and senses in which a preposition may be used, belongs not to the Grammar but to the Lexicon.

³ Cf. Mitchell, 'The preposition el,' in the Journal of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis, 1888, p. 143 ff., and especially A. Noordtzijs, Het hebreewsche voorzetsel אל, Leiden, 1896, a thorough examination of its uses, and especially of the relation between אֶל- and עַל-.

found him *בְּיָמַי רַבִּים* *by the great waters*; cf. Dt 16⁶, 1 K 13²⁰, and a still more remarkable instance in *אֶל-מִקְוֵם שְׁתֵּתָהּ אֶל-הַשָּׂמַיִם* *Ε⁹⁰*. This combination of two different ideas, of motion to a place and being or acting in the place (very plainly seen in Dt 16⁶ *but to the place which the Lord thy God shall choose . . . shalt thou bring thine offering and there shalt thou sacrifice, &c.*), is the same as the Greek use of *eis*, *ἐς* for *ἐν*, the Latin *in potestatem, in amicitiam ditionemque esse, manere* (Cic. Verr. 5, 38; Div. 2, 14, &c.); cf. also the common German expressions *zu Hause, zu Leipzig sein, zu Bette liegen, &c.*

(b) *ב*.¹ Underlying the very various uses of this preposition is either the *h* idea of being or moving within some definite region, or some sphere of space or time (with the infinitive, a simultaneous action, &c.), or else the idea of fastening on something, close connexion with something (also in a metaphorical sense, following some kind of pattern, e.g. the advice or command of some one *בְּדַבָּר פ', בְּעֵצָה פ'*, or in a comparison, as in Gn 1²⁶ *בְּצַלְמֵנוּ כְּדְמוּתֵנוּ* *in our image, after our likeness*; cf. 1²⁷, 5^{1,3}), or finally the idea of relying or depending upon . . ., or even of merely striking or touching something.

Thus the use of *ב* is explained—

(1) In the sense of *among* (in the domain of), e.g. Mi 7² *יֵשֶׁר בְּאֶדְרָם אֵין* *there is none upright among men*; in the sense of *consisting of*, in specifying the constituents of a collective idea, e.g. Gn 7²¹ *and all flesh died . . . in* (=consisting of) *fowl, &c.* 8¹⁷, 9¹⁰, Ho 4³. Also after ideas of *appearing, manifesting oneself, representing, being*, in the sense of *as, in the capacity of* (prop. in the sphere, after the manner of, see above), *consisting of . . ., tanquam, the ḥ essentiae* of the earlier grammarians, corresponding to the Greek *ἐν*, the Latin *in*,² and the French *en*, e.g. Ex 6³ *I appeared unto Abraham . . . בְּאֵל שַׁדַּי* as *El Shaddai*; Jb 23¹³ *וְהָיָה בְּאֶחָד* *but he is (manifests himself as) one, i.e. he remains always the same*; Dt 26⁶, 28⁶² *בְּמַחֲי מַעַם* *in the condition of being few*, cf. 1c²² *to the number of seventy*; Is 40¹⁰, ψ 39⁷.—Cf. also such examples as Ex 18⁴ (ψ 35², 146⁵) *בְּעֻזִּי* *as my help*; Dt 26¹⁴ *being unclean*; Is 25¹⁶ *in Zion* (i.e. *I make Zion a foundation*); Ez 20⁴¹ *as a sweet savour*; Pr 3²⁶, perhaps also Ex 3² *in* (i.e. *as*) *a flame of fire*; Is 66¹⁵ *with* (i.e. *like*) *fire*; ψ 31²², 37²⁰ (102⁴). For the origin of all these forms of expression ψ 54⁹ is especially instructive, since *אֶדְרִי בְּכִמְיָי נִפְשִׁי* is not meant to refer to the Lord as *belonging to* the *בְּכִמְיָי*, but only to ascribe to him a similar character, i.e. *the Lord is one who upholds my soul*; so also ψ 99⁶, 118⁷, Ju 11⁹⁵ [the plur. as in § 124*g-i*].³—Cf. Gesenius, *Thes. Linguae Hebr.*, i. 174*f.*, and Delitzsch on ψ 35².

(2) To introduce the object after transitive verbs, which denote *touching, h striking, reaching to* (thus to some extent a fastening on, see above) something, in English sometimes rendered by *at, on, &c.*, and in German generally by compounds with *an*, e.g. *anfassen* = *ב* *אָחַז*, *anrühren* = *ב* *נָגַע*, &c. To the same category belongs also the construction of verbs denoting *authority* *מְשֹׁל, מְלִיכָה*, *נָשַׁל, נָשַׁל*, the last prop. *to tread on . . .*) with *ב*, inasmuch as the exercise of the authority is regarded as a laying hold of the person ruled; so also, the introduction of the object by *ב* after certain *verba dicendi*, or when the mental action is to be represented as extending to some one or something: e.g.

¹ Cf. Wandel, *De particulae Hebr. ב indole, vi, usu*, Jena, 1875.

² e.g. *res in praeda captae*, i.e. things taken as spoil; see Nägelsbach, *Lat. Stilistik*, § 123⁴. On the Hebrew *ב essentiae*, see Hauschild in the *Festschrift zur Einweihung des Goethegymn.* Frankf. a. M. 1897, p. 163.

³ Other instances formerly cited here (Is 26⁴, ψ 55¹⁹, where *ב* is used before the subject) as well as ψ 68⁵ *בְּיָה שְׁמוֹ Jah is his name*, are textually very uncertain. Cf. Cheyne, *SBOT*. Isaiah, p. 173, on Is 26⁴.

קָרָא to call on some one, נִשְׁבַּע to swear per aliquem, שָׁאַל to enquire of some one. Again, רָאָה to look upon, שָׁמַע to hearken to (but cf. also מ), generally with the secondary idea of participation, or of the pleasure with which one sees or hears anything, especially pleasure at the misfortunes of others, hence רָאָה to see his desire on any one or anything; cf. however, Gn 21¹⁶ let me not look upon the death of the child; 1 S 6¹⁰ because they had looked [irreverently] at the ark of the Lord.

Closely related to this is the use of ב :

- l (3) To introduce the person or thing, which is the object of a mental act, e.g. בְּהֵאֱמִין to trust in (to cleave trustingly to) somebody or something; בְּחַבְּתָהּ to have confidence in . . . ; בְּשִׂמְחָהּ to rejoice in or at something, &c.; בְּדִבְרֵי to speak of (about) some one or something, Dt 6⁷, 1 S 19^{3 f.}, &c.
- m (4) The idea of an action as extending to something, with at the same time the secondary idea of participation in something, underlies finally the partitive use of ב, e.g. בְּאֵכָל to share in eating something, Ex 12^{43 f.}, Lv 22¹¹; also simply to eat, to taste of something, Ju 13¹⁶, Jb 21²⁵; so also בְּחֵם to eat of, and בְּשִׁתָּהּ to drink of something, Pr 9⁵; בְּשִׁמְעוֹ to hear a whisper of something, Jb 26¹⁴; בְּמִצָּאָהּ they found remaining of her only . . . , 2 K 9³⁵; בְּנִשָּׂא to bear a share of something, Nu 11¹⁷, Ez 18²⁰, Jb 7¹³. Cf. also בְּחֶלֶק to give a share of something, Jb 39¹⁷; בְּבִנְיָהּ to do building to, Neh 4⁴.
- n (5) With the idea of touching, striking against anything is naturally connected that of proximity and vicinity near, and further that of association with something; cf. Gn 9⁴ בְּנִפְשׁוֹ with the life thereof; 15¹⁴, 32¹¹ בְּמִקְלִי with my staff. Sometimes ב combined with a verb of motion (to come with something), expresses the idea of bringing, e.g. Ju 15¹ Samson visited his wife with a kid, i.e. he brought her a kid; Dt 23⁵, ψ 66¹³, 1 Ch 15^{10 f.}, 16⁶.
- o (6) From the idea of connexion with something, being accompanied by something (see n), is developed, finally, the instrumental use of ב, which represents the means or instrument (or even the personal agent), as something with which one has associated himself in order to perform an action; cf. Mi 4¹⁴ בַּשֶּׁבֶט they smite with the rod; Is 10²⁴; ψ 18³⁰ בְּךָ by thee (so also 44⁶, parallel with בְּשִׁמְךָ); Is 10³⁴, Ho 1⁷, 12¹⁴; cf. also בְּעֶבֶר to labour by means of some one, i.e. to cause him to labour at it, Ex 1¹⁴, &c. On ב with the passive to introduce the means or the author, see § 121 f.
- p A variety of the ב instrumenti is ב pretii (the price being considered as the means of acquiring a thing), cf. Gn 23⁹, 29¹⁸ (בְּרֶחֶל); 30¹⁶, 33¹⁰, 34¹⁵ בְּזוֹאת on this condition); 37²⁸; also, in a wider sense, Gn 18²⁸ בְּ for the sake of; 1 S 3¹³.
- q Rem. The use of ב instrumenti to introduce the object is peculiar in such expressions as ψ 44²⁰ and thou coveredst over us בְּצִלְמוֹת with the shadow of death; Jb 16¹⁰ בְּפִיהֶם עָלַי פָּעְרוּ they have opened wide their mouth against me (prop. have made an opening with their mouth); cp. ψ 22⁸, Ex 7²⁰ הֵרָמָה the rod; Lv 16⁴ הִקֵּר and צָנָה followed by ב; Jos 8¹⁸, La 1¹⁷. Analogous to some English expressions we find both to gnash the teeth, ψ 35¹⁶, and to gnash with the teeth, Jb 16⁹; to wink the eye, Pr 10¹⁰, and to wink with the eye, Pr 6¹³; shake the head, ψ 22⁸, and to shake with the head, Jer 18¹⁶, Jb 16⁴.—In all these instances

¹ To be distinguished from בְּשִׁתָּהּ = to drink from (a cup, &c., Gn 44⁵, Am 6⁶), as in Arabic and Aramaic (Dn 5²). Cf. also ἐν ποτηρίῳ (Xen. Anab. vi. 1, 4), ἐν χρυσάμασι πίναι (3 Ezr 3⁶), venenum in auro bibitur, Seneca, Thyestes 453, and the French boire dans une tasse.

the verb (intransitive) construed with ב has a greater independence, and consequently more emphasis than the verb construed with a direct accusative; the latter conveys a sort of necessary specification of the action, while the noun introduced by ב is used rather as a merely adverbial complement. An instructive example of this is קול נתן קול *vocem emittere*, to utter a voice, also to thunder, while in בְּקוֹלוֹ שָׁלַח 46⁷ (68²⁴, Jer 12⁸), נָתַן has an independent sense = *he thundered with his voice* (i.e. mightily).

(c) ל to, a very general expression of *direction towards* anything, is used to represent the most varied *relations* of an action or state with regard to a person or thing. On the use of ל as a periphrasis for the *genetivus possessoris* or *auctoris* (the idea of belonging to), see § 129; on ל with the passive, to introduce the author or the cause, see § 121 f; on ל in a purely local sense (e.g. לְיְמִינֶךָ *at thy right hand*, prop. *towards thy right hand*), or temporal (e.g. לְעֶרֶב *at evening*, &c.) or distributive, see the Lexicon.

The following uses of ל properly belong to the government of the verb:

- (1) As a *nota dativi*² to introduce the remoter object; also S
- (2) To introduce the *dativus commodi*. This *dativus commodi* (or *incommodi*, e.g. Ez 37¹¹) is used—especially in colloquial language and in later style—in the form of a pronoun with ל , as an apparently pleonastic *dativus ethicus*, with many verbs, in order to give emphasis to the significance of the occurrence in question for a particular subject. In this construction the person of the pronoun must always agree with that of the verbal form.³ By far the most frequent use of this ל is with the pronoun of the 2nd person after imperatives, e.g. לֵךְ-לְךָ *go, get thee away*, Gn 1¹, 22², Dt 2¹³ (also in the feminine, Ct 2^{10,13}); לֵךְ *turn thee aside*, 2 S 2²¹; לָקֵם *take your journey*, Dt 1⁷; עָבְרוּ לָכֵם *pass ye over*; פָּרַח-לָךְ *flee (to save thyself)*, Gn 27⁴³; עֲלִי-לָךְ *get thee up*, Is 40⁹; פָּנִי לָכֵם *turn you*, Dt 1⁴⁰; שׁוּבוּ לָכֵם *return ye*, Dt 5²⁷; קוּמִי לָךְ *rise up*, Ct 2¹⁰; שָׁבֵנוּ לָכֵם *abide ye*, Gn 22⁶; לָךְ *forbear thee*, 2 Ch 35²¹ (in the plural, Is 2²²); לָכֵם *take you*, Dt 1¹³, Jos 18⁴, Ju 20⁷, 2 S 16²⁰, and so almost regularly הִשְׁמַר לָךְ (see above, § 51 n) *care tibi!* and הִשְׁמַר לָכֵם *take heed to yourselves*; לָךְ *be thou like*, Ct 2¹⁷ (cf. verse 9), 8¹⁴, is remarkable; after a perfect consecutive, 1 K 1⁷, 1 S 22⁵; after an imperfect consecutive, e.g. Is 36⁹ לָךְ *and puttest thy trust*.—In the 3rd person, e.g. וַתֵּשֶׁב לָהּ *and sat her down*, Gn 21¹⁶, cf. 22⁵, Ex 18²⁷, ψ 120⁶, 123⁴, Jb 6¹⁰; even after a participle, Ho 8⁹.—In the 1st person plural, Ez 37¹¹.
- (3) To introduce the result after verbs of making, forming, changing, *t* appointing to something, esteeming as something; in short, in all those cases in which, according to § 117 ii, a second *accusative* may also be used.
- (4) In loose connexion with some verbal idea in the sense of *in reference to*, *u* with regard to... (§ 143 e); so after a *verbum dicendi*, Gn 20¹³; 1 K 10²³, cf.

¹ Cf. Giesebrecht, *Die hebr. Präpos. Lamed*, Halle, 1876.

² Just as in the Romance languages the Latin preposition *ad* (Italian *a*, before vowels *ad*, French *à*, Spanish *a*) and in English *to* are used as a periphrasis for the dative.—On the introduction of the nearer object by ל , cf. § 117 n.

³ Such expressions as the analogous English *he plucked me ope his doublet*, but *me no buts*, and the like, are accordingly inadmissible in Hebrew.

Is 36⁹; even before the verb, Jer 9².—To the same class belongs also the *Lamedh inscriptionis* (untranslatable in English, and hardly more than a mere quotation-mark) which introduces the exact wording of an inscription or title; thus Is 8¹ *write upon it* . . . (the words) מִהֵר שָׁלַל וגו' (cf. verse 3, where the ל naturally is not used); Ez 37¹⁶.

ו (ā), originally (according to § 101 a) *separation*,¹ represents both the idea of *distance, separation or remoteness from something*, and that of *motion away from something*, hence also *descent, origin from a place*, Am 1¹.

טו (i) From the idea of *separation* is naturally derived on the one hand the sense of (*taken*) *from among* . . ., e. g. Gn 3¹ *subtil as none other of the beasts*, &c.; cf. 3¹⁴, Dt 33²⁴, 1 S 15³³, Ju 5²⁴ (so especially after the idea of choosing out of² a larger class, 1 S 2²⁸; cf. Ex 19⁵, &c.), and on the other hand, the sense of *without* (separated, free from . . .), e. g. Is 22³ מִקִּשְׁתֵּי אֶפְרוֹ without the bow (i. e. without one needing to bend a bow against them) *they were made prisoners*; cf. Jer 48⁴⁵ מִכֹּחַ without strength; Ho 6⁶, as the first half-verse shows, *not more than burnt offerings* (as R. V.), but *and not burnt offerings*; Mi 3⁶, ψ 52⁶, Jb 11¹⁵, 16²⁶, 21⁹, also such examples as Nu 15²⁴ *far from the eyes*, i. e. unobserved by the congregation; Pr 20³.

א' Here also belongs the use of מן after the ideas of *restraining, withholding from, refusing to* any one, frequently in pregnant expressions, which we can render only by complete final or consecutive clauses, e. g. 1 S 15²³ *he hath rejected thee* מִמֶּלֶךְ away from (being) king, instead of מֶלֶךְ (as in verse 26), *that thou be no longer king*; cf. 1 K 15¹³, Is 17¹ מִקְעִיר so that it is no longer a city; Jer 17¹⁶, Jb 28¹¹ *he bindeth the streams* מִבְּכִי that they trickle not; Gn 16², 23⁶ מִקְבֹּר that thou shouldst not bury thy dead; Is 24¹⁰.

י' The מן has a still more pregnant force in those examples in which the idea of precluding from anything is only indirectly contained in the preceding verb, e. g. Gn 27¹ *his eyes were dim* בִּירְאָת away from seeing, i. e. so that he could not see; Is 7⁸ *Ephraim shall be broken in pieces* מֵעַם that it be not a people (just as in Is 23¹, Jer 48^{2.42}, ψ 83⁵); Lv 26¹⁸, Is 5⁶, 49¹⁵, 54⁹, Ezr 2⁶² (for other pregnant constructions with מן see below, f)³; on מִבְּלִי and מֵאֵין without, cf. § 152 y.

¹ Cf. O. Molin, *Om prepositionen min i Bibelhebreiskan*, Upsala, 1893, and especially N. Zerweck, *Die hebr. Praep. min*, Leipzig, 1893, who, instead of the partitive meaning (formerly accepted by us also), more correctly takes 'separation' as the starting-point of its various uses.

² All the partitive uses of מן also come most naturally under this idea of separation out of a larger class. Thus מן is used in the sense of *some, something, and even one*, in such expressions as *and he slew* . . . also מִשְׁעֵרֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל (*divers*) of the princes of Israel, 2 Ch 21⁴; מִדָּם מִדֶּם 1 K 18⁵; מִדֶּם מִדֶּם some of the blood of the bullock, Ex 20¹², &c.; Jb 27⁶ *my heart doth not reproach me* מִיָּמִי for any, i. e. for one, of my days; 38¹² מִיָּמֶיךָ one of thy days, i. e. ever in thy life (this explanation is confirmed by 1 K 1⁶; cf. also 1 S 14⁴⁵, 25²⁸). In this way also, the frequently misunderstood Hebrew (and Arabic) idiom is to be explained, by which מן before אֶתְּ, אֵתְּ is equivalent to *ullus*; e. g. Lv 4² *and shall do* מֵאֶתְּ אֵתְּ any one of these things; 5¹³, Dt 15⁷, Ez 18¹⁰; so before a *nomen unitatis* (see § 122 t), 1 S 14⁴⁵ (2 S 14¹¹, 1 K 15²) מִשְׁעֵרֶת רֹאשׁוֹ not one hair of his head.—מן is used in the sense of the Arabic *min el-beyān* or explicative *min* (often to be simply translated by *namely*), e. g. in Gn 7²² of all that was, i. e. so far as it was, probably also Gn 6² (= *whomsoever they chose*).

³ On the use of מן to express the comparative, which likewise depends on the idea of *distance from* . . ., cf. below, § 133 a; on מן as expressing the

(2) On the sense of *motion away from* anything depends the use of מִן after *ז* such ideas as to *take away from*, to *beware*, to *be afraid of*, to *flee*, to *escape*, to *hide oneself from* (cf. καλύπτω ἀπό, *custodire ab*), sometimes again in pregnant expressions, e.g. Is 33¹⁵. On the idea of *starting from* anything depends finally the very frequent *causative* use of מִן *on account of*, *in consequence of* (cf. *car that comes from . . .*), *prae*, e.g. מִרְבַּח for *multitude*, 1 K 8⁵.

(e) על-¹ The two original local meanings of this preposition are *upon aa* (ἐπὶ)² and *over* (ὑπέρ, *super*).

(1) From the original meaning *upon* is explained the use of על- after ideas of *commanding*, *commissioning* (פָּקַד על-), &c., inasmuch as the command, obligation, &c., is *laid upon* the object. The construction is self-evident in the case of to *lie*, *rest*, *lean*, *rely*, *press upon* something; cf. also, for the last, such examples as Is 1¹⁴, Jb 7²⁰, 23², and especially 2 S 18¹¹ וְעָלַי prop. *upon me* would it have been, it would have been incumbent *upon me*, &c.

(2) From the original meaning *over* is explained the use of על- after ideas *bb* of *covering*, *protecting*, *guarding* בָּכַה על-, נָגַן על-; also the combinations רָחַם על- to *have compassion upon* . . . , חָסַם על-, חָמַל על- to *spare* some one, arise from the idea of a compassionate or protective *bending over* something. Cf. also נָלַחַם על- Ju 9¹⁷ = *to fight for* some one, i.e. in his defence.

(3) Moreover על- is used after verbs of *standing* and *going*, to express *cc* a *towering over* some one or something, sometimes in phrases, in which the original local idea has altogether fallen into the background, and which are therefore to be rendered in English by means of other prepositions (*by*, *with*, *before*, *near*), e.g. Gn 41¹, &c., Pharaoh . . . stood על-הַיָּאֵר *by the Nile* (above the water level; cf. ψ 1⁹), and so especially עָמַד על- in the pregnant sense to *stand serving before* some one (prop. *over* one who sits or reclines at table) Zc 4¹⁴ (cf. Is 6², where מִפְּנֵי is used for על-); הִתְיַצַּב על- to *present oneself by* command before some one, Jb 1⁰, &c. Cf. also עָלֶיךָ, עָלֵי, עָלֵי (Jb 1¹⁴) *near*, *at* (*on*) the side of some one or something.

(4) From the original meaning *above* (not, as formerly explained, *on* to *dd* something, *at* something) there arise finally all the various constructions with על- in the sense of *towards*, *against*. The original idea (which in many of these constructions has become wholly unrecognizable) starts from the view that the assailant endeavours to take up his position *over* the person attacked, so as to reach him from above, or to *overpower* him; cf. especially קָוַם על- to *rise up over*, i.e. *against* some one, then with a transference of

distance of time from a fixed limit, in the sense of *after*, e.g. ψ 73²⁰ מִקֵּץ *after awaking* (cf. ἐξ ἀπύρτου, *ab itinere*), or *after the lapse of . . .*, e.g. Gn 38²⁴, Ho 6², and very frequently מִקֵּץ *from the end of*, i.e. *after the lapse of . . .*, see the Lexicon; also for the use of מִן to represent *resting beside* anything, like the Latin *prope abesse* ab . . .

¹ Cf. Budie, *Die hebr. Präpos. 'Al* (על), Halle, 1882.

² Since the placing *upon* anything is an addition to it, על- also implies in addition to something, cf. Gn 28⁹ (31⁵⁰); 30⁴⁰, 32¹² (probably a proverbial saying = *mother and children*); Dt 22⁶. Also על- notwithstanding is no doubt properly in addition to, e.g. Jb 10⁷ although thou knowest, prop. in addition to thy knowing.—From the original meaning *upon* is also derived that of *on account of* (prop. *upon the ground of*) and in agreement with, according to, since the pattern is regarded as the foundation *upon* which a thing stands or rests.

thought applied to any kind of hostile approach, *נִלְחַם עַל־* to fight against . . . , *עַל־* *הָנָה* to encamp against . . . , *נֶאֱקָפוּ עַל־* to be gathered together, to assemble against (Mi 4¹¹; cf. *ψ* 2²), &c. ; even after verbs which express a mental action, e. g. *עַל־* *הִשָּׁב רָעָה* to imagine evil against any one, &c.

ee 4. Sometimes a preposition appears to be under the immediate government of a verb, which, by its meaning, excludes such a union. In reality the preposition is dependent on a verb (generally a verb of motion), which, for the sake of brevity, is not expressed, but in sense is contained in what is apparently the governing verb.

ff Various examples of this *constructio praegnans* have been already noticed above in *x* and *y* under *מִן־*; for *מִן־* cf. also *ψ* 22²² *וּמִפְּרִי רִמִּים עֲנִיִּתָנִי* and thou hast answered and saved me from the horns of the wild oxen (in Is 38¹⁷, which Delitzsch translates by *thou hast loved and delivered my soul from the pit*, read *הִשָּׁבָה* with the LXX); Gn 25²³, 2 S 18¹⁰, Jb 28¹²; cf. also *מִן־* *וָנָה* *ψ* 73²⁷ to go a whoring from any one i. e. to be unfaithful to him; *מִן־* *רִשַׁע* *ψ* 18²² = to depart wickedly from God; *מִן־* *הָרַשׁ* *ψ* 28¹ to be silent from one (to turn away in silence); cf. Jb 13¹³ [; so with *מִעַל* Jb 30^{17.30}].

gg Pregnant constructions with *אַחֲרַי*: Nu 14²⁴ equivalent to *וַיִּמְלֵא לְלֶכְתָּ אַחֲרַי* and he made full to walk i. e. walked fully after me; in 1 S 13⁷ read with the LXX *וַיִּתְרַדּוּ מֵאַחֲרָיו* they trembled, i. e. went trembling away from him; with *דָּרַשׁ אֶל־* Gn 43³³ *וְהָיָה אֵלֶיךָ* to turn in astonishment to some one (cf. Is 13⁸); *אֶל־* Is 11¹⁰, &c., to turn inquiringly to some one; *אֶל־* *וְהָיָה רִשְׁתְּךָ* Is 41¹ to turn in silence to some one; *אֶל־* *וְהָיָה תָרַדּוּ* Gn 42²⁸ to turn trembling to some one (cf. *וְהָיָה לְקָרָא* to come trembling to meet, 1 S 21² [also with *שָׂמַח*, *הִרְיִן*, *שָׂמַח* and other verbs, Ju 14⁵, 15¹⁴, 19³; see Lexicon]); cf. further Jer 41⁷, *ψ* 7⁷, 2 Ch 32¹; with *בְּ* *ψ* 55¹⁹ he hath redeemed and hath put my soul in peace, exactly like *ψ* 118⁵; with *לְ* *ψ* 74⁷ they have profaned and cast . . . even to the ground; cf. 89⁴⁰.

hh 5. In poetic parallelism the governing power of a preposition is sometimes extended to the corresponding substantive of the second member; ¹ e. g. *בְּ* Is 40¹⁹, 48¹⁴ *הֵאֱרַךְ בְּבָבֶל* on Babylon, and his arm shall be *בְּבָבֶל* (for *בְּבָבֶל* on the Chaldeans; Jb 15³; *לְ* Is 28⁶, 42²² (but probably *לְ* has fallen out after another *לְ*), Ez 39⁴, Jb 34¹⁰ (perhaps also Gn 45⁵; *מִיֵּשֶׁל* may, however, be taken here as a second accusative according to § 117 ii); *מִן־* *לְמַעַן* Is 48⁹; *מִן־* Is 58¹³, *ψ* 141⁹ (unless *וּמִפְּקִשׁוֹת* is to be read); *עַד־* Is 15⁸; *עַד־* Is 61⁷.

ii 6. Adverbs which have acquired a substantival value are sometimes governed by prepositions, e. g. *אַל־תִּהְיֶה* in vain, Ez 6¹⁰; *אַחֲרֵיכֵן* after this; *בְּכֵן* (Ec 8¹⁰, Est 4¹⁶) then, on this condition; *לְכֵן* and *עַל־כֵּן* therefore; *עַד־כֵּן* hitherto.

¹ Similarly the force of a negative is sometimes extended to the parallel member; see § 152 z.

§ 120. *Verbal Ideas under the Government of a Verb.*
Co-ordination of Complementary Verbal Ideas.

1. When a *relative* verb (incomplete in itself) receives its necessary *a* complement in the form of a verbal idea, the latter is, as a rule, subordinated in the infinitive construct (with or without $\dot{\text{ל}}$), less frequently in the infinitive absolute, in a few instances in the form of a participle (or verbal adjective), or finally in the imperfect without the copula. In these combinations the principal idea is very frequently represented by the subordinate member of the sentence, whilst the governing verb rather contains a mere definition of the manner of the action; cf. *d* and *g* below, and § 114 *n*, note 2.

(*a*) On the subordination of an infinitive construct as an accusative of the object, and as the complement of relative verbal ideas, see above, § 114 *c*, and the numerous examples given in § 114 *m*; on the infinitive absolute as object, see § 113 *d*.—The complement in the form of a participle (as in Greek, and also frequently in Syriac) occurs in Is 33¹ בְּהִתְמַדָּה שׁוֹרֵר (cf. for the form, § 67 *v*) *when thou hast ceased as a spoiler, i. e. to spoil*; Jer 22³⁰ לֹא יֵצֵא . . . יֹשֵׁב *he shall never prosper, sitting, i. e. so as to sit, &c.*; Jon 1⁶ *what meanest thou, sleeping?* i. e. *that thou sleepest*; ¹ by a verbal adjective, 1 S 3² *now his eyes* הָיָה לְדִמּוּם *had begun being dim, i. e. to wax dim* (unless we read בְּהוּת = לְבָהוּת, cf. § 114 *m*); by a substantive, Gn 9²⁰ *and Noah began to be an husbandman* (omitting the article before אֲדָמָה).

(*b*) Examples of the subordination of the complementary verbal idea in the C imperfect² (in English usually rendered by *to, in order to* or *that*) are—(1) with both verbs in the same person: after the perfect, Is 42²¹ יִתְהַלַּל . . . יְהוָה *it pleased the Lord . . . to magnify, &c.*; Jb 30²⁸, 32²² לֹא יִדְעֵתִי אֲכַבֶּה *I know not to give flattering titles*; after a perfect consecutive, 1 S 20¹³ (where for תִּהְיֶה we should read with the LXX תִּפְסֹק); after an imperfect, § 88¹¹, 102¹⁴, Jb 19³, 24¹⁴; after an imperf. consec., Jb 16⁸; after a participle, Is 5^{11a}.—(2) with a difference in the persons: after a perfect, Lv 9⁶ *this is the thing* אֲשֶׁר-צִוָּה *which the Lord commanded* (that) *ye should do*; a negative imperfect follows צִוָּה in La 1¹⁰; after the imperfect, Is 47¹ (5) *thou shalt no longer be called, &c.*; Ho 1⁶ לֹא אֲזַכֶּר עוֹד אֲרָחָם *I will no longer continue* (and) *have mercy, i. e. I will no more have mercy*; Is 52¹, Pr 23³⁵.—Nu 22⁶ *peradventure I shall prevail* (that) *we may smite them, and* (that) *I may drive them out of the land* (אֲזַכֶּר may, however, be a scribal error for נִכְל, due to the preceding אֲזַכֶּר, and in that case the example would belong to No. 1); after a participle,

¹ In 1 S 16¹⁸, which appears to be a case of this kind, two different readings are combined, יִדְעֵ לִנְגֹן and the simple מִנְגֵן.

² This kind of subordination is frequent in Arabic and in Syriac (cf. e. g. the Peshittā, Luke 18¹⁸); as a rule, however, a conjunction (corresponding to our *that*) is inserted. Cf. moreover, the Latin *quid vis faciam?* Terence; *volo hoc oratori contingat*, Cicero, Brut. 84; and our *I would it were; I thought he would go*.

2 S 21⁴.—A perfect is possibly subordinated in La 1¹⁰; but the explanation of וַיֵּשֶׁב as a relative clause is preferable.

d 2. Instead of subordination (as in the cases mentioned in a-c), the co-ordination of the complementary verbal idea in the finite verb (cf. above, c) frequently occurs, either—

(a) With the second verb co-ordinated in a form exactly corresponding to the first (but see below, e) by means of וְ (1, 1).¹ As a rule, here also (see above, a) the principal idea is introduced only by the second verb, while the first (especially וַיֵּשֶׁב , וַיֵּסֶף , וַיֵּסֶף) contains the definition of the manner of the action, e.g. Gn 26¹⁸ $\text{וַיֵּשֶׁב וַיִּחְפֹּר}$ and he returned and digged, i.e. he digged again; 2 K 11¹³; in the perfect consecutive, Is 6¹³; with וַיֵּסֶף , e.g. Gn 25¹ and Abraham added and took a wife, i.e. again took a wife; Gn 38⁵ and frequently; with וַיֵּשֶׁב in the jussive, Jb 6⁷; in the imperative (cf. § 110 h), Ju 19⁶ $\text{וַיֵּשֶׁב וַיֵּשֶׁב וַיֵּשֶׁב}$ be content, I pray thee, and tarry all night (cf. the English *he was persuaded and remained*, for *to remain*); 2 S 7²⁰; with וַיֵּשֶׁב Gn 24^{18, 20}, &c.; with וַיֵּשֶׁב Ct 2³.

e Rem. 1. Instead of an exact agreement between co-ordinate verbal forms, other combinations sometimes occur, viz. imperfect and perfect consecutive (cf. § 112 d), e.g. Dt 31¹² $\text{וַיֵּלְמְדוּ וַיִּירָאוּ אֶת־יְהוָה}$ may learn, and fear the Lord, i.e. to fear the Lord; Is 1¹⁹, Ho 2¹¹, Est 8⁶, Dn 9^{25b}; perfect and imperfect, Jb 23³ (*O that I knew how I might find him*); perfect and imperfect consecutive, Jos 7⁷, Ec 4^{1, 7}; jussive and imperative, Jb 17¹⁰; cf., finally, Gn 47⁶ $\text{וְאִם־יֵדְעָה וְיֵשֶׁב וְיֵשֶׁב}$ and if thou knowest and there are among them, &c., i.e. that there are among them.

f 2. Special mention must be made of the instances in which the natural complement of the first verb is suppressed, or is added immediately after in the form of an historical statement, e.g. Gn 42²⁵ *then Joseph commanded and they filled*³ (prop. that they should fill, and they filled . . .; cf. the full form of expression in Gn 50²); a further command is then added by means of וְ and the infinitive; Ex 36⁶; another instance of the same kind is Gn 30²⁷ *I have divined and the Lord hath blessed me, &c.*, i.e. that the Lord hath blessed me for thy sake.

g (b) With the second verb (which, according to the above, represents the principal idea) attached *without the copula*⁴ in the same mood, &c. In this construction (cf. § 110 h) the imperatives קִיְמוּהוּ (קִיְמוּ , קִיְמוּ),

¹ Cf. the English colloquial expression *I will try and do it*.

² Of a different kind are the cases in which וְ with a negative is co-ordinated with a verb to emphasize the non-recurrence of the action; cf. Nu 11²⁵ *they prophesied and added not*, sc. to prophesy, i.e. but they did so no more; Dt 5¹⁹, Jb 27¹⁹ (reading וְיֵשֶׁב וְיֵשֶׁב).

³ Cf. the analogous examples in Kautzsch's *Gramm. des Bibl. Aram.*, § 102.

⁴ To be distinguished, of course, from the cases in which two equally important and independent verbs are used together without the copula in vigorous poetic imagery, e.g. Ex 15⁹, Jb 29⁸, &c.

&c.) and לָךְ, לָכֵי, &c.) are exceedingly common with the sense of interjections, before verbs which express a movement or other action, e.g. קוּם הִתְהַלֵּךְ *arise, walk*, Gn 13¹⁷, 19¹⁵, 27⁴³; in the plural, Gn 19¹⁴; Ex 19²⁴ לָךְ הָרָר *go, get thee down*; 1 S 3⁹; with a following cohortative, 1 S 9¹⁰ לָכֵה גִלְכָּה *come, let us go*; Gn 31⁴⁴ and frequently.—Also with שׁוּב (a periphrasis for *again*) in the perfect, Zc 8¹⁵; in the imperfect, Mi 7¹⁹, ψ 7¹³, 59⁷, 71²⁰; in the jussive, Jb 10¹⁶; in the cohortative, Gn 30³¹; in the imperative, Jos 5², 1 S 3⁵ *lie down again*; הוֹאִיל (sometimes to express the idea of *willingly* or *gladly*) in the perfect, Dt 1⁵, Ho 5¹¹; in the imperative, Jb 6²⁸; הִרְבָּה = *much*, 1 S 2³ אֶל-תִּרְבּוּ תִרְבּוּ *do not multiply and talk*, i.e. talk not so much *arrogancy*; in the imperative, ψ 51⁴, הִחַל, Dt 2²⁴ רֵשׁ הִחַל *begin, possess*; יָכַל, La 4¹⁴ בְּלֹא *without men's being able to touch*, &c.; מְהֵרָה = *quickly*, in the perfect, ψ 106¹³; in the imperative, Gn 19²², Ju 9⁴⁸, Est 6¹⁰.—Other examples are: Ho 9⁹ הֵעֵמִיק = *deeply, radically*; Zp 3⁷ הַשְׁעִימִים = *early* (even in the participle, Ho 6⁴, 13³); Is 29⁴ נָפַל = *low*, cf. Jer 13¹⁸; Jos 3¹⁶ כָּל־הַיּוֹם = *wholly*; ψ 112⁹ מְהֵרָה = *plentifully*.

Rem. This co-ordination without the copula belongs (as being more *h* vigorous and bolder) rather to poetic or otherwise elevated style (cf. e.g. Is 52¹, Ho 1⁹, 9⁹ with Gn 25¹, &c.). Asyndeton, however, is not wanting even in prose; besides the above examples (especially the imperatives of קוּם and הִלֵּךְ Gn 30³¹, Dt 1⁵, 2²⁴, Jos 3¹⁶, 1 S 3⁵) cf. also Neh 3²⁰, 1 Ch 13². For special reasons the verb representing the principal idea may even come first; thus Is 53¹¹ יִשְׁבַּע יִרְאָה יִשְׁבַּע *he shall see, he shall be satisfied* (sc. with the sight), for the satisfaction does not come until after the enjoyment of the sight; Jer 4⁵ מְלֵא קוֹלֶךָ *cry, fill*, i.e. cry with a full (loud) voice.

§ 121. Construction of Passive Verbs.

Blake, 'The internal passive in Semitic,' JAOS. xxii.

1. Verbs which in the active take *one* accusative (either of the *a* proper object, or of the *internal* object, or of some other nearer definition; cf. § 117 a, p, u) may in the passive, according to our mode of expression, be construed *personally*, the object of the active sentence now becoming the subject, e.g. Gn 35¹⁹ וַתָּמָת רָחֵל וַתִּקָּבֵר *and Rachel died, and was buried*, &c. The passive, however, is also used *impersonally* (in the 3rd sing. masc.), either absolutely, as Dt 21³², Is 16¹⁰, Ez 16³⁴ (with a dative added, 2 S 17¹⁶, Is 53⁵, La 5⁵), or, more frequently, with the object of the active construction still subordinated in the accusative,¹ e.g. Gn 27⁴² וַיַּגֵּד לְרִבְקָה אֶת-דְּבָרֵי עֵשָׂו *and there were told* (i.e. one told) *to Rebekah the words of Esau*; 2 S 21¹¹, 1 K 18¹³.

¹ When this is not recognizable either by the *nota accusativi*, or by its disagreement with the passive form in gender, number, and person, it

b Other examples are: after Niph., Gn 4¹⁸ וַיֵּלֶד לְחֵנוֹךְ אֶת-עֵירָד and unto Enoch was born Irad (cf. Nu 26⁶⁰, and after an infinitive, Gn 21⁸); Gn 17⁵, 21⁸ (after an infinitive); 29²⁷ (unless וַיִּתְּנָהּ is 1st plur. cohortative); Ex 21²⁸, 25²⁸, Lv 6¹³, Nu 7¹⁰ (after an infinitive); 26⁵⁵ (cf. verse 53); Dt 20⁸ (where, however, for יָמָם the Hiph. יָמָם should be read, according to 1²⁸); Jos 7¹⁵, Is 16¹⁰; with the object preceding, Ex 13⁷, Lv 2⁸, 19²⁰, Nu 16²⁰, Dan 9^{24,1}.—Also after Pu'al, Jer 50²⁰; before Pu'al, Is 14³ אֲשֶׁר equivalent to the internal object עֲבָרָה = which they have caused to be served by thee; Jb 22⁹; according to the Masoretic text also Gn 46²², where, however, the Samaritan and LXX read יֵלֶד; the Samaritan in Gn 35²⁶ and 46²⁷ also reads יֵלֶד, and this (or יֵלֶד) should certainly be read instead of יֵלֶד in 2 S 21²².—After Hoph., Ex 10⁸, 27⁷, Lv 10¹⁸, 16²⁷, Nu 32⁵, 1 K 2²¹, Pr 16³³, Jb 30¹⁵; after the infinitive Hoph., Gn 40²⁰, Ez 16⁴¹, 27⁷; before Hoph., Is 17¹, 21², Ho 10⁶, Zc 13⁶; after the infinitive Hothpa'el, Lv 13⁵⁵.

c 2. Verbs which in the active take two accusatives (§ 117 *cc*) retain in the passive construction at least one accusative, namely that of the second or remoter object, whilst the nearer object now becomes the subject. Thus, corresponding to אֲשֶׁר אֶרְאֶה which I will show thee (Gn 12¹) the passive is אֲשֶׁר אֶתָּה מְרַאֶה (Ex 25⁴⁰) which thou hast been shown, i.e. which has been shown to thee; cf. Ex 26³⁰ (but in Lv 13⁴⁰ with an accusative of the person); Jb 7³. In פֶּה מִלִּקְוֵי depends on an assumed transitive הִרְבִּיץ governing two accusatives (= my tongue is made to cleave to my jaws); also in Is 1²⁰ הָרֶב הַחֶבֶל ye shall be devoured with the sword, חֶבֶל is not an accus. instrumenti, but most probably an accusative of the object retained from the active construction.²

d Rem. 1. Examples of the retention of the second accusative are—(a) with *verba induendi* and *exuendi* (§ 117 *cc*), פֶּסֶם הָרִים צִלָּה the mountains were covered with the shadow of it (the vine); Pr 19²³. So also some of the examples in § 116 *k* of passive participles of these verbs, Ju 18¹¹, 1 S 2¹⁸, 17⁵, 1 K 22¹⁰,

naturally cannot be determined whether the construction is really impersonal. The construction itself can only be explained by supposing that while using the passive form the speaker at the same time thinks of some author or authors of the action in question, just as on the theory of the Arab grammarians a *concealed agent* is included in every passive. This accounts for the possibility (cf. § 144 *g*) of using the active without a specified subject as a periphrasis for the passive.

¹ In 2 K 18³⁰ יִתֵּן is to be read or אֶת is to be omitted, as in the parallel passage Is 36¹⁵.

² In the active, the sentence would be *I will cause the sword to devour you*; by the rule stated above, under *c*, this would become in the passive, *the sword (nom.) shall be made to devour you (acc.)*. Instead of this, the remoter object is here made the subject, and the nearer object is retained in the accusative. Otherwise, the only possible explanation would be, according to the Arabic idiom, *to cause one to devour the sword* (remoter object), i.e. to give him over to it.

It would then be simplest to read הָאֶבֶן.

Ez 9^{2,3}; ¹ with the accusative preceding, Neh 4¹².—(b) with *verba copiae* and *inopiae*, Ex 17, Is 38¹⁰ (equivalent to *I must forego the residue of my years*); Is 40²⁰.—(c) an accusative of the result (§ 117 ii) with the passive, Is 61¹, Zc 14⁴, Jb 28²; with the accusative preceding, Is 24¹², Mi 3¹² (Jer 26¹⁸), Jb 15¹, 22¹⁶.² Also in Ez 40¹⁷ and 46²³, the accusative preceding עָשִׂי (in 41¹⁸ following it) can only be taken as the accusative of the result; some general idea, such as that of *place*, is to be understood as the subject of עָשִׂי.—(d) an accusative of the member or part specially affected by the action (§ 117 l), Gn 17¹¹, 14²⁴, Ju 17 (accusative *before* part. pass.); 2 S 15³² (accusative with suffix after the part. pass.).

2. Both accusatives are retained in an unusual manner after the passive of *e* a *verbum implendi* in Nu 14²¹; instead, however, of the *Niph.* וַיִּמְלֵא the *Qal* (which is sometimes used transitively elsewhere) should simply be read with the LXX; similarly in ψ 72¹⁹, although there the LXX also translate the passive.

3. The efficient cause (or personal agent) is, as a rule, attached to *f* the passive by לְ (thus corresponding to the Greek and Latin dative), e. g. Gn 25²¹ וַיִּעָתֶר לוֹ יְהוָה the Lord let himself be intreated by him; cf. Lv 26²³, ψ 73¹⁰ and the blessing בְּרוּךְ הוּא לַיהוָה blessed be he of the Lord Ru 2²⁰; cf. Gn 14¹⁹, Ju 17²⁶, 1 S 15¹³; also in the plural, 1 S 23²¹ (2 S 2⁵, ψ 115¹⁵).—Before the verb, Pr 14²⁰ and frequently; less commonly by מִן (called מִן of origin=*coming from*), e. g. Gn 9¹¹; before the verb, ψ 37²³, Jb 24¹; by בְּ (*instrumenti*) [rarely, König § 106], Gn 9⁶ (בְּאָדָם by man); Nu 36², Is 14^{3 b} [but ?=*wherewith it was worked* (§ 52 e) with thee; cf. Dt 21³, König § 106; and see קִבֵּר in the Lexicon], Ho 14⁴, always to introduce a personal agent.—On the connexion of the passive participle with a genitive of the agent, cf. § 116 l.

II. Syntax of the Noun.

§ 122. Indication of the Gender of the Noun.

Cf. F. Schwabe, *Die Genusbestimmung des Nomens im bibl. Hebr.*, Jena, 1894, and especially the thorough investigation by K. Albrecht, 'Das Geschlecht der hebr. Hauptwörter,' in *ZAW.* 1895, p. 313 ff., and 1896, p. 61 ff. H. Rosenberg, 'Zum Geschlecht der hebr. Hauptwörter,' in *ZAW.* 1905, p. 325 ff. (supplementing Albrecht's work by a treatment of the gender of many nouns in the Mishna); and his 'Notizen aus der tannaitischen Literatur...' *ZAW.* 1908, p. 144 ff.

1. According to § 80 a, Hebrew, like the other Semitic languages, *a* distinguishes only a *masculine* and *feminine* gender. To indicate the

¹ Analogous to הַלְבִישׁ הַבְּדִים who was clothed in linen, Ez 9³, would be הַפְּתִיר הָהוּא 2 Ch 31¹⁰; but we must certainly read there וְנִתְּרָה with the LXX.—Still less can ψ 87⁸ be so explained, נִכְבְּדוֹת being not an accusative, but the subject of a noun-clause. On the other hand, שְׁלִיחַ 1 K 14⁶ may be explained with Ewald in the sense of *being charged with something*, so that, like צִיָּה, it may be construed with an accusative.

² In reality יָרַם Ex 16^{20,28} (*it became putrid*) is equivalent to a passive (*it was changed*), to which הוֹלָקִים is added as an accusative of the result.

latter a special feminine ending is generally used (§ 80 b and § 87 i) both in the singular and plural (see, however, § 87 p), its use being most consistent in adjectives and participles; cf. § 87 r. The employment of these special endings is most natural when by means of them the feminine names of persons or animals are distinguished from the masculine of the same stem and the same formation, e. g. **אָה** *brother*, **אָהות** *sister*; **עָלָם** *a young man*, **עָלְמָה** *a young woman, maid*; **פָּר** *iuvencus*, **פָּרָה** *iuvenca*; **עֵגֶל** *vitulus*, **עֵגְלָה** *vitula*. On the other hand, the feminine plays an important part in denoting the gender of whole classes of ideas (see below, p, &c.), which the Hebrew regards as feminine. The language, however, is not obliged to use the feminine ending either for the purpose of distinguishing the *sex* of animate objects (see b), or as an indication of the (*figurative*) gender of inanimate things which are regarded as feminine (see h).

b 2. The distinction of *sex* may be effected even without the feminine ending, (a) by the employment of words of different stems for the masculine and feminine; (b) by the different construction (either as masculine or feminine) of the same word (*communia*). But the distinction may also, (c) in the case of names of animals, be entirely neglected, all examples of a species being included under one particular gender, either masculine or feminine (*epicoena*).

c Examples of (a) are: **אָב** *father*, **אִם** *mother*; **אֵיל** *ram*, **רָחֵל** *ewe*; **תָּיִשׁ** *he-goat*, **עֵז** *she-goat*; **חֲמוֹר** *he-ass*, **אֲתוֹן** *she-ass*; **אֲרִיָּה** *lion*, **לִבְיָא** *lioness*. Sometimes with the feminine ending as well, e. g. **עֶבֶד** *male slave, man-servant*, **אֲמָה** or **שִׁפְחָה** *female slave, maid*; **הָחָן** *bridegroom*, **כַּלָּה** *bride*.

d Of (b): **גִּמְלָה** *camel*. Plur. **גִּמְלִים** construed as masculine, Gn 24⁶⁸; as feminine, Gn 32¹⁶; **בָּקָר** collect. *oxen*, Ex 21³⁷, construed as masculine, but in Gn 33¹³, Jb 1¹⁴ as feminine. In Jer 2²⁴ the construction of **פָּרָה** *wild ass*, changes directly from the masculine (intended as epicene) to the feminine. Cf. the Greek *ὁ, ἡ παῖς* *ὁ, ἡ βοῦς*.

e Of (c): analogous to the epicene nouns of other languages, many species of animals which are strong and courageous, are regarded in Hebrew as always masculine, while the weak and timid are feminine; cf. *ὁ λύκος, ἡ χελιδὼν*, and the German *der Löwe, der Adler*, &c., but *die Katze, die Taube*, &c. Similarly in Hebrew, e. g. **אֶלֶנָּה** *ox* (ψ 144¹⁴ even referring to cows when pregnant), **דִּב** *bear*, Ho 13⁸ **דִּב שָׁפוּל** (*a bear that is bereaved of her whelps*; cf., however, 2 K 2²⁴, Is 11⁷), **זָאֵב** *wolf*, **כֶּלֶב** *dog*, all masculine; but **אֲרֵיבָת** *hare*, **יוֹנָה** *dove*, **חֲסִידָה** *stork*, **דְּבוּרָה** *bee*, **נְמִלָּה** *ant*, &c., feminine.

f Rem. 1. Masculine nouns which either have a separate feminine form or might easily form one, are but seldom used as epicene; such are, **חֲמוֹר** *ass*, 2 S 15²⁷ for **אֲתוֹן**; **אֵיל** *hart*, ψ 42² for **אֵיִלָּה**. In Gn 23³² **מֵת** *a dead body*, refers more especially to the body of a woman; **אֲמוֹן** *a master workman*, in Pr 8³⁰ refers to wisdom (**חֲכִמָּה** feminine, cf. Plin. 2, 1 *natura omnium artifex*; and our

use of *friend, teacher, servant, neighbour*, either as masculine or feminine; in German, *Gemahl*¹ spouse, also for fem. *Gemahlin*, &c.).

2. Of words denoting persons נָעָר *naʿa*, according to the formerly common ḡ opinion, was in early times used as epicene (see, however, above, § 2 n). The use of the plural נְעָרִים in Jb 1¹⁹ and Ru 2²¹ in the sense of *young people* (of both genders) does not, however, prove this. In this and in similar cases (cf. e.g. אָהֶם Gn 1²⁷ and אֲתָהֶם 32¹) the masculine as *prior gender* includes the feminine.²

3. The following classes of ideas are usually regarded as feminine,³ although the substantives which express them are mostly without the feminine ending:⁴

(a) Names of *countries and towns*, since they are regarded as the mothers⁵ and nurses of the inhabitants; e.g. אֲשׁוּר *Assyria*, אֲדָם *Idumaea*, צֵר *Tyre*; cf. also such expressions as בַּת צִיּוֹן, בַּת בָּבֶל *daughter of Babylon, daughter of Zion*, &c. On the other hand appellatives which are originally masculine, remain so when used as place-names, e.g. Am 5⁵ בֵּית-אֵל, הַיְיָלָה, &c.

Rem. The same proper nouns, which as names of countries are regarded as feminine, are frequently used also as names of the people, and may then, like national names in other languages, be construed as masculine (the national name almost always being used also as the personal name of the supposed ancestor of the people); thus יְהוֹרָה masc. Is 3³, &c., *Julaei*; but

¹ So in early Arabic, *baʿl* (lord) and *zawǧ* (conjux) are used both for *maritus* and *uxor*; *ʾarūs* for *bridegroom* and *bride*; the later language, however, distinguishes the feminine from the masculine in all these cases generally by the ending *a* (at). In early Arabic also the feminine ending is commonly omitted in such participles as *ḥāmīl*, *bāṭin* (gravidā), and the like, which from the nature of the case can only be used of females. Thus also אִמָּן, at least in Nu 11¹² (Is 49²³?), probably means *nurse* (for אִמָּנִית 2 S 4⁴, &c.), not *nursing-father*.

² The Arab grammarians call this use of the masculine plural and dual (e.g. *el-abawāni*, the two fathers, i.e. *parentes*) *taghlīb* or *the making* (the masculine) *prevail* (over the feminine).—Cf. M. Grünert, *Die Begriffs-Präponderanz und die Duale a potiori im Altarab.*, Vienna, 1886.

³ The masculine gender is attributed 'by the Hebrews and the Semites generally to whatever is dangerous, savage, courageous, respected, great, strong, powerful...; the feminine to whatever is motherly, productive, sustaining, nourishing, gentle, weak, ... subject, &c.' (Albrecht, *ZAW.* 1890, p. 120 f.).

⁴ When, on the other hand, words *with* a feminine-ending, such as קֶשֶׁת *a bow* (stem קָשָׁה), עֵת *time* (see the Lexicon), are sometimes construed as masculine, this is owing probably in some cases to a misunderstanding of the formation of the word, the ת of the feminine being regarded as a radical.

⁵ Cf. *a city and a mother* (אִמָּה) in Israel, 2 S 20¹⁹. In the same way אִמָּה (like *μήτηρ*, *mater*) on Phœnician coins stands for *mother-city*, *μητρόπολις*. The same figure is used in such expressions as *sons of Zion*, ψ 149²; *sons of Babylon*, Ez 23¹⁵, &c., as also in speaking of the suburbs of a city as its *daughters*, e.g. Jos 15⁴⁵ n., &c.—The comparison of Jerusalem to a woman is especially frequent in allegorical descriptions, e.g. Ez 16²³, La 1¹, &c.

Is 7⁶, fem., *Judaea*; אֲדָמָה masc., *Idumaei*, Nu 20²⁰; fem., *Idumaea*, Jer 49¹⁷. Nevertheless, it sometimes happens that by a very common transference of thought (just as we say *Turkey concludes peace*) these names are construed as feminine, even when they denote not the country but the inhabitants; so יהודה La 1⁸; cf. Gn 41⁵, Ex 10⁷, 12³⁵, 1 S 17²¹, 2 S 8², 24⁹, Is 7², 21², 42¹¹, Jer 50¹⁰, Jb 1¹⁵. Hence the frequent personification of nations (as well as of countries and towns, see *h*, note 5) as female beings, e.g. Is 50¹, 54¹ ^π, and the use of the expressions בֵּית בָּבֶל Is 47¹ ^π, בֵּית צִיּוֹן &c. (see above) as collective poetical personifications of the people.

k (b) Appellative nouns, which denote a *circumscribed space*, such as אֶרֶץ *earth, land*, עוֹלָם *world*, שְׂאֵל *the abode of the dead*, כְּכָר *circle* (of the Jordan valley), עִיר *a town*, בְּאֵר *a well*, צָפוֹן *the north*, דְּמִיָּן *the south*.

l In the majority of nouns denoting place the gender is variable, e.g. אֶרֶב *a way* (usually feminine; the masculine gender only begins to predominate with Ezekiel; cf. Albrecht, l. c., 1896, p. 55), נֵיָא (נֵי) *valley*, גַּן *garden* (fem. Gn 2¹⁵, unless לְעֵבְרָה &c., is to be read), הַיְכָל *palace, temple*, חֲצֵר *court*, כְּרָם *vineyard*, שַׁעַר *door*,¹ &c.; also מְקוֹם *place*, at least in Gn 18²⁴ (referring to Sodom), Jb 20⁹, and 2 S 17¹² *K²thibh*, is construed as feminine. The mountains and hills commanding the surrounding country are almost without exception masculine (see Albrecht, l. c., p. 60 f.).

m (c) The names of *instruments, utensils*, and (on the same analogy) *members and parts of the body* in man or beast, since these are all regarded as subservient and subordinate (consequently as feminine).

n Thus חֶרֶב *sword*, יָתֵד *tent-peg*, בֶּר *bucket*, כּוֹס *cup*, נֶעֱל *shoe*, עֶרֶשׁ *bed*, &c.; in other cases, as אֲרוֹן *chest, ark* (with the article הָאֲרוֹן), תּוֹנִיר *oven*, the gender is variable. ('Instruments for binding or holding, girdles and the like, as constraining and mastering, are masculine,' Albrecht, l. c., p. 89.)—Also אוֹן *ear* (and in general, members occurring in pairs, Albrecht, l. c., p. 73 f.), אֶצְבָּע *finger* (and so probably בָּהֶן *thumb, great toe*), יָד and כַּף *hand*, יָמִין *right hand*, רֶגֶל *foot*, בִּרְךָ *knee*, יָרֵךְ *thigh*, בְּתָחַף *shoulder*, לְחִי *cheek*, בֶּטֶן *belly*, כַּנֶּף *wing*, קֶרֶן *horn*, שֵׁן *tooth*; as a rule also זְרֹעַ *arm* (masc. Is 17⁵, &c.), לָשׁוֹן *tongue* (masc. ψ 22¹⁶, Pr 26²⁸, &c.), עֵין *eye* (masc. Zc 3⁹, &c.), שׁוֹק *thigh* (masc. Ex 29²⁷).²

o (d) Certain names of natural forces or substances are feminine, being probably regarded as instruments, while in the names of the heavens, the heavenly bodies and natural phenomena, the masculine generally predominates (cf. Albrecht, l. c., p. 323 ff.); thus feminine are שֶׁמֶשׁ *sun* (but often also masc., ψ 19⁸, 104¹⁹); אֵשׁ (*Ethiopic 'esât*)

¹ מַחֲנֶה *camp* is feminine only when it is a collective, denoting the persons in a camp.

² אָף *nose*, נִיר *sineu*, זָנָב *tail*, חֶף *palate*, כֶּבֶד *liver*, לֵב, לֵבָב *heart*, רִחְמִים, מַעֲיִם *bowels*, מִצָּח *forehead*, עוֹר *skin*, עֲרֹף *back of the neck*, פֶּה *mouth*, צְוּאָר *neck*, רֹאשׁ *head*, שֶׁכֶם *shoulder*, also רֶחֶם *womb*, except in Jer 20¹⁷, are invariably construed as masculine.—עֶצָם *bone* is common.

fire (rarely masc.); נְבִיאָה *brightness*, אֶבֶן *a stone*, as a rule also רֵיחַ *wind*, *spirit*; נְפִשׁ *breath, soul*; also אֹר *light* in Jer 13¹⁶, Jb 36³², and others.

4. The following classes of ideas, which are also regarded as *p* feminine in Hebrew (see above, *h*), are usually indicated by the feminine form, notwithstanding their occasional transference to masculine persons (see *r* and *s*):

(a) Abstracts¹ (sometimes along with masculine forms from the same *q* stem, as נִקְמָה *vengeance*, as well as נָקַם עֲזָרָה *help*, as well as עֲזָרָה, e. g. אֲמוּנָה *firmness, faithfulness*, גְּבוּרָה *strength*, גְּדֻלָּה *greatness*, מְלֵאכָה *fullness*, מְשָׁלָה *dominion*, &c. Similarly, the feminine (sing. and plur.) of adjectives and participles is used substantially in the sense of the Latin and Greek *neuter*, e. g. אֲמוּנָה *steadfastness*, ψ 5¹⁰, טוֹבָה *goodness*, רָעָה *evil*, Gn 50²⁰, נֶלֶךָ *a light thing* (i. e. a trifling thing), Jer 6¹⁴; so especially in the plural, e. g. הַגְּדֻלוֹת *great things*, ψ 12⁴; הַהֲרָסוֹת *the ruined places*, Ez 36³⁶, along with הַנִּשְׁפָּחוֹת *that which was desolate*, טוֹבוֹת *kindnesses*, 2 K 25²⁸, נְכוֹנוֹת *uprightness, honesty*, Is 26¹⁰, נְעִימוֹת *amoena*, ψ 16¹¹ (but in verse 6 in the same sense נְעִימִים), נִפְלְאוֹת *wonderful things*, Ex 34¹⁰ and frequently קְשׁוֹת *hard things, roughly*, Gn 42^{7,30} (but cf. also רֵיקִים *vain things*, Pr 12¹¹, 28¹⁹). Cf. moreover, the very frequent use of זֶאת, הִיא (as well as זֶה and הוּא), Ju 14⁴, ψ 118²³, &c., in the sense of *hoc, illud* (also הִיא equivalent to *illa*, Is 51¹⁹): also the use of the feminine form of the verb in Is 7⁷ תִּהְיֶה וְלֹא תָקִים וְלֹא תָבֹא *it shall not stand, neither shall it come to pass*; Ju 14⁴¹, Jer 10⁷; so too the suffixes Gn 15⁶, Ez 10¹¹, Jb 38¹⁸, referring back to a whole statement.²

(b) Titles and designations of office, properly a subdivision of the abstract *r* ideas treated above, under *q*, and specially noticed here only on account of their peculiar transference to concrete male persons. Thus we have קָהָלָה Ec 1¹, &c. (as a title of Solomon), properly no doubt *that which takes part in* or *speaks in a religious assembly*, hence LXX ἐκκλησιαστής, i. e. *concionator, preacher*; the proper names סֹפֶרֶת Ezr 2⁵⁵, Neh 7⁵⁷, and פִּזְרֶת Ezr 2⁵⁷, Neh 7⁵⁹, and the foreign word פֶּתָה *viceroy*; in the plural בְּנוֹת prop. *cognomina*, then *like-named, colleagues*; פְּרָעוֹת *princes* (if this be the true meaning).³ All these words, in accordance with their meaning, are construed as masculine (in Ec 7²⁷ instead of אִמְרָה *the words* should rather be divided as אִמְרֵי הַקָּדוֹשׁ; cf. 12⁸).

¹ Cf. the list of masculine and feminine abstracts in Albrecht, l. c., 1896, p. 111 ff.

² While in all these instances it is simplest to speak of the *feminine* in Hebrew as being used for the *neuter* (which in Latin, Greek, and German is commonly employed for similar purposes), it must yet not be forgotten that since the language is wholly wanting in *neuters*, the Semitic mind regarded the above-mentioned forms primarily as actual feminines. Hence the Arab commentators are accustomed to explain the feminines of adjectives and participles (which would be *neuter* in Latin, &c.) by supplying a feminine substantive.

³ This use of the feminine form is far more frequent in Arabic, Ethiopic, and Aramaic; cf. e. g. in Arabic *halifa* (fem. from *halif*, following after, taking the place of) in the sense of the successor or representative (of Muhammad), and *allāma* (*great wisdom*) as a title of learned men. Analogous to this is the Latin *magistratus, magistracy*, for *magistrate*, and our *his Majesty, Excellency, Highness*, &c.

§ Abstract ideas include also—

(c) *Collectives* in the fem. form,¹ generally fem. participles used substantively, especially as the comprehensive designation of a number of *persons*, e.g. אֲרֻרָה (fem. of travelling), prop. *the travelling* (company), i.e. travelling persons (a caravan); גִּלְגָּל (fem. of גָּלָה *one going into exile*) *the company of exiles* (also frequently used of those who had returned home again); יִתְנַבֵּת (that which inhabits) i.e. *the population*, Is 12⁶, Mi 1^{11 f.}; אֵיבָה (prop. that which is hostile) *the enemy*, Mi 7^{8,10} (cf. Mi 4^{6 f.} *the halting, cast off, driven away*, i.e. those who halt, &c.); דָּלָה (the abject) *the poorest sort*; of living beings which are not persons, cf. חַיָּה (that which lives) in the sense of *cattle, beasts*; דִּיגָה *a shoal of fish*, Gn 1²⁶ (but in Jon 2² as a *nomen unitatis*, cf. t, for דִּיג *a fish*, which in verses 1 and 11 is used as the *nomen unitatis*). Cf., moreover, נֶבֶלָה *dead body*, Is 26¹⁹, &c. (construed as masculine), for *a heap of dead bodies*.—On the collective poetic personification of a nation, by means of בַּת *daughter*, in בְּתֻלָּה, בַּת עַמִּי (equivalent to בְּנֵי עַמִּי *my countrymen*, see above, i.

t (d) Conversely the feminine form of substantives is sometimes used (as in Arabic) as a *nomen unitatis*, i.e. to indicate a *single* example of a class which is denoted by the masculine form; cf. אֶנְיָ *a fleet* (1 K 9²⁶), אֶנְיָה *a single ship* (Jon 1^{3 f.}); צִיד *hunting, game*, צִידָה Gn 27³ *Keth.* (צִידָה *Qere*) *a piece of venison*; שֵׁעַר *hair* (coll.), שֵׁעַרָה *a single hair* (Ju 20¹⁶; in the plural, ψ 40¹³, 69⁵); שִׁיר *a poem*, frequently collective, שִׁירָה *a single song*; so probably also תְּאֵנָה *a fig* (the corresponding masculine תֵּן is collective in Arabic); שִׁשְׁשָׁה *a lily* (also שִׁשְׁשָׁן); לִבְנָה *a brick* (Arab. *libina*, but *libin* collective), &c.

u (e) The feminine is also used for things *without life* (as being weaker or less important), which are named from their resemblance to *organic* things expressed by the corresponding masculine form; cf. יָרֵךְ *side* (of the body), thigh, יָרֵכָה or יָרֵכָה *back part, border* (of a country, house, &c.); מִצְחָה *forehead*, מִצְחָה *greaves*. On a similar distinction between the masculine for natural, and the feminine for artificial objects, see § 87 o.

v Rem. The juxtaposition of the masculine and feminine from the same stem serves sometimes to express entirety; e.g. Is 3¹ מִשְׁעָנָה וּמִשְׁעָנָה *stay and staff*, i.e. every kind of support (unless we omit verse 1^b as a gloss and take *staff* as = *staff-bearer, official*; the list of officials begins in verse 2); cf. Is 16⁶, Pr 8¹³. For similar groupings in the case of persons, see Is 43⁶, 49²², 60⁴ (*sons and daughters*); 49²³, Ec 2³.

§ 123. The Representation of Plural Ideas by Means of Collectives, and by the Repetition of Words.

a Besides the plural endings treated in § 87 a-z, the language employs other means to express a plurality of living beings or things:

(a) Certain words employed exclusively in a collective sense, while the individual members of the class are denoted by special words (*nomen unitatis*, but not in the same sense as in § 122 t).

¹ Cf. in Greek ἡ ἵππος, *the cavalry* (as well as τὸ ἵππικόν), ἡ κάμηλος, Hdt. 1, 80, &c., *the camel corps*.

Thus בָּקָר *cattle, oxen*¹ (even joined with numerals, e.g. Ex 21³⁷ חֲמִשָּׁה בָּקָר *five head of cattle*), but שׁוֹר *an ox*; צֹאן *small cattle*, i.e. sheep and goats (μῆλα), cf. Jb 1³ שִׁבְעַת אֲלֵפֵי־צֹאן *seven thousand sheep*; but עֵז *a single head of small cattle* (a sheep or a goat). Other more or less common collectives are: יָזִי (prop. that which prowls or roams) *wild beasts*, מָטָה (perhaps prop. *tripping*) *a number of little children*; יֶשֶׁן־רִנָּה *fresh green herb*, i.e. young plants, יָרֵק *green*, i.e. vegetation in general; עוֹף *birds, fowl*; רֶכֶב *chariots or cavalcade*, רִמָּה *worms*, רֶמֶשׂ *creeping things* (of small creatures), נִשְׂרָץ *swarming things*.

(b) The collective use of substantives which at the same time serve *b* as *nomina unitatis*; thus, אָדָם (never in plur.) means both *man* (homo) and *men* (homines); אִישׁ *a man* (vir) and *men* (viri); אִשָּׁה *woman* and *women* (Ju 21¹⁶, 1 S 21⁶); אֲרָבָה *a locust*, but usually *a swarm of locusts*; נַפְשׁ *soul* and *souls* (persons); מַגָּל *staff* and *staves* (Gn 30³⁷); עֵיט *a bird of prey* and *birds of prey*; עֵלֶף *a leaf* and *foliage*; עֵשֶׂב *a plant* and *plants, herbs*; יָצַי *a tree* and *trees* (as it were *foliage*); פֵּרִי *fruit* and *fruits*; שִׁיחַ *a shrub* and *shrubs*; in isolated instances also nouns like עֶבֶד *man-servant*, שִׁפְחָה *maid-servant*, חֲמֹר *ass*, שׁוֹר *ox* (cf. Gn 32⁶).—On the singular (especially of gentilic names) with the article (which may, however, be omitted in poetry, cf. e.g. ψ 12² הַסִּיד, Pr 11¹⁴ יוֹעֵץ) to include all individuals of the same species, cf. § 126 l. On the special meaning of the plurals formed from certain collectives, see § 124 l.

(c) The feminine ending; see § 122 s.

(d) The repetition of single words, and even of whole groups of *c* words, especially to express entirety, or in a distributive sense. The following cases are more particularly to be noticed:

1. The repetition of one or more words to express the idea of *every, all*, as יוֹם יוֹם Gn 39¹⁰, &c., *day by day, every day*; שָׁנָה שָׁנָה *year by year*, Dt 14²²; אִישׁ אִישׁ *every man*, Ex 36⁴; with בֵּ before each, as בֹּקֶר בֹּקֶר Ex 16²¹ *every morning* (and similarly before a group of words, Lv 24⁸), for which the distributive לְ is also used, לְבֹקֶר לְבֹקֶר 1 Ch 9²⁷, and with one plural לְבֹקְרִים ψ 73¹⁴, לְבֹקְרִים Jb 7¹³ parallel with לְרִנָּעִים *every moment*. Somewhat different are the instances with בֵּ before the second word only, e.g. יוֹם בְּיוֹם *day by day*, 1 Ch 12²²; שָׁנָה בְּשָׁנָה *year by year*, Dt 15²⁰, 1 S 17⁷ (but in verse 3 שָׁנָה שָׁנָה *year by year*); כָּפֶעַם כָּפֶעַם Nu 24¹, Ju 16²⁰, 20³⁰ f., 1 S 3²⁰ *as at other times*. Also with the two words united by means of *utro copulative*, אִישׁ וְאִישׁ ψ 87⁵, or אִישׁ וְאִישׁ Est 1⁸; דּוֹר וְדּוֹר *all generations*, Dt 32⁷; יוֹם וְיוֹם Est 3⁴; cf. Est 8⁹,

¹ The plural form בָּקָרִים from בָּקָר is found only in very late Hebrew, Neh 10³⁷ (where according to the Mantua edition, Ginsburg, &c., even צֹאֲנֵינוּ *our sheep*, is also to be read; Baer, however, has צֹאֲנֵנוּ, and 2 Ch 4³. In Am 6¹² read, with Hitzig, בָּבָקָרִים.

Ezr 10¹⁴, 1 Ch 26¹³ and often (cf. Cheyne, *Bampton Lectures*, 1889, p. 479, according to whom the use of the 1 copulative with the second word is especially common in Ch and Est, and therefore belongs to the later language; Driver, *Introd.*⁶, p. 538, No. 35); sometimes (but with the exception of ψ 45¹⁸ only in very late passages) with a pleonastic כֹּל preceding, ψ 145¹³, Est 2¹¹, 9²⁸, 2 Ch 11¹², &c.

d 2. Repetition of words in an expressly distributive sense¹ (which may to some extent be noticed in the examples under c) equivalent to *one each*, &c., e. g. Nu 14³⁴ *forty days* $\text{יּוֹם לְשָׁנָה יוֹם לְשָׁנָה}$ *counting for every day a year*; cf. Ez 24⁶, Ex 28³⁴ (three words repeated); also with the addition of לְבַד *apart*, $\text{יְעָרָה יְעָרָה יְעָרָה לְבַד}$ *every drove by itself*, Gn 32¹⁷; cf. Zc 12¹². Most frequently with the addition of a numeral (for the simple repetition of numerals for the same purpose, cf. § 134 g), and with the words not only in groups of two (Lv 24⁸, Nu 13², 31⁴) or three (Nu 7¹¹, 17²¹), but even of six (Ex 26⁸) or seven (Ex 25³⁰, 26^{19.21.26}); in Ex 25³⁰ five words even three times repeated.²

e 3. Repetition to express an exceptional or at least superfine quality; e. g. 2 K 25¹⁵ *which were of gold, gold, of silver, silver*, i. e. made of pure gold and pure silver; Dt 2²⁷ $\text{בְּדֶרֶךְ בְּדֶרֶךְ בְּדֶרֶךְ}$ *only along by the high way*; cf. Nu 3⁸, 8¹⁰ *they are given, given to him*, i. e. given exclusively for his service, for his very own. Also with a certain hyperbole in such examples as 2 K 3¹⁶ גְּבִים גְּבִים *nothing but trenches*; Gn 14¹⁰ $\text{בְּאַרְתַּח חֶמֶר בְּאַרְתַּח חֶמֶר}$ *all asphalt-pits*.—Repetition serves to intensify the expression to the highest degree in Ju 5²² *by reason of the violent pransings of his strong ones*, Ex 8¹⁰ (*countless heaps*), and Jo 4¹⁴ (*countless multitudes*); cf. also מְעֻט מְעֻט Ex 23³⁰ *by little and little, very gradually*; cf. § 133 k.

f 4. Repetition with the copula to express of more than one kind; thus Dt 25¹³ (Pr 20¹⁰) וְזָכָן וְזָכָן *a weight and a weight*, i. e. two kinds of weight (hence the addition *great and small*); ψ 12³ לֵב לֵב *with two kinds of heart*, i. e. *with a double-dealing heart*; cf. the opposite לֵב לֵב 1 Ch 12²⁸.

§ 124. The Various Uses of the Plural-form.³

a 1. The plural is by no means used in Hebrew solely to express a number of individuals or separate objects, but may also denote them collectively. This use of the plural expresses either (a) a combination of various external constituent parts (plurals of *local extension*), or (b) a more or less intensive focusing of the characteristics inherent in the idea of the stem (*abstract plurals*, usually rendered in English by forms in *-hood*, *-ness*, *-ship*). A variety of the plurals described under (b), in which the secondary idea of *intensity* or of an *internal*

¹ Cf. in the New Testament St. Mark 6³⁹ f. $\text{συνπρόσια συνπρόσια, πρασια πρασια}$ (Weizsäcker, *tischweise, beethweise*).

² These repetitions of larger groups of words belong entirely to the *Priestly Code* in the Pentateuch, and are unquestionably indications of a late period of the language. Of quite a different kind are such examples as Ez 16⁶, where the repetition of four words serves to give greater solemnity to the promise, unless here, as certainly in 1²⁰, it is a mere *ditigraphy*; the LXX omit the repetition in both passages.

³ Cf. Dietrich, 'Über Begriff und Form des hebr. Plurals,' in the *Abhandl. zur hebr. Grammatik*, Leipzig, 1846, p. 2 ff.

multiplication of the idea of the stem may be clearly seen, is (c) the *pluralis excellentiae* or *pluralis maiestatis*.

Examples of (a): Plurals of *local extension* to denote localities in general, but especially level surfaces (the *surface-plural*), since in them the idea of a whole composed of innumerable separate parts or points is most evident, as שָׁמַיִם (§ 88 d) *heaven* (cf. also מְרוֹמִים *heights* of heaven, Is 33¹⁶, Jb 16¹⁹; elsewhere (מְרוֹם) *water*; יָמִים (the broad surface of the sea) poetically for יָם *sea*; פָּנִים (prop. the side *turned towards* any one, then) *surface* in general, usually *face*; אַחֲרִים *the back*, Ex 26¹², 33²³, &c., צְוֹאֲרִים *neck, nape of the neck*¹; also מִצְעֹדֹת *the place at the head*, מְרַגְלוֹת *place at the feet*; עֲבָרִים *place on the other side* (of a river); מַעְמָקִים *depth*, מְרָחִקִים (also מְרָחֶק) *distance*, מִשְׁכְּבִים *bed*, Gn 49⁴ (unless, with Dillmann, it is to be explained in the sense of *double bed*, i.e. *torus*), מִשְׁכְּנֵיהֶם ψ 46³, and מִשְׁכְּנוֹת 43³, 84², 132⁵, *dwelling* (perhaps also אֶחָלִים *encampment*, in passages like 1 S 4¹⁰). The last four belong, however, to poetic style, and are better reckoned amongst the *plurals of amplification* treated under d-f. So perhaps יַעְצֵם *bed* (ψ 63⁷, Jb 17¹³; but Gn 49⁴, ψ 132³, &c., in the singular); probably, however, יַעְצֵם (prop. *strata*) refers to a number of coverings or pillows.

The plural of extension is used to denote a lengthened period of time in עוֹלָמִים *eternity* (everlasting ages).

Rem. The plural of extension includes also a few examples which were C formerly explained as simply poetic plurals, e.g. Jb 17¹ לִי קְבָרִים *graves are* (ready) *for me*, i.e. the place where there are many of them (as it were the *graveyard*) is my portion, Jb 21³², 2 Ch 16¹⁴; cf. 2 K 22²⁰.

Of (b): the tolerably numerous abstract plurals, mostly of a particular d form (qūlīm, qūfūlīm, &c.), may be divided into two classes. They sum up either the *conditions* or *qualities* inherent in the idea of the stem, or else the various single *acts* of which an action is composed. Cf. for the first class, בְּחֹרִים and בְּחֹדֹת *youth*, זְקֵנִים *old age*, נְעָרִים *youth*; בְּתוּלִים *maidenhood*, בְּלוּלוֹת *bridal state*; מְגוּרִים *condition of a sojourner*, בְּשָׂרִים *fleshliness* (only in Pr 14³⁰), חַיִּים *life* (the abstract idea of the qualities of a living being); שִׁבְלִים *childlessness*, סְנוּרִים *blindness*, עֲוִיעִים *perverseness*.

There are also a number of plurals, found almost exclusively in poetry e (sometimes along with the singular), which are evidently intended to intensify² the idea of the stem (plural of amplification), as אֹנִים *might*, Is 40²⁶; אֲמוּנִים (as well as אֲמוּנָה) and אֲמוּנוֹת *faithfulness*; אֲשֵׁרִי (according to § 93 l, only in the construct state plural or with suffixes = *the happiness of*), happy; בּוֹשָׁרוֹת (complete) *prosperity*, ψ 68⁷; בִּינוֹת Is 27¹¹ and תְּבִינוֹת Is 40¹⁴, &c. (keen) *understanding*; עֲצוֹת (true) *counsel*, Dt 32²⁸; דְּעִים Jb 37¹⁶ and דְּעוֹת

¹ Cf. the same use of the plural in τὰ στέφνα, τὰ ῥῶτα, τὰ πρᾶχλα, *praecordia, cervices, fauces*; on plurals of extension in general, cf. the prepositions of place and time in the plur. form, § 103 n. סְפָרִים is not a case in point, in the sense of *letter* (properly a sheet folded into several pages; elsewhere also סִפְרָה) 1 K 21^{8 ff.}, 2 K 10¹, 19¹⁴ (Is 37¹⁴; referred to afterwards by the singular suffix); Is 39¹, Jer 29²⁵, 32¹⁴ (*after being folded, previously* סִפְרָה).

² Cf. A. Ember, 'The pluralis intensivus in Hebrew,' *AJSL*. 1905, p. 195 ff.

1 S 2⁵ (thorough) *knowledge*; בְּשֹׁחוֹת Jb 12⁶ and מִבְּטָחִים Is 32¹⁸ (full) *confidence*; בְּרָחוֹת (abundant) *blessing*, ψ 21⁷; נְבִירוֹת (exceptional) *strength*, Jb 41⁴; הָוֹת ψ 51¹⁰ (very) *wickedness*; הַמְּוֹדוֹת Dn 9²³ (greatly) *beloved*; ψ 76¹¹, &c. (fierce) *wrath*; הַרְפוֹת Dn 12² (utter) *contempt*; יִשְׁעוֹת (real) *help*, Is 26¹⁸, &c.; מְרָאָה Gn 46² (an important) *vision*; מִיִּשְׁרִים uprightness; תְּהַפְּכוֹת perversity; נִקְמוֹת (complete) *vengeance*, Ju 11³⁶, &c.; מְחֻשְׁכִּים and חֻשְׁכִּים (thick) *darkness*; מִתְחַתֵּרִים a (close) *hiding-place*; נְגִידִים nobility; שְׁמָנִים Is 28¹ *fatness*; צִהְצִחוֹת (complete) *aridity*; מִמְּתָקִים sweetness; מְחַמְּדִים preciousness; שְׁעֵשְׁעִים delight; עֲדָנִים and תַּעֲנָנִים pleasure; רַחֲמִים compassion; מְנוּחָה ψ 23² *rest, refreshment*; מְרוּמָה Am 3³ *tumult*. Probably also יְדִירוֹת (heartfelt) *love*, ψ 45¹; מְרוֹרוֹת (extreme) *bitterness*, Jb 13²⁶; מְרֻמוֹת (base) *deceit*, ψ 38¹³; צִדְקוֹת (true) *righteousness*, Is 33¹⁵, &c.; שְׂמָחוֹת (the highest) *joy*, ψ 16¹¹. On the other hand, מְחֻמְּדִים wisdom (Pr 1²⁰, &c.) can hardly be a plural (= the essence of wisdom, or wisdom personified), but is a singular (see § 86 l).

A further extension of this plural of amplification occurs according to P. Haupt's very probable suggestion (SBOT. Proverbs, p. 40, line 50, &c.) in יְאֵרִים the great river (of the Nile, generally יְאֵר Is 7¹⁸, 19⁶ (though with the predicate in the plural), Ez 30¹², ψ 78⁴⁴, but in Is 37²⁵, Ez 29³ the usual explanation, arms or channels of the Nile, can hardly be avoided; also in נְהָרוֹת ψ 24² of the ocean, which encircles the earth, 137¹ of the great river, i.e. the Euphrates, but in Is 18¹ נְהָרֵי כּוּשׁ is evidently a numerical plural.—In Pr 16¹³ מְלָכִים (acc. to P. Haupt = the great king) is very doubtful. In נְשִׂאֵי Ez 19¹ the second נָדָה is evidently due to dittography, since יִשְׂרָאֵל follows.

f The summing up of the several parts of an action is expressed in הִנָּחִים embalming, בְּפָרִים atonement, מְלָאִים (prop. filling, sc. of the hand) ordination to the priesthood, שְׁלָחִים dismissal, שְׁלָמִים retribution, פְּתָחִים engraving (of a seal, &c.); אֶהָבִים fornication, וְנוֹנִים whoredom, נְאָפִים adultery; נֶחֱמִים (prop. no doubt, warm compassion) consolation, תְּהַנִּנִּים supplication, נִדְרִים Jb 7⁴ (restless) tossing to and fro, עֲלָלוֹת gleaning; perhaps also בְּגִינוֹת ψ 41, 61, &c., if it means the playing on stringed instruments, and שְׂלֻמִּים Is 12³ bribery, unless it be a plural of number.¹

g Of (c): the pluralis excellentiae or maiestatis, as has been remarked above, is properly a variety of the abstract plural, since it sums up the several characteristics² belonging to the idea, besides possessing the secondary sense of an intensification of the original idea. It is thus closely related to the plurals of amplification, treated under e, which are mostly found in poetry.

¹ Mayer Lambert in REJ. xxiv. 106 ff., enumerates no less than ninety-five words ending in *im*, which in his opinion are to be regarded as *pluralia tantum*.

² The Jewish grammarians call such plurals רִבּוּי הַכֹּחַת plur. virium or virtutum; later grammarians call them plur. excellentiae, magnitudinis, or plur. maiestaticus. This last name may have been suggested by the use used by kings when speaking of themselves (cf. already 1 Macc. 10¹⁹, 11³¹); and the plural used by God in Gn 1²⁶, 11⁷, Is 6⁸ has been incorrectly explained in this way. It is, however, either communicative (including the attendant angels; so at all events in Is 6⁸, cf. also Gn 3²²), or according to others, an indication of the fullness of power and might implied in אֱלֹהִים (see Dillmann on Gn 1²⁶); but it is best explained as a plural of self-deliberation. The use of the plural as a form of respectful address is quite foreign to Hebrew.

So especially אֱלֹהִים *Godhead, God* (to be distinguished from the numerical plural *gods*, Ex 12¹², &c.). The supposition that אֱלֹהִים is to be regarded as merely a remnant of earlier polytheistic views (i.e. as originally only a numerical plural) is at least highly improbable, and, moreover, would not explain the analogous plurals (see below). That the language has entirely rejected the idea of numerical plurality in אֱלֹהִים (whenever it denotes *one God*), is proved especially by its being almost invariably joined with a singular attribute (cf. § 132 h), e.g. אֱלֹהִים צַדִּיק ψ 7¹⁰, &c. Hence אֱלֹהִים may have been used originally not only as a numerical but also as an abstract plural (corresponding to the Latin *numen*, and our *Godhead*), and, like other abstracts of the same kind, have been transferred to a concrete single god (even of the heathen).

To the same class (and probably formed on the analogy of אֱלֹהִים) belong *h* the plurals קְדוֹשִׁים *the Most Holy* (only of Yahweh), Ho 12¹, Pr 9¹⁰, 30⁵ (cf. אֱלֹהִים קְדוֹשִׁים Jos 24¹⁹, and the Aram. עֲלִיּוֹנִין *the Most High*, Dn 7^{18.22.25}); and probably תְּרַפִּים (usually taken in the sense of *penates*) the image of a god, used especially for obtaining oracles. Certainly in 1 S 10^{13.16} only *one* image is intended; in most other places a single image *may* be intended¹; in Ze 10² alone is it most naturally taken as a numerical plural. In Ec 5⁷ נְבִיָּהִים *supremus* (of God) is doubtful; according to others it is a numerical plural, *superiores*.

Further, אֲדָנִים, as well as the singular אֲדֹן, (lordship) *lord*, e.g. אֲדָנִים קָשָׁה *i* a cruel lord, Is 19⁴; אֲדֹנֵי הָאָרֶץ *the lord of the land*, Gn 42³⁰, cf. Gn 32¹⁹; so especially with the suffixes of the 2nd and 3rd persons אֲדָנֶיךָ, אֲדָנֶיהָ ψ 45¹², אֲדָנִי, &c., also אֲדָנֵינוּ (except 1 S 16¹⁶); but in 1st sing. always אֲדָנִי.² So also בָּעָלִים (with suffixes) *lord, master* (of slaves, cattle, or inanimate things; but in the sense of *maritus*, always in the singular), e.g. בָּעָלִי Ex 21²⁹, Is 1³, &c.³

On the other hand, we must regard as doubtful a number of participles in *h* the plural, which, being used as attributes of God, resemble *plurales excellentiae*; thus, עֹשֵׂי *my Maker*, Jb 35¹⁰; עֹשֵׂיךָ Is 54⁵; עֹשֵׂי ψ 149²; עֹשֵׂה Is 22¹¹; נֹטִיָּהֶם *stretching them out*, Is 42⁵; for all these forms may also be explained as singular, according to § 93 ss.⁴—נִגְשִׂיִּים Is 3¹² might also be regarded as another instance, unless it be a numerical plural, *their oppressors*; moreover, מְרַמְּיוֹ *him who lifteth it up*, Is 10¹⁵ (but read probably מְרַמְּיוֹ); שִׁלְחָיו *him who sendeth him*, Pr 10²⁶, 22²¹ (so Baer, but Ginsburg שִׁלְחָךְ), 25¹³ (in parallelism with אֲדָנִי). These latter plurals, however (including מְרַמְּיוֹ), may probably be more simply explained as indicating an indefinite individual, cf. o below.—For שִׁמְרֶיךָ ψ 121⁵ (*textus receptus*) and בּוֹרְאֵיךָ Ec 12¹ (*textus receptus*) the singular should be read, with Baer.

¹ Even in Gn 31³⁴, notwithstanding the plural suffix in וְהַשִּׂמִּים and וְהַיָּהֹם, since the construction of these abstracts as numerical plurals is one of the peculiarities of the E-document of the Hexateuch; cf. Gn 20¹³, 35⁷, and § 145 i.

² On אֲדָנִי (for אֲדָנִי) as a name of God, cf. § 135 g.

³ Euting, *Reise in Arabien*, p. 61, mentions the interesting fact that the subjects of the Emir of Hâyel commonly speak of their ruler as *šiyûkh*, a plur. majestatis = *the great sheikh*.

⁴ בָּעָלֶיךָ, which in Is 54⁵ is in parallelism with עֹשֵׂיךָ, must then be explained as merely formed on analogy.

l Rem. 1. (a) Coherent substances, &c., are mostly regarded as *single*, and are, accordingly, almost always represented by nouns in the singular, cf. אֶבֶק *fine dust*, אֶפֶר *ashes*, בֵּר *linen*, בָּדִיל *lead*, זָהָב *gold*, כֶּסֶף *silver*, נְחָשֶׁת *brass*, חֵלֶב *milk*, יַיִן *wine*, עָפָר *dust*, הָאָרֶץ *the ground*, עֵץ *wood*. Plurals are, however, formed from some of these words expressing materials in order to denote separate portions taken from the whole in manufacture (*plurals of the result*) or parts otherwise detached from it; thus, בְּרִים *linen garments*; כֶּסֶפִּים *silver pieces*, Gn 42^{25,35}; נְחָשִׁים (dual) *fetters of brass*; עֲצִים *ligna* (*timber for building or sticks for burning*); also in a wider sense, בְּרִילִים particles of *alloy* to be separated by smelting, Is 1²⁵; עֲפָרוֹת *fragments of earth*, Pr 8²⁸, cf. Jb 28⁶ זָהָב *dust of gold*.

m (b) To the class of *plurals of the result* belong also a few names of natural products, when represented in an artificial condition; thus, חִטִּים *wheat* in grain (threshed wheat), as distinguished from חֲטָה *wheat* (used collectively) in the ear; cf. the same distinction between בִּכְמִים and בִּפְמִים *spelt*; עֲרִשִׁים and עֲרִשָׁה (the singular preserved only in the Mishna) *lentils*; שְׁעִירִים and שְׁעִירָה *barley*; also בִּשְׁתִּים *linen*, בִּשְׁתָּה (to be inferred from בִּשְׁתִּים) *flax*.

n (c) Finally, the distinction between דָּם *blood* and דָּמִים requires to be specially noticed. The singular is always used when the blood is regarded as an organic unity, hence also of menstrual blood, and the blood of sacrifices (collected in the basin and then sprinkled), and in Nu 23²⁴ of the blood gushing from wounds. On the other hand, דָּמִים as a sort of plural of the result and at the same time of local extension, denotes *blood which is shed*, when it appears as blood-stains (Is 1¹⁵) or as blood-marks (so evidently in Is 6⁴). But since blood-stains or blood-marks, as a rule, suggest blood shed in murder (although דָּמִים also denotes the blood which flows at childbirth or in circumcision), דָּמִים acquired (even in very early passages) simply the sense of a *bloody deed*, and especially of *bloodguiltiness*, Ex 22¹⁷, &c.

o In some few cases the plural is used to denote an indefinite singular; certainly so in Dt 17⁵ אֶל-שַׁעְרֶיךָ *unto one of thy gates*; Zc 9⁹ בְּנִירְחֻמֹּת (cf. Ct 2⁹); Ex 21²² וְלִדְוֶה (where evidently only *one* child is thought of, though certainly in connexion with a contingency which may be repeated); cf. also Ec 4¹⁰ (if one of them fall).—So probably also Gn 8⁴, 1 S 17⁴³, Dn 2¹, Neh 3^{8, 6}; but not Gn 19²², since the same document (Gn 13¹²) makes Lot dwell *in the cities of the Jordan valley*; in Gn 21⁷ בָּנִים denotes the class with which the action is concerned. In Ju 12⁷ instead of the unusual בָּעָרִי גִלְעָד *in the cities of Gilead* (formerly explained here as *in one of the cities of Gilead*) we should most probably read, with Moore (SBOT. Judges, p. 52), בָּעִירוֹ בְּמִצְפֶּה גִלְעָד *in his city, in Mizpeh (in) Gilead*.

p 2. When a substantive is followed by a genitive, and the compound idea thus formed is to be expressed in the plural, this is done—

(a) Most naturally by using the plural of the *nomen regens*, e.g. גִּבּוֹרֵי חַיִּל *mighty men of valour* (prop. heroes of strength), 1 Ch 7^{2,9}; so also in compounds, e.g. בְּנֵי יִמְיִי 1 S 22⁷, as the plur. of בְּנֵי יִמְיִי *Benjamite*; but also

q (b) By using the plural of *both* nouns,¹ e.g. גִּבּוֹרֵי חַיִּלִּים 1 Ch 7⁵;

¹ Cf. König, *Lehrgebäude*, ii. 438 f., according to whom the plural of the principal word exercises an influence on the determining genitive.

שְׁנֵי לְחֹת אֲבָנִים, and in prison houses, Is 42²²; cf. Ex 34¹, &c., two tables of stone (but Ex 31¹⁸ לְחֹת אֶבֶן); Nu 13³², Dt 1²⁸, Jos 5², 6⁴, 2 K 14¹⁴, 25²³, Is 51⁹, Jer 41¹⁶, Ezr 3³, &c. עַמֵּי הָאָרֶץ the people of the country; 2 Ch 26¹⁴; so perhaps בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים sons of God, ψ 29¹, 89⁷ (according to others sons of gods); or finally even

(c) By using the plural of the *nomen rectum*;¹ e.g. בֵּית אֲבוֹת Ex 6¹⁴, r Nu 1^{2,4ff.}, &c., as plur. of בֵּית אָב father's house, family; בֵּית הַבָּמוֹת the houses of the high places, 2 K 17²³ (also בְּתֵי הַבָּמוֹת 23¹⁹); בֵּית עֲצָבֵיהֶם the houses of their idols, 1 S 31⁹, Ez 46²⁴; cf. also Ju 7²⁶ the head of Oreb and Zeeb, i.e. the heads, &c.

Rem. When a substantive (in a distributive sense) with a suffix refers back to a plural, the singular form of the substantive suffices, since the idea of plurality is already adequately expressed by the suffix, e.g. עֵצֵימוֹ os (for ora) eorum, ψ 17¹⁰; יְמִינֵם their right hand, ψ 144⁸ [so in the English RV.], for hands.

§ 125. Determination of Nouns in general. Determination of Proper Names.

Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, i. 466 ff.

1. A noun may either be determinate in itself, as a proper name *a* or pronoun (see below, *d* and *i*), or be made so by its context. In the latter case, the determination may be effected either by prefixing the article (see § 126), or by the connexion of the noun (in the construct state) with a following determinate genitive, and consequently also (according to § 33 c) by its union with a pronominal suffix (§ 127 a). It is to be taken as a fundamental rule, that the determination can only be effected in one of the ways here mentioned; the article cannot be prefixed to a proper name, nor to a noun followed by the genitive, nor can a proper name be used in the construct state. Deviations from this rule are either only apparent or have arisen from a corruption of the text.

Rem. Only in a few passages is a noun made expressly *indeterminate* by the addition of אֵת in the sense of our indefinite article; cf. Ex 16³³, Ju 9⁵⁸, 13², 1 S 1¹, 7^{9,12}, 1 K 13¹¹, 19⁴, 20¹³, 22⁹, 2 K 4¹, 8⁶, 12¹⁰, Ez 8⁸, Dn 8³, 10⁵ (in 8³⁸ אֵת אֶחָד i.e. one, viz. a holy one, is opposed to another).

It is further to be noticed, that in Hebrew the phenomenon sometimes *C* occurs, which the Arab grammarians call *indeterminateness* for the sake of amplification; e.g. Is 31⁸ and he shall flee מִפְּנֵי הָחֶרֶב from a sword, i.e. from an irresistible sword (God's sword); cf. Is 28² בֶּיֶד; 2 S 6² נָשִׁים; Ho 3¹ אִשָּׁה such a woman, without doubt to be referred to the Gomer mentioned in cap. 1;

¹ Cf. Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, i. 482.

Am 6¹⁴ גִּזְיָי; ψ 77¹⁶ בְּיָרַע; Pr 21¹² צַדִּיק, if with Delitzsch it is to be referred to God; Jb 8¹⁰ מְלִים meaning *important words*, but in 15¹³ מְלִין *reproachful words*. Cf. on this point, § 117 g, note 3, and Delitzsch, *Psalmen*, ed. 4, p. 79.

d 2. Real *proper nouns*, as being the names of things (or persons) only *once* met with, are sufficiently determinate in themselves. Such names, therefore, as יהוה, דָּוִד, יִעֲקֹב, בְּנֵעַן, כָּרֶם do not admit of the article,¹ nor can they be in the construct state. On the other hand, not only *gentilic* names (as denoting the *various* individuals belonging to the same class), but also all those proper names, of which the appellative sense is still sufficiently evident to the mind, or at least has been handed down from an earlier period of the language, frequently (often even as a rule) take the article (according to § 126 e), and may even be followed by a genitive.

e Examples. Like the above-mentioned proper names of individuals, countries, and cities, so also national names, which are identical in form with the name of the founder of the race (e.g. יִשְׂרָאֵל, אֲדָם, מוֹאָב, אֲרָם), are always determinate in themselves. Of gentilic names (e.g. הָעִבְרִי the *Hebrew*, הָעֵבְרִים the *Hebrews*, Gn 40¹⁵; הַכְּנַעֲנִי the *Canaanite* the plural הַכְּנַעֲנִים, even when meaning the Philistines, is generally used without the article (but in 1 S 4⁷, &c., הַפְּ, הָפִי); so always בְּכַתְרִים.—Evident appellatives (like such modern names as the *Hague*, *le Havre*) are הַבְּעֵצָה the *hill*, in the construct state נְבִעֵת שְׂאִיל i. e. the *Gibeah named after Saul* to distinguish it from others; הָרְקֵמָה the *height*; הֶעָי the *heap*; הַלְבָּנוֹן (prop. the *white mountain*) the *Lebanon*; הַיָּאֵר (prop. the *river*) the *Nile*, cf. Am 8⁸ כִּיאוֹר מִצְרַיִם like the *river of Egypt*; הַיַּרְדֵּן the *Jordan* (according to Seybold, *Miththeil. und Nachr. des DPV.*, 1896, p. 11, probably the *drinking-place* [יֵרֶד, Arab. *warada*, meaning *orig. to go down to drink*]).

f Rem. 1. In a few instances original appellatives have completely assumed the character of real proper names, and are therefore used without the article; thus אֱלֹהִים *God*, to denote the one true God (as elsewhere יהוה) Gn 1¹ and so generally in this document of the Pentateuch up to Ex 6, elsewhere sometimes אֱלֹהִים *θεός* (cf. § 126 e); also the sing. אֱלֹהִים *God*, עֶלְיוֹן the *Most High*, and יְשׁוּבָה the *Almighty* never take the article.—Moreover, אָדָם *Adam* from Gn 5¹ onwards (previously in 2⁷, &c., הָאָדָם the *first man*); שָׁטָן *Satan*, 1 Ch 21¹ (but Zc 3¹, Jb 1⁶, &c., הַשָּׂטָן the *adversary*); cf. אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד the *tent of revelation* (i. e. the *tabernacle*), always without the article.

g To the class of nouns originally appellative, which the language regards

¹ Consequently, הַמְנַשֶּׁה Dt 3¹³, Jos 1¹², &c. (in the Deuteronomist) in the combination הַמְנַשֶּׁה יִשְׁבֹּת (for which elsewhere מְנַשֶּׁה יִשְׁבֹּת) is to be regarded not as a proper name but as a gentilic name (= the *tribe of the Manassites*), for which in Dt 29⁷ הַמְנַשִּׁי שִׁי is used, as in 10⁸ הַלֵוִי שִׁי the *tribe of the Levites*, and in Ju 18¹ הַדָּנִי שִׁי the *tribe of the Danites*.—In Jos 13⁷ הַמְנַשֶּׁה (like gentilic names in '—) is even used adjectivally.

as proper names, and which consequently never take the article, belong also certain archaic words mostly used only by poets, such as שְׁאוֹל *Hades*, תְּהוֹמֹת הַיָּם *world*, תְּהוֹם *ocean*, of the body of water which encircles the earth, Gn 1², &c.; but Is 63¹³, ψ 106⁹ בְּתוֹמֹת הַיָּם *through the depths*, viz. of the Red Sea.¹

2. When nouns which the usage of the language always treats as proper names occasionally appear to be connected with a following genitive, this is really owing to an ellipsis whereby the noun which really governs the genitive, i. e. the appellative idea contained in the proper name, is suppressed. So evidently in the case of יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת *Yahweh* (the God) of *hosts*; the fuller form צְבָאוֹת יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי הַצְבָּאוֹת; יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי הַצְבָּאוֹת Am 3¹³, &c., is a secondary expansion of the original צְבָאוֹת יְהוָה; יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי הַצְבָּאוֹת in ψ 59⁶, 80^{15,20}, 84⁹ is due to the mechanical substitution of אֱלֹהֵי יְהוָה for יְהוָה affected in the 2nd and part of the 3rd book of the Psalms. So also in geographical names such as אֲרָם בִּשְׁנֵי נָהָרִים *Uṛ* (the city) of the *Chaldees*, Gn 11²⁸; אֲרָם בִּשְׁנֵי נָהָרִים *Aram* (the region) of the *two rivers*; בֵּית לָחֶם יְהוּדָה *Bethlehem* (the city) of *Judah*; אָבֶל בֵּית מֶסְכָּה; אָבֶל בֵּית מֶסְכָּה 2 S 20¹⁴, &c., to distinguish it from אָבֶל מֵיִם *Abel* by the *water*, 2 Ch 10⁴; יְבִישׁ גִּלְעָד 1 S 11¹, &c.; יִרְדֵּן יִרְדֵּן Nu 22¹, 26^{3,63}, &c.; on Ju 3² cf. § 128 c; צִיּוֹן קְדוֹשׁ יְהוָה *the Zion of the Holy One of Israel*, Is 60¹⁴; but in 1 S 1¹ for צִיּוֹן read צִיפִי *a Zuphite*. Some of these examples (cf. also Am 6²) come very near to the actual construct state (cf. above, נָבִיעַת שְׁאוֹל), since e.g. the addition of the genitive serves to distinguish the place from four others called Aram (see the Lexicon), or from another Bethlehem. Aram, Bethlehem, &c., are accordingly no longer names found only in one special sense, and therefore also are no longer proper names in the strictest sense.

3. Of the pronouns, the personal pronouns proper (the separate *i* pronouns, § 32) are always determinate in themselves, since they can denote only definite individuals (the 3rd person, also definite things). For the same reason the demonstrative pronouns (§ 34) are also determinate in themselves, when they stand *alone* (as equivalent to substantives), either as subject (Gn 5²⁰) or as predicate (e.g. הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה *this is the day*, Ju 4¹⁴; אֵלֶּה הַדְּבָרִים *these are the words*, Dt 1¹), or as object (e.g. אֶת־יֹאחָז 2 S 13¹⁷), or as genitive (הַמֶּלֶךְ 1 K 21²), or finally when joined to a preposition (לְיֹאחָז Gn 2²³; בְּיָד 1 S 16³, see § 102 g).

So also the personal pronouns הוּא, הִיא, הֵם, הֵנָּה, הֵנָּה when they *k* are used as demonstratives (= *is, ea, id, ille, &c.*) are always determinate in themselves, e.g. הַדָּבָר הַזֶּה *that is the thing*, Gn 41²⁸. They

¹ That various other words, such as אָנוּשׁ *man*, צִלְמָוֹת *deep darkness*, רִיז *prince*, שָׂדֵי *field*, תְּהוֹמֹת הַיָּם *effectual working*, are always found without the article is not to be attributed to any special archaism, but is to be explained from the fact that they belong solely to poetic language, which avoids the article; in other cases, such as תְּהוֹמֹת הַיָּם *deep sleep*, there is no occasion for the article in the passages we possess.

are made determinate by the article, when they are joined like adjectives (see § 126 *u*) with a determinate substantive, e.g. הָאִישׁ הַזֶּה *this man*; הָאֵלֶּם הַהֵם וּבָעֵת הַהִיא *these men*; בַּיָּמִים הַהֵם וּבָעֵת הַהִיא *in those days, and in that time*, Jo 4¹. The demonstrative, however, even in this case, is frequently used *without* the article, as being sufficiently determinate in itself (cf. § 126 *y*).

§ 126. Determination by Means of the Article.

a 1. The article (הַ, הָ, הֶ, § 35) was originally, as in other languages (clearly in the Romance; cf. also δ, ἡ, τό in Homer), a demonstrative pronoun. The demonstrative force of the article, apart from its occasional use as a relative pronoun (see § 138 *i*), appears now, however, only (*a*) in a few standing phrases, and (*b*) in a certain class of statements or exclamations.

b (*a*) Cf. הַיּוֹם *this day, hodie* (§ 100 *c*); הַלַּיְלָה *this night*, Gn 19³⁴; הַפֶּעַם *this time*, Gn 2²²; הַשָּׁנָה *this year* (= in this year) Is 37³⁹, Jer 28¹⁶.

(*b*) includes those instances in which the article, mostly when prefixed to a participle, joins on a new statement concerning a preceding noun. Although such participles, &c., are no doubt primarily regarded always as in apposition to a preceding substantive, the article nevertheless has in some of these examples almost the force of הוּא (הִיא, הֵמָּה) as the subject of a noun-clause; e.g. ψ 19¹⁰ *the judgements of the Lord are true . . .*, verse 11 וְגַם הַחַמְדָּה מְרִיבָה *prop. the more to be desired than gold, i.e. they are more to be desired, or even they, that are more to be desired*,¹ &c.; cf. Gn 49²¹, Is 40^{22 f.}, 44^{27 f.}, 46⁹, Am 2⁷, 5⁷, ψ 33¹⁰, 49⁷ הַבְּטָחָה in the parallel half of the verse continued by a finite verb); ψ 104³, Jb 6¹⁶, 28³, 30³, 41²⁵ and frequently. When such a participle has another co-ordinate with it, the latter is used *without* the article, since according to the above it strictly speaking represents a second predicate, and as such, according to *i*, remains indeterminate; e.g. Jb 5¹⁰ *who giveth* (הַמֵּטֵר) *rain, &c., and sendeth* (שֶׁלֵּחַ), &c.

C The article is sometimes used with similar emphasis before a substantive, which serves as the subject of a compound sentence (§ 140 *d*); e.g. Dt 32⁴ הַצֹּרֶם הַזֶּה *i.e. as a fresh statement* (not in apposition to the preceding dative), really equivalent to *he is a rock, perfect in his work* (i.e. *whose work is perfect*); cf. ψ 18³¹.

d 2. The article is, generally speaking, employed to determine a substantive wherever it is required by Greek and English; thus:

(*a*) When a person or thing already spoken of is mentioned again, and is consequently more definite to the mind of the hearer or reader; e.g. Gn 1³ *and God said, Let there be light*: verse 4 *and God saw the light* (אֶת־הָאוֹר); 1 K 3²⁴ *fetch me a sword: and they brought the sword*; Ec 9¹⁵. (In 2 S 12² therefore לָקַחְתִּי must be read.)

¹ On the analogous use of the article before participles which have a verbal suffix, as in ψ 18³³, &c., cf. above, § 116 *f*.

(b) With a title understood and recognized by every one, e.g. *הַיָּדֵן הַגָּדוֹל* *ὁ βασιλεὺς Σαλωμών*: Gn 35^s *under the oak* (the well-known oak which was there).

(c) With appellatives to denote persons or natural objects which are unique, e.g. *הַכֹּהֵן הַגָּדוֹל* *the high priest*, *הַשֶּׁשׁ* *the sun*, *הָאָרֶץ* *the earth*.

(d) When terms applying to whole classes are restricted (simply by *c* usage) to particular individuals (like *ὁ ποιητής*, meaning Homer) or things, e.g. *שָׁטָן* *adversary*, *הַשָּׂטָן* *the adversary, Satan*; *בָּעַל* *lord*, *הַבָּעַל* *Baal* as proper name of the god; *הָאָדָם* *the (first) man, Adam*; *הָאֱלֹהִים*¹ or *הָאֵל* *ὁ θεός*, *the one true God* (cf. also *ὁ Χριστός* in the New Testament); also *הַנָּהָר* *the river*, i. e. *Euphrates*; *הַדִּבְרָה* *the circle*, sc. of the Jordan, *the Jordan plain* [Gn 19¹⁷, &c.].

(e) Very often with the vocative, e.g. 2 S 14⁴ *הוֹשִׁיעָה הַמֶּלֶךְ* *help, O king*; Zc 3^s *יְהוֹשֻׁעַ הַכֹּהֵן הַגָּדוֹל* *O Joshua the high priest*; 1 S 17⁵⁸, 24⁹, 2 K 9⁵; in the plural, Is 42¹⁸, Jo 1^{2,13}; but cf. also Jos 10¹², Is 1², 49¹³ (*שָׁמַיִם* and *אֲרָץ*); 23¹⁶, Ho 13¹⁴, Jo 1⁵, ψ 34¹², Ec 10¹⁷, 11⁹, &c.² The vocative occurs *without* the article in Is 22², since it has been already defined by a preceding accusative.

Rem. Strictly speaking in all these cases the substantive with the article *f* is really in apposition to the personal pronoun of the 2nd person, which is either expressly mentioned or virtually present (in the imperative), e.g. 1 S 17⁵⁸ *thou, the young man*. But such passages as Is 42¹⁸, where the vocative precedes the imperative, prove that in such cases the substantive originally in apposition eventually acquired the value of a complete clause.

(f) With words denoting classes (see particulars under *l*).

(g) In a peculiar way, to specify persons or things, which are so far definite as to be naturally thought of in connexion with a given case, and must be assumed accordingly to be there (see *q-s*).

(h) With adjectives (also ordinal numbers and demonstrative pronouns used adjectivally) which are joined to substantives determined in some way (see *u*).

Rem. The article may be omitted in *poetry* in all the above-mentioned *h* cases; in general it is used in poetry far less frequently than in prose. Its use or omission probably often rests on rhythmical grounds;³ it is sometimes omitted also for rhetorical reasons. Cf. e.g. *אֲרֵץ* for *הָאֲרֵץ* ψ 2²; *מַלְכִּים* as vocative, verse 10; *מֶלֶךְ* for *הַמֶּלֶךְ* 21²; *וְנָדָה* *שָׁמַךְ נָדָה* (contrary to *u*, *v*) 99³. In the instances in which the *n* of the article is omitted after a prefix (§ 35 *n*), the vowel of the article is often retained after the prefix even in poetry, e.g. *בְּשָׁמַיִם* ψ 24⁴, &c.

¹ On the subsequent change of *שָׁמַיִם*, *אֲדָם*, *אֱלֹהִים* into real proper names by the omission of the article, cf. above, § 125 *f*.

² For further exceptions see Nestle, *ZAW.* 1904, p. 323 *ff*.

³ Cf. the useful statistics of J. Ley in the *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pädagogik*, 2te Abteilung, 1891, Heft 7-9, and M. Lambert, 'L'article dans la poésie hébr.', *REJ.* 37, 263 *ff*.

i (2) On the other hand, the article is always omitted when a person or thing is to be represented as indefinite (or indefinable) or as yet unknown; consequently also before the predicate, since this is from its nature always a general term, under which the subject is included, e.g. Gn 29⁷ עֹד הַיּוֹם גָּדוֹל *as yet the day is great*, i.e. it is yet high day; 33¹³, 40¹⁸, 41²⁶, Is 66³.

k Rem. 1. As exceptions to the above rule it is usual to regard those examples in which a determinate adjective or participle (equivalent to a relative clause) is used apparently as a predicate, e.g. Gn 21¹ הָיָא הַפֶּבֶב *it is the compassing*, i.e. *that is it which compasseth*; 42⁶, 45¹², Ex 9²⁷, Dt 32¹, 81⁸, 117, 1 S 4¹⁶, Is 14²⁷, Mal 3² (cf. in Greek, e.g. St. Mat. 10²⁰, where Winer, *Gram. des newest. Sprachidioms*, § 58, 2, Rem., explains of *καλοῦντες* as a predicate with the article). In reality, however, these supposed predicates are rather subjects (acc. to § 116 q), and the only peculiarity of these cases is that the subject is not included under a general idea, but is equated with the predicate.

2. Sometimes the article is used with only one of two parallel words, as Na 1⁵ הָרִים וְהַבְּעוֹת and Ch 3¹⁷ מִיָּמִין וּמִשְׁמָאל.

l 3. The use of the article to determine the *class* is more extensive in Hebrew than in most other languages. In this case the article indicates universally known, closely circumscribed, and therefore well defined classes of persons or things. The special cases to be considered are—

m (a) The employment of general names as collectives in the singular, to denote the *sum total* of individuals belonging to the class (which may, however, be done just as well by the plural); e.g. the righteous, the wicked man, Ec 3¹⁷; the woman, i.e. the female sex, 7²⁶; הָאֹיִב the enemy, i.e. the enemies (?), 9⁷; הַלֹּיִץ the liar in wait, i.e. the liars in wait; הַחֲלָיִץ the armed man, i.e. soldiers; הַמֵּאֲחֲזֵק the rearguard; הַמְשִׁחִית the spoiler, 1 S 13¹⁷; ¹ so also (as in English) with names of animals, when something is asserted of them, which applies to the whole species, e.g. 2 S 17¹⁰ as the courage of הַלֵּוֹי the lion. Especially also with gentilic names, e.g. the Canaanite, Gn 13⁷ (cf. 15¹⁰); so in English the Russian, the Turk, &c., in Attic writers ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, ὁ Σπαρτιάτης, &c.

n (b) Names of materials known everywhere, the elements and other words denoting classes, even though only a part and not the whole of them is considered, in which case in other languages, as e.g. in English, the article is usually omitted (cf., however, our *to fall into the water*, *into the fire*, &c.), e.g. Gn 13² and Abram was very rich בְּכֶסֶף בְּבָקָר בְּמִקְנֵה כֶּסֶף בְּמִקְנֵה כֶּסֶף *in cattle, in silver and in gold*; Jos 11⁹ and he burnt their chariots בָּאֵשׁ *with fire*; cf. Gn 6¹⁴, 41⁴² (unless this means, the chain necessarily belonging to the official dress); Ex 2³, 31⁴ (35³²), Is 1²², &c., and בִּשְׁמֶן *with oil* ² very commonly in the sacrificial laws, Ex 29²,

¹ But in Ex 12²³ הַמֹּר is either to be explained as *the destroyer* (now mentioned for the first time) according to q, or a particular angel is meant whose regular function it was to inflict punishments. Others again take הַמֹּר even in Ex 12²³ impersonally = *destruction*.

² In nearly all the above examples the presence of the article is only indicated by the vowel of the prefix (בְּ, בַּ, בִּ) and might therefore be merely

&c., and also Dt 33²⁴, 2 S 1²¹, Is 1⁶, ψ 23⁵, &c. Similarly the article is used with terms of measurement, as הַאֵפֶק Ex 16³⁶, &c.: הַחֶמֶר and הַבֶּת Ez 45¹¹; הַעֶמֶר Ex 16²²; בְּהֶקֶל 2 S 8².

(c) The expression of abstract ideas of every kind, since they are likewise used to represent whole classes of attributes or states, physical or moral defects, &c.; e.g. Pr 25⁵ (בְּצֹרֶק); Gn 19¹¹ and they smote the men . . . בַּסִּנְיִים with blindness; Am 4⁹, &c.; but in הַחֶשֶׁן Is 60² the article is no doubt due to dittography of the ה, and the parallel וְעָרְפֶּל has no article.

(d) Comparisons, since the object compared is treated not (as usually in English) individually but as a general term, e.g. Is 1¹⁸ white בְּשֹׁלֶג as snow, בְּצֹמֶר as wool; red בְּהוֹלֵעַ like crimson; Is 34⁴ and the heavens shall be rolled together בְּפָפֶר as a scroll; cf. Nu 11¹², Ju 8¹⁸, 16⁹ as פְּתִיל־הַנֶּעֱרַת a string of tow is broken; 1 S 26²⁰, 1 K 14¹⁵, Is 10¹⁴, 24²⁰, 27¹⁰, 29⁸, 53⁶, Na 3¹⁵, ψ 33⁷, 49¹⁵; cf. also such examples as Gn 10²⁸, Ju 14⁶, where the object compared is determined by a determinate genitive which follows (according to § 127 a).

Examples of indeterminate comparisons are rare, and perhaps due only to the Masora,—so at least in the case of singulars, while in such plurals as those in Gn 42³⁰, 1 K 10²⁷, Jo 2^{4,7}, the omission of the article may be explained by the ordinary rules. On the other hand, the article is regularly omitted when the object compared is already defined by means of an attribute (or relative clause, Jer 23⁹, ψ 17¹²), e.g. Is 16² מְשֻׁלָּח בְּעוֹף נוֹדֵד as wandering birds, (as) a scattered nest (but cf. 10¹⁴ בְּפִנִּין) (but ψ 1⁴ בְּפִנִּין); Jer 2⁸⁰, Pr 27⁸, Jb 29²⁵, 30¹⁴.—In comparisons with persons also the Masora seems to avoid the use of the article, as in בְּגִבּוֹר Jb 16¹⁴ and seven other places (בְּגִבּוֹר only in Is 42¹³), בְּאֵב Jb 31¹⁸, בְּגִבּוֹר Jb 38⁸, 40⁷.

4. Peculiar to Hebrew¹ is the employment of the article to denote a single person or thing (primarily one which is as yet unknown, and therefore not capable of being defined) as being present to the mind under given circumstances. In such cases in English the indefinite article is mostly used.

Thus Am 5¹⁹ as if a man did flee from a lion (הַאֵרִי, i.e. the particular lion pursuing him at the time), and a bear (הַדָּב) met him, &c., cf. 3¹², 1 K 20³⁶ (John 10¹²); also Gn 8^{7f}, 14¹³ הַפְּלִיט, i.e. one that had escaped, the particular one who came just then; so also Ez 24²⁶, 33²¹; cf. 2 S 15¹³; Gn 15^{1,11}, 18⁷ the servant, who is regarded as being constantly at hand and awaiting his commands; cf. 2 S 17¹⁷ (but הַעֶר Nu 11²⁷ is used like הַפְּלִיט above); Gn 19³⁰, unless בְּמַעְרָה means in the well-known cave; בְּמִקְוִים Gn 28¹¹, according to Dillmann, upon the place suitable for passing the night, or the right place, but it may possibly also refer to the sanctuary of Bethel afterwards so sacred and celebrated; Gn 42²³, 46², 50²⁶, Ex 21⁵, 3², 4²⁰, 21²⁰ (2 S 23²¹), Lv 23⁴², 24¹⁰ (Samaritan יִשְׂרָאֵל without the article); Nu 17¹¹, 21^{6,9}, 25⁶, Dt 19⁵, Jos 21⁵, Ju 4¹⁸, 8²⁵, 13¹⁹, 16¹⁹, 19²⁰, 20¹⁶, 1 S 17³⁴, 19¹⁸, 21¹⁰, 2 S 17¹⁷, 1 K 6⁸, 13¹⁴ (? most

due to the masoretic punctuation. There is, however, no reason to doubt the correctness of the tradition. The same is true of the examples under n and o.

¹ Cf., however, analogous examples in biblical Aramaic in Kautzsch's *Gramm. des Bibl. Aram.*, § 79 f, e.g. Dn 2¹⁴, 3², &c.

probably a particular tree is meant); 19⁹, Is 7¹⁴ (הַעֲלָמָה), i. e. *the* particular maiden, through whom the prophet's announcement shall be fulfilled; we should say *a* maiden [cf. Driver on 1 S 1⁴, 6⁸, 19¹³]; Jb 9³¹.

- ^S So always to write in the book (or on the scroll, Nu 5²³, Jer 32¹⁰), i. e. not in the book already in use, but in the book which is to be devoted to that purpose, equivalent to *in a book, on a scroll*, Ex 17¹⁴, 1 S 10²⁵, Jb 19²³. Especially instructive for this use of the article is the phrase וַיְהִי הַיּוֹם, which does not simply refer back to the previous narrative in the sense of *the same day*, but is used exactly like our *one day* (properly meaning on the particular day when it happened, i. e. *on a certain day*), 1 S 1⁴, 14¹, 2 K 4⁸, 11¹⁸, Jb 1^{6,13}. In Gn 39¹¹ even בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא.

^t The article is sometimes used in this way before collectives in the singular, which are not meant to denote (like the examples given under *l*) a whole class, but only that part of it which applies to the given case; thus הָעָרִב, הַיּוֹנָה Gn 8⁷, הַצִּרְעָה Ex 23²⁸.

- ^u 5. When a substantive is defined by the article, or by a suffix, or by a following genitive determinate in any way (see the examples below), the attribute belonging to it (whether adjective, participle, ordinal, or demonstrative pronoun) necessarily takes the article (see, however, the Rem.), e. g. Gn 10¹² הָעִיר הַגְּדוֹלָה *the great city*; Dt 3²⁴ יָדְךָ הַחֲזָקָה *thy strong hand*. A genitive following the substantive may, according to § 127 *a*, be determined either by the article, e. g. 1 S 25²⁵ אִישׁ הַבְּלִיעַל הַזֶּה *this worthless man* (prop. *man of worthlessness*; cf. also such examples as 2 Ch 36¹⁸, where the article is prefixed only to a second genitive following the noun); or as a proper name, e. g. Dt 1¹⁷ מַעֲשֵׂה יְהוָה הַגָּדֹל *the great work of the Lord*; or by a suffix, e. g. Is 36⁹ עַבְדֵי אֲדָמִי הַקְּטַנִּים *the least of my master's servants*.

- ^v When several attributes (whether connected by *Wāw* or not) follow a determinate substantive, each of them takes the article, e. g. Dt 10¹⁷ הָאֵל הַגָּדֹל הַגִּבּוֹר וְהַנּוֹרָא *the great God, the mighty, and the terrible*. Cf. also Ex 3³, Dt 1¹⁹, in both of which places a demonstrative with the article also follows the adjective.¹

Rem. 1. The article is, however, not infrequently used also—

- ²⁰ (a) With the attribute alone, when it is added to an originally indefinite substantive as a subsequent limitation; so always with ordinal numbers after יוֹם,² e. g. Gn 1³¹ (cf. 2³, Ex 20¹⁰, &c.) יוֹם הַשִּׁשִּׁי *the sixth day* (prop. *a day* namely

¹ The demonstrative used adjectivally is generally placed *after* the adjective proper; in such cases as עֶמְקָה הַגְּדוֹלָה 2 Ch 1¹⁰ the adjective forms a further (fresh) addition to הַגְּדוֹלָה.

² Cf. Driver, *Tenses*, 3rd ed., § 209; M. Lambert, *REJ.* 31, 279 f.—The omission of the article from the substantive is not to be regarded in *this* instance as an indication of late style, and consequently cannot be put forward as a proof of the late origin of the 'Priestly Code' (cf. Dillmann on Gn 1³¹, Holzinger, *Einl. in d. Hexateuch*, p. 465, and especially Driver in the *Journal of Philology*, xi. 229 f., against Giesebrecht in *ZAW.* 1881, p. 265 f.). On the other hand, the common omission of the article from the substantive before a determinate adjective (e. g. בֵּית הַמִּדְרָשׁ *the great synagogue*, in the Mishna; cf. Segal, *Mishnaic Hebrew*, p. 19 ff.) is certainly a later idiom.

the sixth; but יום שני a second day, Gn 1⁸; Ex 12¹⁵ מיום הראשון from the first day onward (not before Dn 10¹² and Neh 8¹⁸ is מן־היום הראשון used instead of it). On the other hand, the article is *always* found after ב, hence ביום השני, &c., although it is possible that the original reading in these cases was ביום, and that the article is only due to the Masora. In Ju 6²⁵ the text is evidently corrupt (see verse 26).—Especially also in certain frequently recurring combinations as in particularizing the gates in Jer 38¹⁴, Ez 9², &c., Zc 14¹⁰, and courts in 1 K 7^{8,12}, &c., Ez 40²⁸; and very often when the attribute consists of a participle, e.g. Dt 2²⁸, Ju 21¹⁹, 1 S 25¹⁰, Jer 27³, 46¹⁶ החרב היונה the sword which oppresses (?); Ez 14²², Zc 11² Keth. (the impenetrable forest?) Pr 26¹⁸, ψ 119²¹.

Of the other examples, Gn 21²⁹ (where, however, the Samaritan reads א ההבשות, 41²⁶ (but cf. verse 4), Nu 11²⁵, Ju 16²⁷, 1 S 17¹⁷ may at any rate be explained on the ground that the preceding cardinal number is equivalent to a determinant; in Gn 1²¹, 28^{9,10}, &c., the substantive is already determined by בל, and in 1 S 14²⁹ (דבש) by מעט.—In 1 S 12²⁸, 2 S 12⁴, Is 7²⁰ (where, however, השכירה might also be understood as a subsequent explanation of בן־עשר and Neh 9²⁵, the omission of the article after the preposition is certainly due merely to the Masora. In 1 S 16²³ (unless אלהים is to be read twice), Zc 4⁷ (where however אף־הרר is probably meant), ψ 104¹⁸ (where a ה precedes הררים, hence probably a case of haplography), the omission of the article before א, ר (?) and ה may be due to a regard for euphony (see 2 below). On the other hand, in 1 S 6¹⁸ (read 'האבן הג', 17¹² ה הוה is a later addition), 19²² (cf. the LXX), Jer 17², 32¹⁴, 40⁸ Keth., Ez 2⁸ (read גוי or omit גוים with Cornill), Mi 7¹¹, ψ 62⁴, either the text is corrupt, or the expression incorrect. But in 2 K 20¹⁸, Jer 6²⁰, Ct 7¹⁰ acc. to D. H. Müller (*Anzeiger der Wiener Akad.*, phil.-hist. Kl. 1902, no. x) הפטוב is the genitive of a substantive, aromatic oil, sweet cane (in Jer 6²⁰ read וקנה), like spiced wine. In Is 39² read בשמן הפטוב and in ψ 133² הפט'.

(b) No article with the attribute, while the substantive is determined y either by the article, or a suffix, or a following genitive. Thus the article is sometimes omitted with demonstratives, since they are already to a certain extent determined by their meaning (cf. also the Mēša' inscription, l. 3, זאת הבמת this high place); as with הוה Gn 19³⁸ (evidently for euphony, and so probably often); 30¹⁶, 32²², 1 S 19¹⁰; with היא Gn 38²¹; with וו ψ 12⁸ (according to the Masora וו is a relative pronoun here, as always elsewhere); with אלה 1 S 2²³, according to the present corrupt text (the original reading יהוה בל־עם became בל־עם אלהים, and אלהים was then corrupted to אלה); so, almost without exception, when the substantive is determined only by a suffix, e.g. Jos 2²⁰, Ju 6¹⁴, 1 K 10⁸, 2 K 1² and 8⁸, where חלי, as in Jer 10¹⁹, has arisen by contraction from חליי, or we should simply read חלי (in all these passages with וו); Gn 24⁸ (with זאת); Ex 10¹, 1 K 22²³, Jer 31²¹ (with אלה).

The article is sometimes omitted also with the attributes referring to proper names,¹ as צידון רבה Jos 11⁸, 19²³, חמת רבה Am 6². Other examples are Jos 16^{3,5}, 18¹³, 1 K 9¹⁷ (but in 1 Ch 7²⁴, 2 Ch 8⁵ with the article). In Gn 7¹¹, &c., תהום רבה is also a case of this kind, תהום being used (almost always without the article) as a sort of proper name; cf. also אל עליון the most high

¹ Cf. Nöldeke, *Beiträge zur semit. Sprachwiss.*, p. 48, n. 1.

God and הַיְיָ הַחַיִּים the living God. In Ju 1¹⁵ נָלַת עָלֶיהָ and תַּהֲרִיתָ and ג' תַּהֲרִיתָ are strange; Jos 15¹⁹ has עָלֶיהָ ג' and תַּהֲרִיתָ ג'.

≈ Of the remaining examples Is 11⁹ explains itself; the direct connexion of the attribute with its substantive is broken by the insertion of לִים. In Ez 34¹², Hag. 1⁴ (as Wellhausen says, a good instance of a Hebrew adjective in the stative form = וְהָיָה סְפִינִים), ψ 143¹⁰, Ct 6¹² (?) the substantive is also (see above) determined by a suffix, and consequently the attribute is less closely attached; the same applies to Gn 37², 42¹⁹, 43¹⁴, ψ 18¹⁸, except that in these passages the omission of the article before ך, ם, ן may at the same time be due to considerations of euphony (as also in Jos 16¹ before ן, Nu 14³⁷ before ך, 28⁴, Ez 10⁹ before ם, 21¹⁹ before ן).¹ In 1 S 13¹⁷ (אֶחָד) and 2 K 25¹⁶ (שְׁנַיִם) after a determinate substantive), the attribute again, being a numeral, is determinate in itself (see above, x); in Is 65² the א prevents the use of the article; finally, in 2 Ch 26¹⁵ בְּרָצִים and בְּרָצִים are to be read, as in Jer 22¹ הַפֶּן for הַפֶּן, in 22²⁶ אֶרֶץ for אֶרֶץ; in 2 S 6⁸ omit הַדָּשָׁה, and in Ez 39²⁷ omit רַבִּים. Without any apparent reason the article is omitted in Dn 8¹³ and 11³¹.

aa 2. When, as in Mi 7¹² יוֹם הַהוּא in that day?), the article is omitted from both substantive and demonstrative, and in Ezr 3¹², the demonstrative even precedes the text (not only in the words quoted). In Jos 9¹² לֶחֶמֶנוּ is either in apposition to the independent demonstrative הָ (= this our bread, &c.), as in verse 13 נֹאדֹת is to אֵלֶּה, or they are complete sentences, this is our bread, &c. So also in Ex 32¹ מֹשֶׁה (= that [iste] Moses, &c.), and in ψ 48¹⁵ אֱלֹהִים are to be taken in apposition to הָ. On ψ 68⁸ and Is 23¹³ cf. § 136 d.

§ 127. The Noun determined by a following Determinate Genitive.

Brockelmann, Grundriss, i. 475.

a When a genitive, determined in any way, follows a *nomen regens*, it also determines the *nomen regens*, which, according to § 89 a, is always in the construct state. Moreover, every pronominal suffix attached to a substantive is, according to § 33 c, to be considered as a genitive determinate by nature. An independent genitive may be determinate—

(a) By its character as a *proper name* (according to § 125 a), e. g. הַיְיָ הַדֵּבֶר the word of the Lord.

(b) By having the article, e. g. אִישׁ הַמִּלְחָמָה (prop. the man of the war) the soldier (but אִישׁ מִלְחָמָה Jos 17¹, a soldier); אֲנִשֵּׁי הַמִּלְחָמָה

¹ The same reason no doubt also favoured the omission of the article before הוּא and אֵלֶּה, see above, under y. Also in Is 23⁷ (is this your joyous...?) the article is omitted before עֲלֵיָהָ probably only for euphony.

Nu 31⁴⁹, *the soldiers*; דְּבַר הַנְּבִיא *the word of the prophet*, Jer 28⁹ (but e.g., on the other hand, מִצְוַת אֲנָשִׁים מִלְּפָדָה *a commandment of men which hath been taught*, Is 29¹³; דְּבַר־שֶׁקֶר *word of falsehood*, Pr 29¹²).

(c) By the addition of a pronominal suffix (see above), e.g. בֵּית־אָבִי *my father's house*.

(d) By construction with another genitive determined in some way, e.g. Gn 3² עֵץ־הַנָּחַל מִפְּרֵי *of the fruit of the trees of the garden*. Thus in Is 10¹² four, and in 21¹⁷ even five, members of a series are determined by a concluding determinate genitive.

Rem. 1. The above explains also the various meanings of כָּל (prop. a substantive in the sense of *aggregate, whole*), according as it is followed by a determinate or indeterminate genitive. In the former case כָּל has the meaning of *the entirety*, i.e. *all, the whole* (like the French *tous les hommes, toute la ville*), e.g. כָּל־הָאָרֶץ *the whole (prop. the entirety of the) earth*, כָּל־הָאָדָם *all men*;¹ Ex 18²², Nu 15¹³, Jer 4²⁹, and cases like Nu 4^{23,47}, 21⁸ where כָּל is followed by a singular participle with the article. On the other hand, before an indeterminate genitive כָּל is used in the more indefinite (individualizing) sense of *of all kinds, any* (cf. *tout homme, à tout prix*), or distributively *each, every*, e.g. כָּל־עֵץ *every (kind of) tree*, Gn 2⁹; cf. 4²², 24¹⁰, 1 Ch 29²; כָּל־דָּבָר *any thing*, Ju 19¹⁹; כָּל־יוֹם *every day, every time*, ψ 7¹².

It is, however, to be observed—

(a) That the article may in this case also (see § 126 h) be omitted in poetic style, although the substantive is to be regarded as determinate, e.g. כָּל־שִׁלְחָנוֹת *all (the) tables*, Is 28⁶.

(b) That the meaning *every* is frequent even before singulars used collectively; afterwards the idea of *quisque* passes naturally into that of *totality*, e.g. כָּל־חַי *each living thing*, i.e. *every (not every kind of) living thing*; כָּל־בָּשָׂר *all flesh*, i.e. *all men or all living creatures* (with the article only in Gn 7¹⁵ before a relative clause, and in Is 40⁶); sometimes also כָּל־עֵץ *all trees*, כָּל־עוֹף *all birds*; finally—

(c) That before the names of members of the human body, כָּל frequently (as being determinate in itself) denotes the entirety, e.g. Is 1⁵ *the whole head*, *the whole heart* (the sense required by the context, not *every head*, &c., which the expression *in itself* might also mean); 5¹¹, 2 K 23³, Ez 29⁷ *all (i.e. the whole of) their shoulders . . . all (the whole of) their loins*; 36⁵.—On כָּל with a suffix when it follows a noun in apposition (e.g. Is 9³ הָעָם כָּלֵי *the people, all of it*, i.e. *the whole nation*, more emphatic than כָּל־הָעָם, cf. Driver on 2 S 2⁹), as well as when it follows absolutely in the genitive (= *all men, every one*, e.g. Gn 16¹²),² see the Lexicon, pp. 481^b, 482^b.

2. Gentile names (or patronymics), derived from compound proper names (consisting of a nomen regens and genitive), are determined by inserting the article before the second part of the compound (since it contains the original

¹ הָאָדָם being a collective, cf. כָּל־הָאִישׁ 2 S 15², *all men*, כָּל־הַבָּנִים Ex 12²² *all sons*, כָּל־הַבָּת *all daughters*; in itself כָּל־הָאָדָם could also mean *the whole man*.

² In Ezr 10⁴⁷ instead of אֲנָשִׁים בְּכָל read simply בְּכָל־הָאֲנָשִׁים.

genitive), e.g. בְּנֵי־יְמִינִי (see § 86 h) *a Benjamite*; בְּנֵי־הַיְמִינִי Ju 3¹⁵, &c., *the Benjamite*; בֵּית־הַלְּחֶמִי the *Bethlehemite*, 1 S 16¹, &c. (cf., however, 1 Ch 27¹² *Qéré* בֵּית־הַשִּׁמְשִׁי (לִבְנֵי יְמִינִי) the *Beth-shemite*, 1 S 6¹¹; אֲבֵי הָעֹזֵרִי the *Abiezrite*, Ju 6¹¹, &c., cf. 1 K 16³⁴).

e 3. In a few instances the nomen regens appears to be used indefinitely notwithstanding a following determinate genitive; it is not so, however, in Gn 16⁷, where the reference is to a well-known fountain; 21²⁸, where in the original context there must have been some reason for *the seven ewe lambs of the flock*; 2 S 12³⁰ *the spoil found in the city*; but it often is so before a proper name, as in Ex 10⁹ הַיְּהוָה הָאֵל *a feast of the Lord* (unless it is *the spring festival*), Dt 7²⁵, and frequently יְהוָה הַזֶּה *an abomination unto the Lord*; cf. also Gn 46³⁴, Dt 22¹⁹ *a virgin of Israel*; 1 S 4¹² *a man of Benjamin*; Pr 25¹, Ct 2¹, 3⁹; similarly before appellatives with the article (or before a genitive determined by a suffix, as in Lv 14³⁴), 1 S 20²⁰ *three arrows*; 2 S 23¹¹ הַלֵּקְתָּ הַשָּׂדֶה *a plot of the ground* (but see Gn 33¹⁹, Jos 24³²); Ju 13⁶, Jer 13⁴, 41¹⁶, Ct 11.13^f, 5¹³, 7⁸, S². On the other hand, שִׁיר הַמַּעֲלוֹת in the titles of Psalms 120 to 134 (except 121¹, שִׁיר לַמַּעֲלוֹת) was most probably originally the title of a collection, in the sense of '*the pilgrimage-songs*' (according to § 124 r), and was subsequently added to these Psalms severally.—In Ex 20²⁴ בְּכָל־הַמָּקוֹם *in all the place*, sc. of the sanctuary, is a dogmatic correction of בְּכָל־מָקוֹם, *in every place*, to avoid the difficulty that several holy-places are here authorized, instead of the one central sanctuary. In Gn 20¹³ also כָּל־הַמָּקוֹם (unless it means *in the whole place*) is remarkable, since elsewhere *every place* is always (8 times) כָּל־מָקוֹם.

f 4. The deviations mentioned under *e*, from a fundamental rule of syntax, are in some cases open to suspicion on textual grounds, but much more doubtful are the instances in which the article is found before a noun already determined in some other way, as—

(a) Before a noun which appears to be determined by a following independent determinate genitive. The least questionable are the instances in which the genitive is a *proper name*, since these may be elliptical forms of expression like the apparent construction of proper names with a genitive, noticed in § 125 h, e.g. Nu 21¹⁴ אֲרָנוֹן הַנַּחֲלִים *the valleys*, namely the valleys of *Arnon*; 2 K 23¹⁷ בֵּית־אֵל הַמִּזְבֵּחַ *the altar*, namely the altar of *Bethel* (i.e. with the suppression of the real nomen regens, מִזְבֵּחַ without the article; by the pointing הַמִּזְבֵּחַ the Masora evidently intends to allow the choice either of reading הַמִּזְבֵּחַ or correcting it to מִזְבֵּחַ); הָאֵל הַאֵל בֵּית־אֵל *the God of Beth-el*¹ (equivalent to הָאֵל בֵּית־אֵל), Gn 31¹³ (the LXX read בְּמָקוֹם אֵלֶיךָ הַמִּקְדָּשׁ *the God who appeared to thee in the holy place*); הָאֵל הַמֶּלֶךְ אַשּׁוּר *the King of Assyria*, Is 36¹⁶ (probably a scribal error due to verse 13; it does not occur in the parallel passage, 2 K 18³¹), cf. Jos 13⁵, 2 K 25¹¹, Jer 38⁶, Ez 47¹⁵; in the vocative, Jer 48³², La 2¹³. On the other hand, שָׂרָה אֲמִי Gn 24⁶⁷ is no doubt

¹ According to Philippi (*St. Constr.*, p. 38) בֵּית־אֵל is rather a case of 'subposition' in the accusative, as also הַדֶּרֶךְ הַתְּלוֹן Ez 47¹⁵ (for which, however, in 48¹ there is the correct reading הַתְּלוֹן הַדֶּרֶךְ) *by the way to Helkion*; and in fact, Ez 47¹⁵ may without difficulty be explained in this way; so נִשָּׂא Ex 39²⁷ as an accusative of the material.

only a subsequent insertion; so also *יִשְׂרָאֵל* Jos 8^{33b} (cf. LXX), 2 S 20²³, 2 K 7¹⁸, *הַמִּלֶּכֶּה* 1 S 26²² after *הַחֲנִית* (simplified by the Masora to *חֲנִית* ^{Q^{re}d}); 2 K 23¹², *אֲשֹׁר* Is 36⁸ (cf. 2 K 18²³), *הַקֶּדֶשׁ* Ez 46¹⁹ (unless the article *עֲלִית אָהֶוּ* is to be omitted), also *הַמִּמְדִּיר* Dn 8¹³, and *עוֹד הַבְּרִיא* 2 Ch 15⁸. In Ex 9¹⁸ read with the Samaritan *לְמִיּוֹם*; in 2 S 19²⁵ *לָכֶת* might possibly be taken in apposition to *הַיּוֹם*; in 2 K 10¹ restore *אֶת־בְּנֵי*, with the LXX and Lucian, before *אֶהָאֵב*; in 2 K 25¹⁹ omit the article, as in Jer 52²⁵, before *סִפֵּר*.

A similar ellipse must also be assumed in 2 K 23¹⁷ *the sepulchre is the sepulchre of the man of God* (but most probably *קִבְר* has dropped out after *הַקִּבְר*) and ψ 123⁴ (cf., however, the LXX, and observe that in the parallel member the genitive is paraphrased by *לִי*).—In Jos 3¹⁴ *הַבְּרִית* (verse 17 *בְּרִית יהוה*) has been added to the original *הָאָרֶז* by a redactor; cf. similar syntactically impossible additions in verse 11 (also in 1 S 4⁸, &c., where the LXX still had simply *יהוה* [*אָרֶז*]); in *הַיָּתֵר* Ju 16¹⁴ the Masora evidently combines two different readings *הַיָּתֵר* and *יָתֵר הָאָרֶז*; and similarly in Jer 25²⁶ (where *הָאָרֶז* was only subsequently introduced into the text), the two readings *הַמִּמְלָכוֹת* and *מִמְלָכוֹת הָאֵל* are combined.—In Jos 8¹¹, 1 K 14²⁴, Jer 31⁴⁰, Ez 45¹⁶ the article, being usual after *כֹּל־*, has been mechanically added, and so also in 2 Ch 8¹⁰ after *עוֹד*; in 2 K 9⁴ the second *הַנֶּעַר* (instead of *נָעַר*) is occasioned by the first; in Ez 7⁷ *מִהוֹמָה* belongs as a nominative to what follows; in Ez 8²⁹ the meaning perhaps is *in the chambers, in the house of the Lord*, or the article is to be omitted; in 1 Ch 15²⁷ the text is manifestly corrupt.

Of another kind are the instances in which a determinate noun is followed ^h by a definition of the material *in apposition* (hence, not in the genitive; cf. § 131), e.g. Zc 4¹⁰ *הָאֶבֶן הַכֶּדִּיל* *the weight, the lead*, i.e. *the leaden weight*; Ex 39¹⁷, 2 K 16¹⁴ *הַנְּחֹשֶׁת*, both here and in verse 17, is probably only a later addition, while *הַמַּסְגֵּרוֹת הַמְכֻנּוֹת* in verse 17 has arisen from a confusion of two readings, *מַסְגֵּרוֹת הַמְכֻנּוֹת* and *הַמַּסְגֵּרוֹת מִהַמְכֻנּוֹת*. In Jer 32¹² also *הַמִּקְנָה* (unless the article is simply to be omitted) is in apposition to *הַסִּפֵּר*.

(b) Before a noun with a suffix (which likewise represents a determinate ⁱ genitive; see above, at the beginning of this section). This does not apply to cases in which a verbal (i.e. accusative) suffix is affixed to a participle which has the article, e.g. *הַמִּכֶּהוּ* Is 9¹², *the one smiting him*; in Dt 8¹⁵, 13⁶ also *קֵי* is a verbal suffix, but hardly the *ו* in *הָעֵשֶׂה* for *הָעֵשֶׂהוּ* Job 40¹⁹, nor the *הַ* in *הַיָּלֶכֶה* Dn 11⁶; § 116 g. For *הָעוֹרֶכֶּה* Lev 27²³, read *עוֹרֶכֶּה* as in verses 2, 3, 5, 7, 13, &c., twelve times (but cf. also the note on § 128 d).—Of the remaining examples *בְּנִבְרָתָהּ* Is 24² (probably an intentional alliteration with the eleven other words beginning with *ב*), *לְמַעַנְהוּ* Pr 16⁴, and *בְּעֵרְיָנוּ* (so Baer, following the best authorities) Ezr 10¹⁴, rest only on the authority of the Masoretes, not of the authors. So also in *הָאֵהָלִי* Jos 7²¹, *הַחֲצִי* Jos 8³³ (previously *חֲצִי*), *הַהֲרוֹתֶיהָ* 2 K 15¹⁰ (dittography of the *ה*), the article is simply to be omitted as syntactically impossible; the *ו* *הַקִּבְרֵוּ* Mi 2¹² is the copula belonging to the next word.

§ 128. *The Indication of the Genitive Relation by means of the Construct State.*

Cf. especially Philippi's work cited at the head of § 89.

a 1. The genitive relation is regularly expressed (see § 89) by the close connexion of the *nomen regens* (in the construct state) with the *nomen rectum* (in the genitive). Since only *one* *nomen regens* can be immediately connected with a *nomen rectum*, it follows that the same genitive cannot depend on two or more *co-ordinate* nouns, but a second (sometimes even a third, &c.) *regens* must be added with a suffix referring to the *nomen rectum*, e.g. בְּנֵי דָוִד וּבָנוֹתָיו *the sons of David and his daughters* (not בְּנֵי וּבָנוֹת דָּוִד); cf. 1 K 8²⁸.¹ The language even prefers to avoid a series of several *co-ordinate*² genitives depending upon one and the same *nomen regens* (such as occur in Gn 14¹⁹, Nu 20³, 31⁵⁴ [1 Ch 13¹], 1 S 23⁷, 2 S 19⁶, Is 22⁵, ψ 5⁷, 8³),³ and rather tends to repeat the *nomen regens*, e.g. Gn 24³ אֱלֹהֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם וְאֱלֹהֵי הָאָרֶץ *the God of heaven and the God of the earth* (so in Jer 8¹ the *regens* is five times repeated). A lengthened series of genitives may, however, be formed by a *nomen rectum* serving at the same time as *regens* to a genitive depending on it (cf. § 127 a [d]); e.g. Gn 47⁹ יָמֵי נַשְׁי הַיָּמִים אֲבֹתֵי *the days of the years of the life of my fathers*; cf. Jb 12²⁴, where there are three genitives, Is 10¹² four, and 21¹⁷ five (unless the last three are in apposition). As a rule, indeed, such an inconvenient accumulation of genitives is avoided by means of a circumlocution in the case of one of them (see § 129 d).

b Rem. As the fundamental rules stated above are the necessary consequence not merely of *logical* but more especially of *rhythmical* relations (see § 89 a), we must feel the more hesitation in admitting examples in which genitives are supposed to be loosely attached to forms other than the construct state. Some of these examples (the supposed genitives following a *regens* which is determined by the article) have been already discussed in § 127 f-h. Compare, moreover:

c (a) Genitives after the absolute state, e.g. Is 28¹ גִּיא־שִׁמְכִים הָלוֹמִי אֵין *the fat valley of them that are overcome with wine*. The usual explanation that גִּיא־שִׁמְכִים forms one single idea (in German *Fettigkeitstal*), on which the

¹ Very rare, and only possible in very rapid utterance, are such exceptions as Ez 31¹⁶ (מְבַחֵר וְטוֹב־לִבָּנוֹן); Pr 16¹¹.—In Is 11² *the spirit of knowledge and of the fear of the Lord*, וְיִרְאַת יְהוָה may at any rate also be taken as an absolute genitive, so also כֶּפֶר Dn 1⁴.

² In ψ 114¹ a second genitive is added even without the copula, but the parallelism of the members renders any misunderstanding impossible.

³ In almost all these instances the two (or three) genitives form one closely connected whole, as *heaven and earth*, *sons and daughters*.

genitive הַלְלוּמִי then depends, in reality explains nothing; the text is almost certainly corrupt. In Dt 15¹⁸ מִשְׁנֶה would be expected; in Jos 3¹¹ הַפְּרִית is a later addition; in Is 32¹⁸ (מִשְׁוֹשׁ), and ψ 68²² (שְׁעָר), the absolute for the construct state probably rests only on the authority of the Masoretes. In Ju 6²⁵ the text is obviously in confusion. In Ju 8³² (cf. 6²⁴) בְּעֶפְרָה should come either after וַיִּקְבֹּר or at the end of the verse, unless, with Moore, we omit הָאֵלֵּי as a gloss (from 6²⁴); in Is 63¹¹ מִשְׁנֶה is probably a gloss on יְמִי-עוֹלָם which has crept into the text; in 2 S 4² לְאִישׁ-בִּשְׁת, according to the LXX, has dropped out before בֶּן; in Ez 6¹¹ רְעוּת is to be omitted with the LXX; if originally in the text, it could only be genitive (= *all abominations of evils*), not an adjective; Pr 21⁹ the text is altogether uncertain (the LXX read מוֹקְשִׁי for מוֹקְשֵׁי); in 1 Ch 9¹³ the preposition לְ (after a ל) has dropped out before מְלֹאכֶת (cf. 12²⁵).—Elsewhere (Dt 3⁵, 1 K 4¹³, 2 Ch 8⁵) the supposed genitives are to be taken rather as words of nearer definition standing in apposition, i. e. *with high walls, gates, and bars*. In Jer 8⁵ יְרוּשָׁלַם is either in apposition to הוּא or is better (since not in the LXX) omitted as a gloss.

(b) Genitives after a noun with a suffix (where the suffix prevents the direct government by the *nomen regens*). Thus in Lv 27^{2,3,5}, where הַקֶּבֶר after עֶרְבֶקָה^d might be taken, contrary to the accents, as subject of the following clause; in Lv 5^{15,25} the suffix may refer to Moses. In Lv 6³ מְדוּ בָר his garment, namely the garment of *linen*, unless simply in apposition, cf. § 131 d (or read מְדוּ²); Lv 26⁴², where וְגַם בְּרִיתִי יַעֲקֹב וְגַם בְּרִיתִי יַעֲקֹב, cf. § 125^h (probably, however, it is a case of dittography of the י, which was repeated also before אֲבִירָה; so Valetton, *ZAW.* xii. 3); equally strange is בְּרִיתִי הַיּוֹם Jer 33²⁰, &c. On the other hand, אִם יִהְיֶה נְבִיאָם יִהְיֶה Nu 12⁶ could not possibly mean *if your prophet be a prophet of the Lord*; the text is manifestly corrupt (probably מִיָּהוָה נְבִיאָךְ is to be read, with Marti). In ψ 45⁷ בְּסִמְיָךְ אֱלֹהִים (usually explained as *thy divine throne*), אֱלֹהִים is most probably a later addition [another suggestion is to read מֵאֱלֹהִים *like God's throne*: cf. § 141 d, note]. In Jer 52²⁰ two readings are probably combined, לְנֶחֱשֶׁת כָּל-הַפְּלִים without any addition, and לְנֶחֱשֶׁת כָּל-הַפְּלִים. In Nu 25¹² שְׁלֹם is in apposition to בְּרִיתִי. On דָּרְבָךְ וְזוֹה Ez 16²⁷, cf. § 131 r.

(c) The interposition of a word is assumed between כָּל- (the *whola*; cf. e § 127 b) and the genitive governed by it in 2 S 1⁹, Jb 27³ (עוֹר), and, if the text is correct, in Hos 14³ (תִּשְׁאֵ). In reality, however, in all three places the genitive relation is destroyed by the transposition of the words (instead of עוֹר כָּל-, &c.), and כָּל- is rather to be taken adverbially (equivalent to *wholly*), e. g. 2 S 1⁹ *because my life is yet wholly in me*, i. e. *my whole life*; cf. Philippi, *Stat. Constr.*, p. 10.—On the instances in which the original construct state אֵין *non-existence* is used without a following genitive, see the negative sentences, § 152 o.

2. The dependence of the *nomen rectum* on the *nomen regens* by *f* no means represents merely what is, properly speaking, the genitive relation (see the examples under *g-i*). Very frequently the *nomen*

¹ Halévy, *J. A.* xiv. 548, removes the difficulty by pointing עֶרְבֶקָה.

rectum only adds a nearer definition of the nomen regens, whether by giving the name, the genus or species, the measure, the material, or finally an attribute of it (*genit. expegeticus* or *appositionis*,¹ see the examples under *k-q*).

Examples. The *nomen rectum* represents—

- g** (a) A *subjective genitive*, specifying the possessor, author, &c., e.g. בֵּית־הַמֶּלֶךְ the king's house; דְּבַר יְהוָה the word of the Lord.
- h** (b) An *objective genitive*, e.g. Ob¹⁰ מִחַמָּם אֲחִיד for the violence done to thy brother² (but in Ez 12¹⁹ מִחַמָּם is followed by a subjective genitive); Pr 20² מֶלֶךְ אֵימַת מֶלֶךְ the terror of a king; Gn 18²⁰ וַעֲקַת סֹדֶם the cry concerning Sodom; Is 23⁵ צֹר שִׁמְעָה the report of (about) Tyre, cf. 2 S 4⁴; Am 8¹⁰ יָחִיד אֲבִל the mourning for an only son; Dt 20¹⁴ שָׁלַל אֲיִרֶיךָ praeda hostibus tuis erepta; cf. Is 3¹⁴. In a wider sense this includes such examples as עֵץ הַחַיִּים דֶּרֶךְ עֵץ הַחַיִּים the way of (i.e. to) the tree of life, Gn 3²⁴; cf. Pr 7²⁷, Jb 38²⁰; הַיָּם דֶּרֶךְ הַיָּם the way of (by) the sea, Is 8²³; וּבָחִי אֲלֵהֶם the sacrifices of (i.e. pleasing to) God, ψ 51¹⁹; יְהוָה שְׁבַעַת יְהוָה the oath of (i.e. sworn before) the Lord, 1 K 2⁴³; לְמוֹאָל דְּבָרֵי הַבְּרִי the words of (i.e. addressed to) L., Pr 31¹.
- i** (c) A *partitive genitive*; this includes especially the cases in which an adjective in the construct state is followed by a general term, e.g. חֲכָמוֹת שְׂרוּתֶיהָ the wisest of her ladies, Ju 5²⁰; cf. for this way of expressing the superlative, § 133 *h*, and also *r* below.
- k** Merely formal genitives (*genit. explicativus* or *expegeticus*, *genit. appositionis*) are those added to the construct state as nearer definitions—
- (a) Of the name, e.g. נָהָר פָּרַת the river Euphrates; אֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן the land of Canaan; בְּתוּלַת יִשְׂרָאֵל the virgin Israel (not of Israel), Am 5².
- l** (e) Of the genus, e.g. Pr 15²⁰ (21²⁰) אָדָם בָּכִיל אָדָם a fool of a man (= a foolish man); cf. Gn 16¹², Is 1⁴, 20¹⁹, Ho 13², Mi 5⁴, &c.
- m** (f) Of the species, e.g. אֶחָדָה קֶבֶר a possession of a burying-place, i.e. hereditary sepulchre, Gn 23⁴, &c.; תְּאֵנִי הַבְּכֻרוֹת the early figs, Jer 24²; אֹהֶל בֵּיתִי the tabernacle of my house, i.e. my dwelling-place, ψ 132³.
- n** (g) Of the measure, weight, extent, number, e.g. מִתֵּי מִסְפָּר people of number, i.e. few in number, Gn 34³⁰, Dt 26⁵; cf. also Ez 47³⁻⁵ waters of the ankles, waters of the loins, waters of swimming, i.e. which reached up to the ankles, or loins, or necessitated swimming; but in verse 4 in apposition (?) מַיִם בְּרִימִים.
- o** (h) Of the material³ of which something consists, e.g. כֶּלִי חֶרֶשׁ a vessel of earthenware, Nu 5¹⁷; כֶּלִי כֶסֶף vessels of silver (cf. the French *des vases d'or*); עֵץ אֲרוֹן an ark of wood, שֵׁבֶט בְּרֹזֶל a rod of iron, ψ 2⁹; cf. Gn 3²¹, 6¹⁴, Ju 7¹³, &c.

¹ The latter term is preferred especially by König, *Theol. Stud. und Krit.*, 1898, p. 528 ff.

² Cf. in Latin a similar use of the genitive after *iniuria* (Caes. *B. G.* 1, 30), *melus* (*hostium*, *Pompeii*, &c.), *spes*, and other words. In Greek, cf. *εὐνοία τῶν φίλων*, *πίστις τοῦ θεοῦ*, *ὁ λόγος τοῦ τοῦ σταυροῦ*, 1 Cor. 1¹⁸.

³ In the almost entire absence of corresponding adjectives (אֶרֶץ made of cedar, a denominative from אֶרֶץ, and כְּהָשׁ brazen are the only examples), the language regularly has recourse to the above periphrasis. On the form *qāṣūl*, as expressing an inherent property, cf. § 50 *f*; cf. also the proper name, בְּרֹזֶל *ferreus*.

(*z*) Of the attribute of a person or thing, e.g. Gn 17⁸ אֶחָדָה עוֹלָם *an everlasting possession*; Pr 17⁸ a precious stone; cf. Nu 28⁶, Is 13⁸, 28⁴, ψ 23², 31³, Pr 5¹⁹, 14⁶, Jb 41¹⁹, and the examples of the genitive with a suffix given in § 135 n. Such a periphrasis for the expression of attributes frequently occurs, even when the corresponding adjectives are in use. Thus especially קָדֹשׁ *holiness* very frequently serves as a periphrasis for the adjective קָדוֹשׁ (e.g. בְּגָדֵי הַקָּדֹשׁ *the holy garments*, Ex 29²⁹), since קָדוֹשׁ is used almost exclusively in reference to persons (hence also with עַם and גּוֹי *people*, and with שֵׁם the name of a person); the only exceptions are מְקוֹם קָדוֹשׁ *holy place*, Ex 29³¹, &c.; מַיִם קְדָשִׁים *holy water*, Nu 5¹⁷; קָדוֹשׁ as the predicate of יוֹם *day*, Neh 8^{10 f.}, and of מַחֲנֶה *camp*, Dt 23¹⁵. So also the use of צַדִּיק *righteous* is always confined to persons, except in Dt 4⁸; elsewhere the periphrasis with צֶדֶק or צִדְקָה is always used, e.g. מֵאֲנֵי צֶדֶק *just balances*, Lv 19³⁶.

In a wider sense this use of the genitive also includes statements of the purpose for which something is intended, e.g. צֶאֱן מִבְּחָרָה *sheep for the slaughter*, ψ 44²³; מוֹסֵר שְׁלֹמֹנִי *the chastisement designed for our peace*, Is 53⁵; cf. 51¹⁷ (*the cup which causes staggering*), ψ 116¹³; finally, also, the description of the material, with which something is laden or filled, e.g. 1 S 16²⁰ חֶמֶר לֶחֶם וְנָאֵר וַיֵּן *an ass laden with bread and a bottle of wine* (but probably עֶשְׂרֶה is to be read for חֶמֶר); cf. Gn 21¹⁴, Pr 7²⁰, &c.

Rem. 1. Certain substantives are used to convey an attributive idea in the construct state before a partitive genitive; thus מִבְּחָרָה *choice, selection*, as in Gn 23⁶ קְבָרֵינוּ מִבְּחָרָה *the choice of our sepulchres*, i.e. our choicest sepulchres; Ex 15⁴, Is 22⁷, 37²⁴; other examples are, Is 1¹⁶ *the evil of your doings*, emphatically, for your evil doings; Is 17⁴, 37²⁴ (= *the tall cedars thereof*), ψ 139²², Jb 15²⁶.—This is the more common construction with the substantive כֹּל *entirety*, for *all, the whole, every*, see § 127 b; it is also frequent with מְעַט *a little, for few*, 1 S 17²³, &c.

2. To the periphrases expressing attributive ideas (see p above) by means of a genitive construction may be added the very numerous combinations of the construct states אִישׁ *a man*, בָּעַל *master, possessor*, בֶּן־ *son*, and their feminines and plurals (including מְחַיִּי *men*, used only in the plural), with some appellative noun, in order to represent a person (poetically even a thing) as possessing some object or quality, or being in some condition. In English, such combinations are sometimes rendered by single substantives, sometimes by circumlocution.

Examples:—

(a) Of אִישׁ, &c.: אִישׁ דְּבָרִים *an eloquent man*, Ex 4¹⁰ (but אִישׁ שִׁפְתָּיִם Jb 11^{2 f.} *a man of lips*, i.e. a boaster); אִישׁ לָשׁוֹן = *a slanderer*, ψ 140¹²; אִישׁ דַּעַת *a man of knowledge*, Pr 24⁵; אִישׁ חֲמָה *a wrathful man*, Pr 15¹⁸; אִישׁ דָּמִים *a man of blood*, 2 S 16⁷, ψ 5⁷; cf. further, 1 S 16¹⁸, 1 K 2²⁶, Is 53³, Pr 19⁶, 26²¹, 29¹, Ezr 8¹⁸; also אִשָּׁת מְרִינִים *a contentious woman*, Pr 27¹⁵; in the plural, e.g. Gn 6⁴ אֲנָשֵׁי לֵבָב *the men of renown, famous*; cf. Gn 47⁶, Is 41¹¹, Jb 34^{8,10} אֲנָשֵׁי הָיִשׁ *men of understanding*; with מְחַיִּי, e.g. Is 5¹³ מְחַיִּי רָעֵב *famished men*; but read probably מְחַיִּי רָעֵב *weak with hunger*; ψ 26⁴, Jb 11¹¹, 22¹⁵.

(b) Of בָּעַל, &c.: בָּעַל שֵׁעַר *haughty*, 2 K 1⁸; בָּעַל הַחֲלֻמוֹת *the dreamer*, Gn 37¹⁰; וְנָשׁ *cf. Na 1², Pr 1¹⁷, 18⁹ (a destroyer), 22²⁴, 23² (disposed to eat, greedy), 24⁸; feminine*

בַּעֲלַת־רוּחַ *a woman that hath a soothsaying spirit*, 1 S 28⁷; cf. Na 3⁴; in the plural, e.g. הַצִּיּוֹת בַּעֲלֵי בְרִית *confederates*, Gn 14¹³; בַּעֲלֵי שְׂבָעָה *sworn supporters*, Neh 6¹⁸.

- 2) (c) Of בֶּן־חַיִל, &c.: בֶּן־חַיִל *a hero, warrior*, 1 K 15²; בֶּן־יִשָּׁשְׁכַר *heir*, Gn 15²; בֶּן־שָׁנָה *yearling*, Ex 12⁵, &c.; בֶּן־מֵאוֹת שָׁנָה *centum annos natus*, Gn 21⁵; בֶּן־מָוֶת *worthy to die*, 1 S 2c³¹ (Luther, 2 S 12⁵ *ein Kind des Todes*); cf. Dt 25² בֶּן־הַבֹּת *worthy to be beaten*. Feminine, e.g. בַּת־בְּלָעַל *a wicked woman*, 1 S 16⁵; frequently also בְּלָעַל *like the Latin scelus for scelestissimus*, 2 S 23⁶, Jb 34¹⁸. Plural masculine, e.g. בְּנֵי מָרִי *children of rebellion*, Nu 17²⁵. בֶּן־ is used poetically of things without life, e.g. Is 5¹ בֶּן־שֶׁמֶן *a fat*, i.e. a fruitful (hill); Jon 4¹⁰ בֶּן־לַיְלָה i.e. *grown in a night*; Jb 41²⁰ *son of the bow* (i.e. an arrow); so also בְּנֵי רֶשֶׁף = *sparks*, Jb 5⁷; La 3¹²; בָּנוֹת Ec 12⁴ *the daughters of song*, probably meaning the individual notes.

There is another use of בֶּן־ or בְּנֵי to denote membership of a guild or society (or of a tribe, or any definite class). Thus בְּנֵי הָאֱלֹהִים or בְּנֵי הָאֱלֹהִים Gn 6²⁴, Jb 1⁶, 2¹, 38⁷ (cf. also בְּנֵי אֱלִים ψ 29¹, 89⁷) properly means not *sons of god(s)*, but beings of the class of אֱלֹהִים or אֱלִים; בְּנֵי־הַנְּבִיאִים 1 K 20³⁵ (singular in Am 7¹⁴) *persons belonging to the guild of prophets*; בְּנֵי־הַרְפוּקָה Neh 3⁸ *one of the guild of apothecaries*, cf. 3³¹ where בֶּן־הַצֹּרֶפִּים is to be read. Similarly בְּנֵי שְׁלָשִׁים Gn 5c²³ are most probably not *great-grandsons* but *grandsons*, i.e. those belonging to the third generation. Cf. also בְּנֵי הַגֵּרָשִׁי Nu 4²⁷, Gershonites, בְּנֵי הַקְּהָתִים 2 Ch 2c¹⁹, &c., Kohathites; בְּנֵי קָרָם *dwellers in the East*.

- 2) 3. Special mention must be made of the not infrequent idiom by which adjectives (sometimes also ordinals, see § 134 o) are added in the genitive, like substantives, rather than as attributes in the same state, gender, and number as the noun which they qualify; thus, Is 28⁴ צִיָּצִית נָבֵל *the flower of hat which fades*, for which verse 1 has צִיָּין נָבֵל *the fading flower*; cf. further, Is 22²⁴, Jer 22¹⁷ (?), 52¹³, ψ 73¹⁰, 74¹⁵ (but אֵייתָן may be a substantive), 78⁴⁹; also the use of רַע as a substantive, e.g. in Pr 24¹⁶, 6²⁴ (אֲשֶׁר רַע), &c., analogous to the New Testament phrase ὁ οἰκονόμος τῆς ἀδουλίας, Luke 16⁸, and the French *un homme de bien*.¹—Finally, an adverb (treated as a substantive) may likewise be used as an epexegetical genitive; cf. בְּדָמֵי חִנָּם *blood shed without cause*, 1 K 2³¹; Pr 24²⁸, 26²; Ez 30¹⁶ (יוֹמָם).

3. The epexegetical genitives include finally the numerous nearer definitions which follow the construct state of adjectives (and of active and passive participles, or verbal adjectives, cf. § 116 f-l). For, while the word of nearer definition is added to the verb in the accusative (e.g. הָלָה אֶת־רַגְלָיו *he was diseased in his feet*, 1 K 15²³), it may, with participles and verbal adjectives, be either in the accusative

¹ On the other hand, in such passages as Is 36² (2 K 18¹⁷), Zc 14⁴, Ec 8¹⁰, &c., there is no apparent reason why the Masora requires the construct state instead of the absolute; hence הָלָה Is 36² and הָיָה Zc 14⁴ must be intended as forms of the absolute state, shortened in consequence of their close connexion.

(§ 116 f and k) or in the genitive, the case of a word depending on a noun. Such a genitive relation is usually termed an *improper annexion*. The nearer definition contains a statement either of the *material*, e.g. Ex 3^s, &c., אֶרֶץ זָבַת חֶלֶב וְדָבָשׁ *a land flowing with milk and honey*; or of the *means*, e.g. חָלַל לִי-חֶרֶב *slain with the sword*, Is 22²; or the *cause*, Ct 2⁵ *sick of love*; or of the *scope* of the attribute,¹ e.g. Gn 39⁶ יָפֶה-הָאֵר *fair of form*; cf. Gn 41²⁻⁴, Ex 34⁶, Is 1⁴, Jer 32¹⁰, Na 1³, ψ 119¹, Jb 37¹⁶; or of the *manner*, e.g. ψ 59⁶ אֲנִי בְּנֵי אֱוִן *faithless ones of wickedness* (wickedly faithless).

Especially frequent is the use of this genitive to name the part of *!* the body described as being affected by some physical or mental condition, e.g. ψ 24⁴ נְקִי כַפַּיִם *clean as regards hands*, &c.; 2 S 9³, Is 6⁵, Jb 17⁹; Is 19¹⁰ אֲנִי-נִפְשׁ *grieved in soul*; 1 S 1¹⁰, Jb 3²⁰. Also such examples as Am 2¹⁶, Pr 19¹, where a suffix is attached to the substantive, must be regarded as instances of the genitive construction, on the analogy of Pr 14², see § 116 k.

§ 129. *Expression of the Genitive by Circumlocution.*

Besides the construction of a *nomen rectum* dependent upon a *nomen a* regens in the construct state (§§ 89 and 128), the connexion of two nouns may also be effected otherwise, either by simply attaching the dependent noun by means of the preposition לְ, which, according to § 119 r, expresses, besides other ideas, also that of *belonging to*,² or by the addition of a relative clause (אֲשֶׁר לְ, see k below).

1. The introduction of a genitive by לְ sometimes occurs even when the *b* construction with the construct state would be equally possible, e.g. 1 S 14¹⁸ הַצִּפִּים לְשָׁאֵל *the watchmen of Saul*; ψ 37¹⁶, 2 Ch 28¹⁸ (where indeed the circumlocution makes the sense much plainer); as a rule, however, this use is restricted to the following cases:—

(a) To prevent a *nomen regens* being determined by a following determinate *C* genitive, e.g. 1 S 16¹⁸ בֶּן-יִשַׁי *a son of Jesse* (בֶּן-יִשַׁי would be, according to § 127 a, *the son of Jesse*); cf. Gn 14¹⁸, 36¹², 41¹², Nu 16²² (27¹⁶), 1 S 17⁸, 2 S 19²¹, ψ 122⁵. Hence, regularly מְזִמֹּר לְדָוִד (ψ 3¹, &c.) *a psalm of David* (properly belonging to David as the author), for which לְדָוִד of David is used alone elliptically in ψ 11¹, 14¹, &c. Such a case as מְזִמֹּר לְדָוִד (ψ 24¹, &c.) is not to

¹ Cf. the Latin *integer vitae scelerisque purus*; *tristes animi*, &c.

² Cf. the σχῆμα Κολοφάνιον in Greek, e.g. ἡ κεφαλὴ τῶ ἀνθρώπου for τοῦ ἀνθρώπου (Bernhardy's *Syntax*, p. 88). The Arab grammarians distinguish a twofold genitive, one of which may be resolved by لَ, and the other by مِنْ [see Wright's *Arabic Grammar*, vol. ii, § 75 ff.]. The *de* of the Romance languages is a development of the latter idea; the Gascon, however, says e.g. *la fille à Mr. N.*, laying stress upon the idea of *belonging to* and not that of *origin*, as in *la fille de* . . . of the literary language.

be regarded as a transposition, but מְמוֹר is used epexegetically for the general term omitted before לָרוֹד (as it were, a poem of David, a psalm).

Moreover, the introduction of the author, poet, &c., by this *Lamed auctoris* is the customary idiom also in the other Semitic dialects, especially in Arabic.

- d (b) When a genitive is to be made dependent on a nomen regens, which is itself composed of a nomen regens and rectum, and represents, as a compound, one united idea, e. g. Ru 2³ חֶלֶקֶת הַשָּׂדֶה לְבָעוּ לְבוֹאֵז (the portion of field belonging to Boaz) (שָׂדֶה בָּעוּ) would be the portion of the field of Boaz; 2 K 5⁹ at the house-door of Elisha. This especially applies to the cases in which the compound regens represents a term in very common use, the fixed form of which cannot be altered, e. g. 1 K 14¹⁹ עַל־סֵפֶר דְּבָרֵי הַיָּמִים לְמַלְכֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל in the book

of the chronicles of the kings of Israel; 15²³, &c.; cf. also Jos 15⁵¹.

- e (c) When for any other reason the construction with the nomen regens in the construct state is inadmissible; cf. e. g. Lv 18²⁰, where שִׁכְבַּתְךָ, on account of the suffix, cannot be used in the construct state; but Lv 15¹⁶ ff., &c., שִׁכְבַּת־רָעָה; Ju 3²⁸ the Jordan fords of Moab (יַרְדֵּן) as a proper name cannot be used in the construct state; Ex 20⁵ upon the third and upon the fourth generation of them that hate me; וְעַל־רִבְעִים must be kept in the absolute state for the sake of conformity with עַל־שְׁלֹשִׁים, and for the same reason also לְאַלְפִים לְאַהֲבֵי.

- f (d) After statements of number in such cases as Gn 8¹⁴ יוֹם בִּשְׁבָעָה וָעֶשְׂרִים יוֹם בְּחָדָשׁ on the seven and twentieth day of the month; cf. 7¹¹, 16³ and frequently, or as in Hag 1¹ בִּשְׁנַת שְׁתַּיִם לְרִירוּשָׁה in the second year of Darius; the numeral here is always one compound idea with the substantive numbered, and consequently (as in the examples under b) does not admit of being in the constr. st. with a genitive. The same naturally applies also to such examples as 1 K 3¹⁸ בְּיוֹם הַשְּׁלִישִׁי לְלִדְתִּי on the third day of my giving birth (i. e. after my giving birth). Cf. also the standing phrase בְּחָדָשׁ לְחָדָשׁ on the first (day) of the month, Gn 8⁵ and frequently.

- g Rem. In cases like 2 S 3² and his firstborn was Amnon לְאַחִינֹעַם of Ahinoam, the genitive expressed by circumlocution with לְ is in reality dependent on a regens which is omitted (בֶּן לְאַחִינֹעַם a son of Ahinoam); cf. 2 S 3^{3,5}, 1 K 14¹³, Am 5³ (unless לְבֵית יִשְׂרָאֵל originally depended on thus spake the Lord), and the remarks on מְמוֹר under c above.

- h 2. The periphrastic expression of the genitive by means of לְ אֲשֶׁר is used principally to state the possessor, e. g. Gn 29⁹ הֶצֵּאתָ אֶשֶׁר לְאֹבֶדָהּ her father's sheep (prop. the sheep which belonged to her father); Gn 47⁴ and frequently. So also (according to § 128 a) when a genitive depends on more than one substantive, e. g. Gn 40⁵ הַבֹּטֵל וְהַבֹּקֵר הַזֶּה (belonged) to the king of Egypt (מֶלֶךְ מִצְרָיִם); would indicate only the baker as belonging to the king; or when a genitive (as in the examples under d above) is added to a compound, which expresses one united idea (Ru 4³); or when, as a fixed term (e. g. a title), it appears always in the same form, e. g. Ct 1¹ שִׁיר הַשִּׁירִים אֲשֶׁר לְשִׁלְמָה the Song of songs, of Solomon; 1 S 21⁸, 2 S 2⁸, 1 Ch 11¹⁰; cf. also Gn 41^{43,1}.

¹ In New Hebrew שֶׁל (derived from שֶׁל = אֲשֶׁר לְ, see § 36, and cf. Ct 1⁶, 3⁷ שֶׁלִּי שֶׁלְמָה) is used like the simple relative וְ, דִּי in Aramaic, as an independent sign of the genitive.

§ 130. *Wider Use of the Construct State.*

The construct state, which, according to § 89 a, primarily represents *a* only the immediate government by one substantive of the following word (or combination of words), is frequently employed in rapid narrative as a connecting form, even apart from the genitive relation; so especially—

(1) Before prepositions,¹ particularly in elevated (prophetic or poetic) style, especially when the *nomen regens* is a participle. Thus before $\text{בְּ, שְׂמֵחַת בְּקִצִּיר}$ *the joy in the harvest*, Is 9², 2 S 1²¹, ψ 136^{8f.}; in participles, Is 5¹¹, 9¹, 19⁸, ψ 84⁷, and especially often when בְּ with a suffix follows the participle, e. g. ψ 2¹² $\text{בְּלִיְהוֹשִׁי בּוֹ}$; cf. Na 1⁷, Jer 8¹⁶ (ψ 24¹); ψ 64⁹ (unless רָאָה should be read); 98⁷.²—Before לְ , Ho 9⁶ (but read probably $\text{בְּמַחְמְדֵי בְּמַעֲשֵׂם}$; ψ 58⁸ (before לְמֹו); Pr 24⁹, Jb 18², La 2¹⁸ (before לְךָ); 1 Ch 6⁵⁵, 23²⁸; in participles, Ez 38¹¹, Jb 24⁵; before לְ with an infinitive, Is 56¹⁰, and again before לְ with a suffix, Gn 24²¹, Is 30¹⁸, 64³;³—before אֶלְ , Is 14¹⁹, Ez 21¹⁷;—before אֶתְ (*with*), Is 8⁶;—before בִּן , Gn 3²², Is 28⁹ (a participle); Jer 23²³, Ez 13², Ho 7⁶;—before עַלְ , Ju 5¹⁰;—before בְּלִיְהוֹשִׁי , Is 14⁶;—before the *nota accus.* אֶת , Jer 33²²;—before a locative (which in such cases also serves as a genitive), Ex 27¹³, Jer 1¹⁵.

(2) Before *wāw copulative*, e. g. Ez 26¹⁰; but $\text{הָיִלַת, Is 33⁶, 35², בְּ}$ and שִׁבְרַת, 51²¹ may be cases of an intentional reversion to the old feminine ending *ath*, in order to avoid the hiatus (ו!) הִפְּ־.

(3) When it governs the (originally demonstrative) pronoun אֲשֶׁר ; *c* so especially in the combination אֲשֶׁר, מְקוֹם , Gn 39²⁰, 40³, *the place where* (prop. of *that in which*) *Joseph was bound*; cf. § 138 g; or אֲשֶׁר, בְּמְקוֹם Lv 4^{24, 33}, 2 S 15²¹, 1 K 21¹⁹, Jer 22¹², Ez 21³⁵, Ho 2¹. We should expect אֲשֶׁר, הַמְקוֹם , אֲשֶׁר, בְּמְקוֹם , as in Gn 35¹³, &c., *at the place which . . .*, cf. § 138; but אֲשֶׁר is treated as a *nomen rectum* instead of as an attribute.

¹ Cf. König, 'Die Ueberwucherung des St.-constr.-Gebrauchs im Semit.,' ZDMG. 53, 521 ff.

² In Ju 8¹¹ the article is even used before a construct state followed by בְּ , in order to determine the whole combination $\text{שְׂבִינֵי בְּאֶהָלִים}$ *tent-dwellers*, taken as one word; cf., however, the remarks in § 127 f-i on similar grammatical solecisms.

³ These are to be distinguished from the cases where לְ follows a construct state, which in conjunction with מִן (and the following לְ) has become a sort of preposition or adverb of place; thus, we have מִבֵּיתְךָ Ex 26³³ (for which in Ez 1²⁷ merely בֵּית) meaning simply *within*; מִיְמִין לְ (2 K 23¹³, Ez 10³) *on the right hand* (i. e. south) of; מִצִּפוֹן לְ (Jos 8^{11, 13}, &c., Ju 2⁹) *on the north of*; cf. also Jos 15²¹ and לְפָנֵי מִן Neh 13⁴.

Cf. also מִיָּמִים followed by a *perfect* in 1 S 29⁸, and מִיָּמִי Lv 13⁴⁶, Nu 9¹⁸.¹

d (4) When it governs independent sentences (cf. § 155), which virtually stand to the construct state (as *nomen regens*) in a sort of genitive relation, e. g. Ex 4¹⁸ בְּיַד־הַשֵּׁלֶחַ prop. *by the hand of him whom thou wilt send*; Nu 23³ בְּיַד־יְהוָה the *matter of that which he shall show me*, i. e. whatever he shall; Is 29¹ חָנָה הָיָה הַעִיר the *city where David encamped*; Jer 48³⁶, ψ 16³ (if the text be right), 65⁵ (Pr 8³²), ψ 81⁶, Jb 18²¹ the *place of him that knoweth not God*; Jb 29¹⁶, La 1¹⁴ (if the text be right) *into the hands of those against whom I cannot stand*.² In Gn 39⁴ (בְּלִישְׁלֹ) the בֶּל־ takes after it a noun-clause, and in Ex 9⁴, still more boldly, a subst. with לְ.—Very often a *time-determination* governs the following sentence in this way; thus אַחֲרֵי followed by a perfect, Lv 25⁴⁸, 1 S 5⁹; בְּיוֹם ψ 102³ (before a noun-clause), Ex 6²⁸, Nu 3¹, Dt 4¹⁵, 2 S 22¹, ψ 18¹, 59¹⁷, 138³ (in every case before a following perfect), ψ 56¹⁰ (before an imperfect); מִיָּוֶם followed by the perfect, Jer 36²; בְּלִימֵי Lv 14⁴⁶, 1 S 25¹⁵, Jb 29² (בְּיָמֵי) *as in the days when . . .*³; cf. שְׁנוֹת before a perfect, ψ 90¹⁵); בָּעֵת before a perfect, Jer 6¹⁵ (cf. 49⁸, 50³¹); before an imperfect, Jb 6¹⁷; תְּחִלַּת before a perfect, Ho 1².

e (5) Connected with a following word in apposition; certainly so in such cases as בְּתוּלַת בְּתַרְצִיִן the *virgin, the daughter of Zion*, Is 37²²; cf. 23¹², Jer 14¹⁷; also 1 S 28⁷ נָאֶשֶׁת בַּעֲלַת־אֹיִב a *woman, possessor of a soothsaying spirit*; cf. Dt 21¹¹.—Gn 14¹⁰, Ju 19²² (but read probably אֲנִישִׁים with Moore, as in Dt 13¹⁴, Ju 20¹³, 1 K 21¹⁰); 2 K 10⁶, 17¹³ Qerê; Jer 46⁹, ψ 35¹⁶ (?) , 78⁹, Jb 20¹⁷^b (unless נְהַרִי or נְהַלִּי be a gloss).

f Rem. Some of the above passages may also be explained by supposing that there exists a real genitive relation towards the preceding construct state, which has been, as it were, provisionally left *in suspensio*, in consequence of the insertion of some interrupting word, e. g. Is 37²², &c.; Jb 20¹⁷^a. Elsewhere (Dt 35¹⁹, ψ 68³⁴) the *nomen regens* probably governs the following construct state directly.⁴

¹ In Dt 23⁵ the construct state governs a sentence introduced by the conjunction אֲשֶׁר עַל־דֵּבַר הָאֵשֶׁר (אֲשֶׁר) *by reason of the fact that, i. e. because*; so also in 1 S 3¹³.

² Probably Gn 22¹⁴ is also to be so explained (contrary to the accents), and certainly (contrary to the very unnatural division of the verses) 2 Ch 30¹⁸, which should read on thus: יְהוָה הַטוֹב יַכְפִּיר בְּעַד כָּל־לִבָּבו הַכִּין the *good Lord pardon every one that setteth his heart to seek God*. [See Wickes' *Accentuation of the Twenty-one Prose Books of the Old Testament*, p. 140.]

³ Cf. Na 2⁹ הִיא מִיָּמִי, usually explained to mean *from the days that she hath been*, but the text is evidently very corrupt.

⁴ So also Is 28¹⁶ a *corner stone of the preciousness* (יִקְרָת) is a substantive not an adjective) of a *fixed foundation*, i. e. a precious corner stone of surest foundation.—In 2 S 20¹⁹ the text is wholly corrupt; in ψ 119¹²⁸ read בְּקִרְיָךְ.

(6) The numeral **אחת** *one* for **אחת** in close connexion, and even with *g* small disjunctives, e.g. Gn 3²², 48²², 1 S 9³, 2 S 17²², Is 27¹², Zc 11⁷.

The character of these passages shows that the numeral here cannot be in the construct state, but is merely a rhythmical shortening of the usual (tone-lengthened) form.

§ 131. *Apposition.*

1. Apposition in the stricter sense is the collocation of two substantives in the same case in order to define more exactly (or to complete) the one by the other, and, as a rule (see, however, below, under *g*), the former by the latter. Apposition in Hebrew (as in the other Semitic languages¹) is by no means confined to those cases in which it is used in English or in the classical languages. It is not infrequently found when either the *subordination* of one substantive to the other or some more circumstantial kind of epexegetical addition would be expected.

2. The principal kinds of apposition in Hebrew are:—

(a) The collocation of *genus* and *species*, e.g. **אשה אלמנה** *a woman* *b* (who was) *a widow*, 1 K 7¹⁴; **נערה בתולה** *a damsel* (that is) *a virgin*, Dt 22^{23, 25}, Ju 4⁴, 19¹, 21¹², 1 S 30¹⁷, 1 K 1²; cf. Gn 13⁸, 21²⁰ (where, however, **נש** is probably an explanatory gloss); Ex 24⁵ (1 S 11¹⁵), 2 S 15¹⁶, 1 K 3¹⁶, 5²⁹ (but probably **כָּבֵל** should be read instead of **כָּבֵל**); Is 3²⁴ (unless **מַעֲשֵׂה** is to be read), Jer 20¹. Perhaps also **פֶּהֶן הַרְאֵשׁ** *the priest* (who is) *the chief man*, 2 K 25¹⁸, &c.; others take **פֶּהֶן** as constr. st.—In 2 S 10⁷ read **בְּלִי-צָרָה הַגִּבּוֹר** with the LXX, as in the parallel passage 1 Ch 19⁹ for **בְּלִי-צָרָה הַגִּבּוֹר**, which is evidently meant to refer to the reading in 2 S.

(b) Collocation of the *person* or *thing* and the *attribute*, e.g. Jb 20²⁹ *c* (27¹³) **חֵלֶק-אָדָם רָשָׁע זֶה** *this is the portion of a man*, (who is) *a wicked man* (but **רָשָׁע** might also be an adjunct.); cf. Pr 6¹².—Lv 6¹³, 16⁴ (where, however, **קֹדֶשׁ** is probably a gloss); Pr 22²¹ **אֱמָרִים וְאֵמֶת** *words* (which are) *truth*; (immediately after **אֱמֶת**) cf. 1 S 2¹³, Mi 1¹¹ (where, however, **בִּשְׁמֵחַ** is most probably a gloss on **עֲרִיָּה**); Zc 1¹³ (= *comfortable words*); ψ 45⁵ (?), 68¹⁷ (cf. verse 16). In a wider sense this includes also such cases as ψ 60⁵ **יַיִן תַּרְעִילָהּ** *wine* which is *staggering* (intoxicating drink), which causes *staggering*²; 1 K 22²⁷, 2 Ch 18²⁶ **יָמִים לַחַיִּי** (in

¹ On certain uses of apposition peculiar to the Semitic languages, cf. the exhaustive discussion by Fleischer, 'Ueber einige Arten der Nominalapposition im Arab.' (*Kleine Schriften*, ii. 16); [and see also Driver, *Tenses*, Appendix IV.]

² Unless it is to be translated *thou gavest us intoxication to drink as wine* (and so in 1 K 22²⁷ *give him affliction to eat as bread*, &c.); cf. ψ 80⁸ and the analogous examples of apposition in the form of a second accusative in § 117 *kk*. More-

Is 30³⁰ parallel with צַר לָהֶם) *water* which is *affliction*, drunk in trouble (imprisonment). Still more boldly, 1 K 5³ רָעִי בָקָר *oxen* which were taken out of the *pastures*, and 1 K 6⁷ *undressed stones* which come from the *quarry*, probably a corruption of מַצְפֵּעַ. A person and a condition are in apposition in Ez 18⁶ (unless בְּנֵי־הָאָדָם is to be read).—In 1 S 4¹ read הָעָרִיץ, as in 5¹, 7¹².

- d (c) Collocation of the *person* (Dt 28³⁶) or *thing* (form) and *material*,¹ or of the *place* or *measure* and its *contents*, e.g. 1 Ch 15¹⁹ בְּמַצְלֵתָיִם בְּהִשָּׁחַת with *cymbals* which were *brass*, i. e. of *brass*; cf. Ex 26²⁵, Dn 11⁸, 1 Ch 28^{15,18} (?); Ex 28¹⁷ *four rows*, namely *stones* (for which 39¹⁰ has מַצֵּי־אֲבָנִים); cf. 2 Ch 4¹³, Lv 6³ (see, however, § 128 d); 2 K 7¹ סֵלֶת־יִסְתֵּר *a seah of fine flour*; cf. 2 K 7^{16,18}, Gn 18⁶, Ex 16³³, Lv 5¹¹, Ru 2¹⁷, 1 K 16²⁴, 2 K 5²³ שְׁכָרִים בְּכֶרֶם *two talents of silver*;² cf. 5¹⁷, Ex 39¹⁷, Ez 22¹⁸ (if the text be right). With the *material* placed before the *measure*, Ex 30^{23f}.—A *period of time* and its *contents* are placed in apposition יָמִים הֶחָדָשׁ *a month of days*, i. e. a month's time—for a whole month, Gn 29¹⁴, Nu 11^{20,21}, cf. Dt 21¹³, 2 K 15¹³, and שְׁנֵי־יָמִים *two years' time*, i. e. two full years, Gn 41¹, 2 S 13²³, 14²⁸, Jer 28^{3,11}, Dn 10^{2f}.

Finally, under this head may be included all the cases in which a numeral (regarded as a substantive) is followed by the object numbered in apposition, e.g. שְׁלֹשָׁה בָּנִים *trias* sc. *fili*, § 97 a and § 134 b.

- e (d) Collocation of the *thing* and the *measure* or *extent*, *number*, &c., e.g. Nu 9²⁰ יָמִים מְעַטְּמָה *days*, (a small) *number*, i. e. only a few days; מִשְׁנֵה שְׁכָרִים *money, repetition*, i. e. twice as much money, Gn 43¹² (unless שְׁכָרִים be constr. st.); מַיִם בְּרַכְּבָיִם *water* which was of the measure of the *knees*, which reached to the knees, Ez 47⁴ (also מַיִם מִתְּתִיבָיִם *water that was to the loins*, in the same verse). This likewise includes the cases in which a noun is followed in apposition by a numeral (see § 134 c) or an adverb, originally conceived as a substantive, e.g. נְאֻשִׁים אֶנְשֵׁי־מְעַט *men, a few*, i. e. some few men; 1 K 5⁹ תְּבִינָה הַרְבֵּה *understanding, much-making*, i. e. much understanding, unless הַרְבֵּה is to be taken as an adverb with הַרְבֵּה, as in 2 S 8⁸ with לָקַח.

over, having regard to הַרְבֵּה יַיִן *spiced wine*, Ct 8², and עֵד פָּרָא *a wild ass's colt*, Jb 11¹² (in which passages יַיִן and עֵד must certainly be in the construct state) we cannot but ask whether the Masora does not intend the יַיִן in ψ 60⁵ to be taken as construct state (for which elsewhere יַיִן).

¹ Cf. also the examples treated above in § 127 h.

² On the anomalous form בְּכֶרֶם (instead of כְּכֶרֶם; cf. כְּכֶרֶם immediately before), see § 88 b.

(e) Collocation of the *thing* and its *name*, e.g. בְּהַרְרֵם שֵׁעִיר *in their f mountainous district, Seir* (perhaps only a later gloss), Gn 14⁶; הָאָרֶץ הַכְּנַעֲנִית *the land Canaan* (כְּנַעֲנִי probably only a later gloss), Nu 34²; cf. Ezr 9¹, 1 Ch 5⁹ (see under *g* below).—For examples of nouns in the construct state before a noun in apposition, see § 130 e.

Rem. 1. Only in certain combinations does the noun of nearer definition *g* come first, e.g. הַמֶּלֶךְ דָּוִד הַמֶּלֶךְ שְׁלֹמֹה *king David, king Solomon* (less frequently הַמֶּלֶךְ דָּוִד as in 2 S 13³⁰, 1 K 2¹⁷, 12², 2 K 8²⁹, 9¹⁵, and in late Hebrew, Hag 1¹⁵ [cf. the Aramaic order מַלְכָּא דְּרִישׁ מַלְכָּא], and often in Chron.).—A chiasmus occurs in Is 45⁴, the name standing after the defining noun in the first part of the verse, and before it in the parallel clause.

2. When the *nota accusativi* (אֶת, אֲתָהּ) or a preposition precedes the first *h* substantive, it may be repeated before the noun in apposition, e.g. Gn 4², 22², 24⁴, 47²⁹, Is 66²¹; this usually occurs when the nearer definition precedes a *proper name*. As a rule, however, the repetition does not take place (Dt 18¹, Jer 33¹⁸, 1 S 2¹⁴). A noun in apposition is made determinate, even after a noun with a prefix, in the ordinary way, e.g. 2 Ch 12¹³ הָעִיר הַזֶּה *Jerusalem, the city which, &c.*¹

3. Sometimes a second adjective is used in apposition to a preceding *i* adjective, in order to modify in some way the meaning of the first, e.g. Lv 13¹⁹ בְּהִירֹת לְבָנָה אֲדָמָהמָת *a white-reddish (light red) bright spot*.

4. *Permutation* is to be regarded as a variety of apposition. It is not complementary like apposition proper (see *a* above), but rather *defines* the preceding substantive (or pronoun, see below), in order to prevent any possible misunderstanding. This includes cases like Gn 9⁴ *with the life thereof* (which is) *the blood thereof*; Ex 22³⁰, Dt 2²⁶, 1 S 7⁹, 2 K 3⁴ *an hundred thousand rams, the wool, i.e. the wool of the rams*; Jer 25¹⁵ *this cup of the wine, that is of fury* (but *הַחֲמָה* is probably a gloss); Is 42²⁵ *he poured upon him fury, namely his anger*; ² but especially the examples in which such a permutative is added to a preceding pronoun, viz.—

(a) To a separate pronoun, e.g. Ex 7¹¹; with regard to the vocative, cf. § 126 f.

(b) To an accusative suffix, e.g. Ex 2⁶ *she saw him, the child* (unless אֶת־הַיִּלְדִּי *m* be a later gloss); Ex 35⁵, Lv 13^{57b}, 1 K 19²¹ (where, indeed, הַבֶּשֶׂר appears to be a late gloss); 21¹³, 2 K 16¹⁵ *Ke'm.*, Jer 9¹⁴, 31², Ez 3²¹, Ec 2²¹ (according to Delitzsch rather a double accusative).³

(c) To a noun-suffix, e.g. Ez 10³ בָּבֹאֵי הָאִישׁ *when he went in, the man*; 42¹⁴; *n* cf. Pr 13⁴ (?), Ez 3¹²; so also after a preposition with suffix, e.g. Ec 4¹⁰ הָאֶחָד לֹו *woe to him, the one alone*; with a repetition of the preposition, Nu 32³³, Jos 1² לְבָנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל *to them, to the children of Israel*; Ju 21⁷, Jer 51⁵⁶,

¹ In 1 K 11⁸ participles after לְכֹל־נִשְׁאִיו, as in 2 K 10⁶ after הָעִיר הַזֶּה, are used in 19² after a determinate accusative, and in Hag 1⁴ after בְּבִתְיָכֶם, are used without the article; these, however, are probably to be explained not as in apposition, but according to § 118 g.

² But מֵיָמִים Gn 6¹⁷ (cf. 7⁶) is to be regarded as a later gloss upon the archaic מִבֹּל.

³ For וַיִּשְׁעֶנָּה 1 S 21¹⁴ either וַיִּשְׁעֶנָּה is to be read or the *Ke'thiv* is to be explained according to § 75 b, note. Also יִלְכְּדֵנוּ Pr 5²² has hardly preserved the correct form.

Ez 42⁵ (?), Dn 11¹¹, 1 Ch 4⁴², 2 Ch 26¹⁴.¹—Cf. finally, Ct 3⁷, where the suffix precedes the genitive periphrastically expressed by שָׁלַ, as in Ez 9¹, where the genitive is expressed by לְ.²

- o Of a different kind are the cases in which the permutative with its proper suffix follows as a kind of correction of the preceding suffix, e. g. Is 29²³ *when he* (or rather) *his children see*, &c. (but יִרְאוּ is clearly a gloss); cf. ψ 83¹²; in Jb 29³ read בָּהֶקְלוֹ (infin. Hiph.) or at least its syncopated form בָּהֶקְלוֹ.

p 5. Cases of apposition in a wider sense are those in which the nearer definition added to the noun was originally regarded as an *adverbial accusative*; on its use with the verb and on the relative correctness of speaking of such an accusative in Hebrew, cf. § 118 a and m. Owing to the lack of case-endings, indeed, it is in many instances only by analogies elsewhere (especially in Arabic) that we can decide whether the case is one of apposition in the narrower or in the wider sense; in other instances this must remain quite uncertain. However, the following are probably cases of apposition in the wider sense:—

- q (a) Such phrases as כֶּסֶף כְּשֵׁנָה a double amount in money, Gn 43¹⁵; cf. Jer 17¹⁸; 1 S 17⁵ *five thousand shekels in brass*, but this might also be taken (as in d) *shekels which were brass*; certainly such cases as Jb 15¹⁰ *older than thy father in days*, and the expression of the superlative by means of מְאֹד (originally a substantive), e. g. טוֹב מְאֹד very good, Gn 12¹ (cf. also Ec 7¹⁶ *righteous over much*), and the very frequent מְאֹד prop. a much-making exceedingly, i. e. exceedingly great, Gn 15¹, 41⁴⁹, also Pr 23²⁹ *wounds without cause*,³ perhaps also Gn 34²⁵ (בְּמַח).

- r (b) A few examples, in which an epexegetical substantive is added to a substantive with a suffix; thus, Ez 16²⁷ *of thy conduct in lewdness* (but it is also possible to explain it (as in c) *of thy conduct, which is lewdness*); cf. Ez 24¹³, 2 S 22³³ *my fortress in strength*, i. e. my strong fortress (cf., however, ψ 15³³); Hb 3⁹, ψ 71⁷. While even in these examples the deviation from the ordinary usage of the language (cf. § 135 n) is strange, it is much more so in חֲבָלְתוֹ חוֹב Ez 18⁷, i. e. according to the context *his pledge for a debt*; Ezr 2⁶² *their register*, i. e. *their register*, namely of those that were reckoned by genealogy (but perhaps הַמְּתִי is in apposition to the suffix in בְּתוֹכָם), also the curious combinations (mentioned in § 128 d) of בְּרִיתִי with a proper name (Lv 26⁴²), and in Jer 33²⁰ with הַיּוֹם.⁴

¹ But in Is 17⁶ we should certainly divide the words differently and read *בְּסַעֲפֵי הַפְּרִיָּה*, in Jer 48⁴⁴ read *אֶלֶּהָ אֶלֶּהָ*, and in Pr 14¹³ *הַשְׁמָחָה*; in Gn 21⁹ *כִּפֶּשׁ חַיָּה* is a late gloss upon לוֹ, and in Ez 41²⁶ *הַהִיבֵל* אֶל־דִּלְתוֹת הַהִיבֵל a gloss on אֶלֶּהָ.

² Some of the examples given above are textually (or exegetically) doubtful, whilst in the case of others, especially those from the later Books, we cannot help asking whether such a prolepsis of the genitive by means of a suffix (as e. g. Ez 10³) is not due to the influence of Aramaic, in which it is the customary idiom; cf. Kautzsch's *Gramm. des Biblisch-Aram.*, § 81 e and § 88.

³ In ψ 69⁷ *חָנָם שֶׁקֶר* (like *in a false way, falsely*, ψ 35¹⁹ and 38²⁰) is used as an *adverbial accusative* with a participle; cf. § 118 g.

⁴ But in Nu 25¹² *שָׁלוֹם* may also be explained, according to c, as really in apposition. Cf. on the whole question Delitzsch, *Psalmen*, 4th ed., p. 203, note 1.

6. In Dt 33⁴ כְּמוֹן־שֶׁחַ (קְמוֹן־שֶׁחַ, perhaps לְקַח־לֶחֶם מוֹר is to be read), 33²⁷ (קְמוֹנָה), Ju 7⁸ s (צִדְהָ), the absolute state appears to be used instead of the construct to govern a following logical genitive; this, however, cannot be explained either as a special kind of apposition, or (with Hitzig) as a peculiarity of the dialect of Northern Palestine, but is merely a textual corruption. On the other hand, in Jb 31¹¹ עֵזֶן פְּלִילִים is evidently intended to combine the readings עֵזֶן פְּלִילִים and עֵזֶן פְּלִילִי (as in verse 28).—The remarkable combination אֱלֹהִים צְבָאוֹת in ψ 80^{8,15} is due to the fact that in ψ 42–83 אֱלֹהִים has almost throughout been subsequently substituted by some redactor for the divine name יהוה; on אֱלֹהִים צְבָאוֹת cf. § 125 h. In ψ 59⁶, 80^{8,20}, and 84⁹ יהוה has been reinstated in the text before אֱלֹהִים צְבָאוֹת.¹

7. Lastly, the nearer definition (qualification) of a noun may be effected by *t* means of a preposition (either with a suffix or with an independent noun), but must then be distinguished from the cases in which the preposition is dependent on a verb or verbal idea, e. g. Gn 3⁶ and she gave also לְאִישָׁהּ עִמָּהּ unto her husband with her (= her husband who was with her); in Gn 9¹⁶ (that I may remember the everlasting covenant between God and every living creature of all flesh) and other places, the qualification of the noun is itself also qualified.

§ 132. Connexion of the Substantive with the Adjective.²

1. The adjective (like the participle used adjectivally), which serves *a* as an *attribute* of a substantive, stands *after* the substantive, and agrees with it in *gender* and *number*, e. g. אִישׁ גָּדוֹל a great man, יָפָה אִשָּׁה a beautiful woman. If the substantive is immediately connected with a genitive, the attribute follows the latter, since, according to § 89 and § 128 a, the construct state and the genitive belonging to it are inseparably united, e. g. Est 8¹⁵ כִּתְרוֹן זָהָב גָּדוֹל a great crown of gold.—On the attribute when attached to a *determinate* substantive, see above, § 126 u.

¹ Without this assumption it would be inconceivable that אֱלֹהִים צְבָאוֹת should not have been written; that the author of these Psalms regarded אֱלֹהִים already as an independent name of God (so Gesenius and Olshausen) is out of the question.

² On the expression of attributive ideas by substantives, cf. above, § 127 h, and § 128 o, with the note; § 135 n and § 141 c (substantives for adjectives as predicates of noun-clauses) and § 152 u (periphrases for negative qualities). On the use of the feminine of adjectives (and participles) to express abstract ideas, see § 122 g. It remains to mention further the employment (mostly only in poetry) of certain epithets in place of the substantives to which the quality in question belongs; e. g. אֲבִיר the strong one, i. e. God; אֲבִיר the strong one, i. e. the bull (in Jer 8¹⁶, &c., the horse); קַל swift = the runner (of the horse, Is 30¹⁶); לְבָנָה alba, i. e. luna; פְּרִיָּה (fructifera) a fruitful tree, Is 17⁶ (so פֶּרֶת Gn 49²²); רֹבֵץ a croucher, i. e. a crouching beast of prey, Gn 4⁷. Cf. also רָזֵן (gravis, augustus) and נִשְׁיָא (elatus?), i. e. a prince. The use of adjectives and participles for substantives is much more extensive in Arabic. In Greek and Latin poetical language cf. such examples as ὑγρή = the sea; merum for vinum, &c.

b Rem. 1. Where an adjectival attribute appears to stand *before* its substantive (according to the usual explanation, for the sake of special emphasis) the relation is really appositional in character; thus, Is 10⁸⁰ עֲנִיָּה עֲתוֹתָ O thou poor one, Anathoth! (but probably עֲנִיָּה answer her, is to be read); cf. 23¹², 53¹¹ (a righteous man, my servant; but in 25²¹ נָר and נָכְרִי are predicates preceding the substantives); Jer 3^{6.10}, ψ 18⁴ him who is worthy to be praised will I call upon, the Lord; 92¹² (apposition after participles).—But רַבִּים and רַבּוֹת many, are sometimes placed, like numerals, before the substantive, Jer 16¹⁶, Neh 9²⁸ (in ψ 145⁷ רַב is a subst. regens, in 89⁵¹ the text is corrupt); an appositional relation can scarcely be intended in these instances.

c 2. In a few expressions (mostly poetic) the adjective appears not as an attribute *after* the substantive, but in the construct state governing it; so in the singular, Ex 15¹⁶ (unless נָזַל should be read); 1 S 16⁷ (the height of his stature); in the plural, 1 S 17⁴⁰ הַלְקֵי אֲבָנִים smooth ones of (among) stones, i.e. smooth stones; Is 35⁹, Ez 7²⁴, ψ 46⁵, and with a following collective instead of a plural, e.g. Is 29¹⁰ אֲבָרֵי אָדָם the poor among men, i.e. poor men; Jer 49²⁰, Zc 11⁷; cf. in Latin *canum degeneres*. However, in almost all these cases the adjective which is made into a *regens* is strongly emphatic, and is frequently equivalent to a superlative (see below, § 133 g).

d 3. When two adjectives follow a feminine, sometimes only that standing next to the noun takes the feminine termination, e.g. 1 K 19¹¹ רֵחַ נְדִלָּה רֵחַ וְגִי (but read נְדִלָּה); 1 S 15⁹ (but cf. § 75 y); Jer 20⁹, ψ 63². A similar dislike of the feminine form may also be observed in the case of verbal predicates referring to feminine subjects, cf. § 145 p and t.

When an attribute qualifies several substantives of different genders, it agrees with the masculine, as being the *prior gender* (cf. § 146 d), e.g. Neh 9¹⁸ חֲסִידִים וְגִמְצוֹת טוֹבִים; Jer 34⁹, Zc 8⁵.

When three attributes follow a substantive, the first two may stand without a conjunction, and the last be attached by *wāw copulative*, cf. Zc 1⁸.

e 4. After feminines plural ending in יָ (cf. § 87 p) the adjectival attribute (in accordance with the fundamental rule stated above, under *a*) takes the ending ת, e.g. Is 10¹⁴ בָּיִצִים עֲזָבוֹת forsaken eggs; Gn 32¹⁶. For a strange exception see Jer 29¹⁷ (differently in 24²).

f 5. With regard to *number* it is to be remarked that—

(a) Substantives in the *dual* are followed by adjectives (or participles) in the *plural*, e.g. ψ 18²⁸ (Pr 6¹⁷) רְמוֹת עֵינַיִם haughty eyes; Is 35³, Jb 4³, cf. § 88 a.

g (b) Collective ideas are not infrequently joined with the *plural* of the adjective or participle (*constructio ad sensum*); thus, e.g. צֹאֵן sheep [with fem. plur.], Gn 30⁴⁵, 1 S 25¹⁸; עָם = men, 1 S 13¹⁵, Is 9¹; כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל = all the Israelites, 1 S 2¹⁴; גְּלוּת = the exiles, Jer 28⁴; cf. also שְׁנֵי נְפָשׁ two souls, Gn 46^{27.1}. Cf. similar phenomena in the connexion of collectives with plural predicates in § 145 c.

h (c) The *pluralis excellentiae* or *pluralis maiestatis* is joined, as a rule, to the singular of the attribute, e.g. ψ 7¹⁰ צַדִּיק אֱלֹהִים; 2 K 19^{4.16} (= Is 37^{4.17}); Is 19⁴; but cf. אֱלֹהִים הָיִים Dt 5²³, 1 S 17^{26.36}, Jer 10¹⁰, 23³⁶, perhaps also

¹ But it is impossible to take חֲמִיטִים in Ez 46⁶ as an attribute of בָּקָר; probably it is a correction intended to harmonize the passage with Nu 28¹¹, where two young bullocks are required.

² Cf. 1 S 28¹³, where אֱלֹהִים (in the sense of a spirit) is followed by עֲלִים as a second accusative; conversely in 1 S 19^{13.16}, a singular suffix refers back

Ex 20³ אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים = *another god*, and Jos 24¹⁹ אֱלֹהִים קְרָשִׁים (but cf. above, § 124 g-h). On the other hand, 1 S 4⁸ is to be explained as having been said by the Philistines, who supposed that the Israelites had several gods. On the connexion of אֱלֹהִים with a plural predicate, see § 145 i.

2. On the adjective (in the construct state) governing a following genitive, see § 128 x; for the participle in the same construction, see § 116 f-l.

§ 133. *The Comparison of Adjectives. (Periphrastic Expression of the Comparative and Superlative.)*

A. Wünsche, 'Der Komparativ im Hebr. im Lichte der arab. Gramm.,' in *Vierteljahrsschrift für Bibelkunde*, 1904, p. 398 ff.

1. Hebrew possesses no special forms either for the comparative or *a* superlative of the adjective.¹ In order to express a comparative, the person or thing which is to be represented as excelled in some particular quality is attached to the attributive word by the preposition מִן (מִי), e. g. 1 S 9² גְּבוּהַ מִכָּל-הָעָם *higher than any of the people*. The fundamental idea evidently is, *tall away from all the people* (beyond all the people); cf. Ju 14¹⁸ מַה-מֵּתוֹק מִדְּבַשׁ וְמָה עוֹז מִלֵּאָוִי *what is sweeter than honey? and what is stronger than a lion?* Ez 28³, Am 6². Frequently an infinitive appears as the object of the comparison, e. g. Gn 29¹⁹ *it is better that I give her to thee, than that I should give her*, &c.; Ex 14¹², ψ 118^{8f}.²

Rem. 1. This use of מִן is also very common when the attributive idea is *b* represented by an intransitive verb, e. g. 1 S 10²⁸ וַיִּגְבְּהַ מִכָּל-הָעָם *and he was higher than any of the people*; Na 3⁸, Jb 7⁶. Elsewhere, especially after transitive verbs, מִן rather represents (on its different senses see § 119 v-z) the idea

תְּרַפִּים household god (but not so in Gn 31³⁴), as in ψ 46⁴ to the plural of amplification יָמִים *sea*. On the other hand, it is very doubtful whether רַבָּה ψ 78¹⁵ is to be regarded as an attribute of תְּהוֹמֹת and not rather as the adverb, *abundantly*.

¹ There is in Arabic a special form of the adjective (the *elative*) for the comparative and superlative, which in Hebrew would have the form אֶתְמַל. Instances of it, perhaps, are אֶתְמַלֵּךְ *daring*, *cruel*, אֶתְמַלֵּיב *deceptive* (of a brook drying up), and its opposite אֶתְמַלֵּן (contracted from *ailan*) *constantly flowing, perennial*. These forms are, however, used without any perceptible emphasis, and cannot be regarded as more than isolated relics of an elative formation which has become obsolete, much as the Latin comparative disappears in Italian, and still more so in French, and is supplanted by the circumlocution with *più*, *plus*.

² In Ju 11²⁵ the adjective is specially intensified by repetition, *art thou so much better than Balak?* It would also be possible, however, to translate *art thou really better . . . ?*

of a separation, distinction or superiority of one person or thing from or over others.¹ This is evident in such cases as בָּחַר מֶן- to choose something (to prefer it) before something else, e.g. Jb 7¹⁵, cf. Dt 14² (also מֶן- . . . יִתְרוֹן the excellence of . . . over . . . , Ec 2¹³); it is also seen in examples like Gn 37² וַיִּשְׂרָאֵל אָהַב אֶת-יוֹסֵף מִכָּל-בְּנָיו now Israel loved Joseph more than all his (other) children; 29³⁰, 1 S 2²⁹, Ho 6^{6,2}

- C 2. A somewhat different idea underlies the use of מֶן- after adjectives, or intransitive verbs possessing an attributive sense, when the thought to be expressed is that the quality is too little or too much in force for the attainment of a particular aim or object, e.g. Is 7¹³ הַמְעַט מִכֶּם is it a small thing (i.e. too little) for you to . . . ? Jb 15¹¹; after an intransitive verb, e.g. Gn 32¹¹ I am too insignificant (קָטָנִי) for all the mercies (I am not worthy of . . .), &c.; cf. also the expressions כָּבֵד מֶן- to be too heavy for one, Ex 18¹³, Nu 11¹⁴, ψ 38⁵; קָשָׁה מֶן- to be too hard for one, Dt 1⁷; מְעַט מֶן- to be too few for something, Ex 12⁴; גָּבֵר מֶן- to be too strong for one, ψ 65⁴; עֶצֶם מֶן- to be too mighty for one, Gn 26¹⁶; גָּבֵר מֶן- to be too high for one, ψ 61³; צָר מֶן- to be too narrow for one, Is 49¹⁰; קָצֵר מֶן- to be too short for something, Is 50², and very frequently נִפְלֵא מֶן- to be too wonderful for one (and, consequently, inconceivable or unattainable), Gn 18¹⁴, Dt 17⁸, 30¹¹, Jer 37¹⁷, Pr 30¹⁸; in ψ 139⁶ פְּלִיאָה in the same sense is followed by מֶן.—This use is especially seen in the numerous instances in which the attribute is followed by מֶן- with an infinitive, e.g. 1 K 8⁸⁴ the brazen altar . . . was קָטָן מְהֵרָא too little to receive (to be able to receive) the burnt offering, cf. Gn 4¹³, 36⁷ too great for them to dwell together; after verbs, e.g. Ex 12⁴, Is 28²⁶, ψ 40⁶. Finally, cf. רַב לָכֶם מֶן- followed by the infinitive, it is enough (prop. too much) for you to . . . , meaning ye have . . . long enough, 1 K 12²⁸; cf. Ex 9²⁸ and Ez 44⁶ (מֶן- followed by a substantive).³

- d In all these instances מֶן- expresses either the removal of a thing from a person, or the severance of the person from some aim or object; cf. also the expression לֹא-יִבָּצֵר מֵהֶם לָל וְגו' nothing will be unattainable for them (prop. there shall not be cut off from them anything which, &c.), Gn 11⁶, Jb 42³.

- e 3. The attributive idea, on which מֶן- logically depends, must sometimes, in consequence of a pregnant use of the מֶן- (see the analogous examples in § 119. f), be supplied from the context, e.g. Is 10¹⁰ וּפְסִלֵיהֶם מִיִּרְשָׁלַיִם whose graven images were more numerous than those at Jerusalem, &c.;⁴ Mi 7⁴ worse than a thorn hedge; ψ 62¹⁰ lighter than a breath; Jb 11¹⁷ clearer than the noonday; Ec 4¹⁷ better than, &c.

¹ Cf. the Latin ablative with the comparative; also the etymology of such words as *eximius*, *egregius*, and the Homeric *ἐκ πάντων μάλιστα*, Il. 4, 96; *ἐκ πασιών*, 18, 431.

² On the other hand, the phrase צָדַק מֶן- expresses not a comparison, but only a relation existing between one person and another; thus, in Gn 38²⁶ צָדַקָה מִמֶּנִּי means, she is in the right as against me; cf. ψ 139¹², Jb 4¹⁷, 32.—In Pr 17¹² rather (to meet with so and so) than . . . is expressed by וְאַל- before the second member.

³ Cf. also 2 K 4³, where the idea of doing something too little is paraphrased by the Hiph. הִמְעַט = do not too little, sc. לִשְׁאֵל in borrowing empty vessels.

⁴ With this *comparatio decurtata*, cf. the still bolder pregnant construction in ψ 4⁸, מֵעֵת גְּדֹלָה greater gladness than at the time, &c.

2. The correlative comparatives *greater—less* (*older—younger*) are *f* expressed by the simple adjective with the article (*the great*, equivalent to *the greater*, &c.); Gn 1¹⁶, 19^{31, 34}, 27¹⁵, 29^{16, 18, 26}.

3. To express the *superlative* it is also sufficient (see above, *f*) to *g* make the adjective determinate, either by means of the article or a following partitive genitive (or suffix); in this case the article or genitive indicates that the attribute in question belongs especially to one or more definite individuals; ¹ e. g. 1 S 9²¹ הַצֶּעִרָה *the least*; 16¹¹ הַקָּטָן *the little one*, i. e. *the youngest* of eight sons; 17¹⁴ דָּוִד *was the youngest, and the three great*, i. e. *elder*, &c.; Gn 42¹³, 44², Ct 1⁸.—So also with a qualifying adjective, e. g. Gn 9²⁴ בְּנוֹ הַקָּטָן *his youngest son*; cf. Jos 14¹⁵; also with a following genitive, 2 Ch 21¹⁷ קָטָן בְּבָנָיו *the youngest of his sons*: Pr 30²⁴ *the least upon the earth*; with suffix, Mi 7⁴ טוֹבָם *their good one*, i. e. *the best of them*; Jon 3⁵ מְדוּלָּה *from the greatest of them even to the least of them*; cf. the inverse order in Jer 6¹³, 31³⁴.

Rem. 1. The above examples apply only to the most common *relative h* attributes (*great, small, good*), and to expressions which by usage easily came to be recognized as periphrases for the superlative. Other adjectives, however, when followed by a partitive genitive, also acquire the sense of a superlative; this appears from the context, e. g. Dt 33¹⁹ *the most hidden treasures of the sand*; Ju 5²⁹ *the wisest amongst her ladies*; Is 14²⁰, 19¹¹, 23⁶⁷, 29¹³, Jer 49²⁰, Ez 28⁷, Ze 11⁷, ψ 45¹³, Jb 30⁶ (*in the most horrible of valleys*), 41²²; probably also ψ 35¹⁶. On this government by the adjective generally, cf. § 132 c.—Moreover, the combination of a substantive in the construct state with an adjective used substantively (§ 128 w) sometimes serves as a periphrasis for the superlative, e. g. Is 22²⁴ כָּלִי הַקָּטָן *all the smallest vessels*. On Ct 7¹⁰ see § 126 x.

2. Other periphrases for the superlative are the use of a substantive in the construct state before the plural of the same word (which is naturally to be regarded as a partitive genitive; cf. our *book of books*), e. g. Ex 26³³ קֹדֶשׁ הַקֹּדָשִׁים (= *servus servorum, the lowest servant*); Nu 3³², Dt 10¹⁷ (ψ 136^{2, 3}) ²; 1 K 8²⁷, Is 34¹⁰ (cf. Gal 1⁸, Rev 22⁸); Jer 3¹⁹, Ez 16⁷, 26⁷ (*king of kings*, of Nebuchadrezzar; cf. 1 Tim 6¹⁵, Rev 17¹⁴, 19¹⁶, and another kind of periphrasis in ψ 95³); Ec 1¹². Similarly in Jer 6²⁸ two participles are combined, and in Ho 10¹⁵ two substantives in the singular. Finally, the same object is attained by connecting one substantive in the construct state with another of the same stem (שַׁבַּת שְׁבֻתוֹ *a sabbath of solemn rest*, i. e. *an obligatory day of rest*, Ex 31¹⁵, &c.) or of the same meaning (e. g. חֹשֶׁךְ אֲפֵלֶה *a thick darkness*, Ex 10²²).

3. The intensification of attributes by means of repetition belongs rather *k* to rhetoric than to syntax, e. g. Ec 7²⁴ עֲמֹק עֲמֹק *exceeding deep*; 1 S 2³, Pr 20¹⁴; the adjective is even used three times in Is 6³.—Cf. the repetition of adverbs for the same purpose in Gn 7¹⁹, Nu 14⁷ (מְאֹד מְאֹד *exceedingly*, also מְאֹד בְּמְאֹד Ex 17, &c.); Ez 42¹⁵.—On the other hand, in Dt 28⁴³ the repetition expresses

¹ Cf. also עֲלִיּוֹן *the one above*, i. e. *the Most High*.

² *God of gods, and Lord of lords*, just as the supreme god of the Babylonians is called *bēl bēlī* (Tiele, *Compend. der Rel.-Gesch.*, p. 87).

a continuous progress, *higher and higher . . . lower and lower*; in Dt 2²⁷ (see § 123 e) and 16²⁰ (*nothing but justice*) the constancy of the action. Cf. Ex 23³⁰ *כְּעֵט כְּעֵט* *little by little, very gradually*.¹

- l The repetition of substantives serves also as a periphrasis for the superlative in such cases as *לָרֶר רֶר* (Ex 3¹⁵) = *to the remotest generations*; cf. 17¹⁶, Jer 6¹⁴, 8¹¹ (*perfect peace*); Ez 21³² (*עָנָה* three times);² 35⁷, Na 1²; cf. also Ho 2^{21 f.} and the emphatic combination of synonymous verbs in Is 33¹⁰. Sometimes the completeness of an action or state is expressed by placing together two or even three substantives of the same stem and of similar sound, cf. Is 22⁵, Ez 6¹⁴ (33^{28 f.}, 35³); 32¹⁶, Na 2¹¹, Zp 1¹⁵ (Jb 30³, 38²⁷).

§ 134. Syntax of the Numerals.

Cf. the exhaustive statistics collected by Sven Herner, *Syntax der Zahlwörter im A. T.*, Lund, 1893. E. König, 'Zur Syntax der Zahlwörter im A. T.', *AJSL*, xviii. 129 ff.

- a 1. The numerals from 2 to 10, as being originally abstract substantives,³ may be connected with their substantives in three different ways. They may stand either—
- (a) In the construct state *before* the substantive (the object numbered being consequently in the genitive), e.g. *שְׁלֹשֶׁת יָמִים* *a triad of days*, i. e. three days; *שְׁנֵי הָאֲנָשִׁים* *the two men*; or
- b (b) In the absolute state *before* it (the object numbered being in apposition, § 131 d), e.g. *שְׁלֹשָׁה בָּנִים* *a triad, viz. sons*, i. e. three sons; *שְׁנֵים אֲנָשִׁים* *two men*; or
- c (c) In the absolute state (likewise in apposition) *after* the object numbered, e.g. *בָּנוּת שְׁלוֹשׁ*. So especially in long lists, since in these the substantives naturally come first, e.g. Gn 32¹⁵, Nu 7¹⁷, 28¹⁹. Apart from such cases, the frequency of this order in the later Books is due to the fact that the character of the numeral tended more and more to become adjectival rather than substantival.⁴

¹ Adverbs of the same stem are connected in this way in Nu 6³, Is 29⁵, 30¹³; of different stems in Is 5²⁶ and Jo 4⁴. In Nu 12² the particles *אֵף אֵף* appear to be placed together for a similar purpose, equivalent to *simply and solely*.

² Different in kind from the triple utterance of the same words in 2 S 18³³, Jer 7⁴ and 22²⁹, and the double exclamation in Jer 4¹⁹ and La 1¹⁶ (?).

³ Cf. § 97 a, where it is shown that the masculine is the original form of the numerals (used for both genders), and that the feminine was afterwards differentiated and used with masc. nouns, primarily in the second decade and then in the first as well.

⁴ From Herner's tables (op. cit., pp. 55-66) it appears, according to p. 68, that in the documents J, E, D of the Pentateuch, and in Jos 1-12, Judges, Samuel, Isaiah, Jeremiah, the Minor Prophets, Psalms, Megilloth, and Job, the numeral never, or very rarely, stands *after* its noun; in Kings and Ezekiel it stands several times *after*; in the Priestly Code nearly always *after*; in Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Daniel, nearly as often *after* as *before* the noun. In Ex 28¹⁰ the Masora makes the numeral in the genitive follow the construct state of the substantive numbered; we should, however, read *וְאֵת־שְׁמוֹת הַשָּׁשֶׁה*; for the omission of the article before *ש'*, cf. § 126 w.

Rem. In Lv 24²² מִשְׁפָּחַת follows the construct state מִשְׁפָּחַת, but here as in *d* Nu 15¹⁶ מִשְׁפָּחַת should be read. In Gn 42¹⁹ מִשְׁפָּחַת is in apposition to a substantive with a suffix (= *one of you brethren*; but verse 33 *the one of you brethren*). In Nu 31²⁸ מִשְׁפָּחַת precedes the substantive in the Aramaic manner (= *one each*).—For מִשְׁפָּחַת שְׁנָה (Gn 17¹⁷, &c.) we find regularly in the Priestly Code (except in Gn 17¹⁷, 23¹) מִשְׁפָּחַת שְׁנָה (Gn 5³, &c.) *an hundred years*. On the connexion of abstract numerals with suffixes, as שְׁנֵי שָׁנִים *their duality*, i. e. *they two*, Gn 2²⁵, &c. (also with a strengthening separate pronoun, as שְׁנֵינוּ אֲנִיחָנוּ 1 S 20⁴²), cf. § 97 i.

2. The numerals from 2 to 10 take the object numbered in the *e* plural,¹ with very few exceptions, such as Ex 16²³ (where שְׁנֵי הַטֶּמֶר = *the double of an omer*), 2 K 22¹, Ez 45¹, cf. 2 K 8¹⁷ and 25¹⁷ *Keith*. The numerals from 11 to 19 generally take the plural, but with certain substantives frequently used with numerals the singular is more common (see further, under *f*). The tens (from 20 to 90), when they precede, take the singular (in the accusative, cf. § 131 *p*) of certain nouns frequently used with numerals (אֶלֶף *a thousand*, אִישׁ, יוֹם, בֵּר, נֶפֶשׁ, שָׁקֶל—but only in Ezekiel and the Priestly Code), otherwise the plural, as בָּנִים, בָּנוֹת, פָּרִים (but cf. also Ju 11³³), &c.; on the other hand, the plural is necessary when they follow the object numbered in apposition (e. g. אַמּוֹת עֶשְׂרִים *twenty cubits*, 2 Ch 3³⁴; with the exception of 2 S 24²⁴, only in late Books). After מֵאָה and אֶלֶף the substantive numbered may be used either in the singular or plural, see further under *g*.

Rem. 1. After the numerals from 11 to 19 the singular is used, as a rule, *f* with יוֹם *day*, שְׁנָה *year*, אִישׁ *man*, נֶפֶשׁ *soul* (person), שֵׁבֶט *tribe*, מַצֵּבָה *pillar* (Ex 24⁴), sometimes with אַמָּה *cubit*, חֹדֶשׁ *month*, עִיר *city*, שֶׁקֶל *shekel* (compare our *four-year-old*, *ten pound*), e. g. Dt 1² אַחֲרַי עֶשְׂרִי יוֹם (cf., however, such exceptions as Dt 1²³, Jos 4², &c.).—Substantives other than these are used in the plural with the numerals from 11 to 19, and the numeral may even follow the substantive, especially in later passages, as Nu 7²⁷, 1 Ch 4²⁷, 25⁵.

2. After מֵאָה (מֵאֹת) [so almost exclusively in the Priestly Code, e. g. always *g* מֵאֹת אֶלֶף], מֵאֹת, (מֵאֹתִים) and אֶלֶף (אֶלֶפִים) the substantives אִישׁ, אֶלֶף, אַמָּה (except in Ez 40²⁷), יוֹם, רֶגֶל, זָמֶר are regularly used in the singular, generally also שְׁנָה, כֶּבֶד, בֵּר, שָׁקֶל (with the exception of Jos 7²¹, 2 S 14²⁶, &c.); cf., moreover, Gn 33¹⁹, 24⁸⁰ (אֶלֶפִי רֶבֶבָה), Est 1¹, Ju 21¹², Dt 7⁹, 1 K 5¹², 2 Ch 9¹⁵.—Examples of the plural after מֵאָה are Gn 26¹², 1 S 15²⁵, 2 S 16¹, 1 K 15⁴; after מֵאֹת Ex 38²⁷; after מֵאֹתִים Ju 15⁴, 2 S 8⁴, 1 K 10¹⁷,

¹ On examples such as Gn 46²⁷ נֶפֶשׁ שְׁנֵי (two souls), cf. § 132 *g* (collectives joined with the plural of the adjective).

Ez 42¹⁷; after מֵאָתַיִם 1 S 25¹⁸, 1 K 7²⁰; after אֶלְפֵי 1 S 25², 1 K 3⁴, 5⁶, 2 K 3⁴, ψ 90⁴; after אֲלָפִים 1 S 17⁵, Jb 42¹²; after אֶלְפֵי Mi 6⁷; after אֲלָפִים Is 36⁸.—In Dn 12¹¹ the plural יָמִים precedes the numeral *twelve hundred*.

- h* 3. Numerals compounded of tens and units (like 21, 62) take the object numbered either *after* them in the singular (in the accusative), e. g. Gn 5²⁰ שְׁנָה וְשִׁשִּׁים וְשִׁשִּׁים *two and sixty years* (שְׁנָה in the singular, according to *e*, since it conforms to the ten immediately preceding; but also שְׁנָה וְשִׁשִּׁים וְשִׁשִּׁים Dt 2¹⁴), or *before* them in the plural, especially in the later Books, Dn 9²⁶, &c.; or the object is repeated (but only in 1 K 6¹, and the Priestly Code; sometimes even several times, e. g. Gn 23¹, 25^{7, 17} thrice) in the plural with the units, and in the singular with the tens and hundreds, e. g. Gn 12⁴ חֲמִשָּׁן שָׁנִים וְשִׁבְעִים *seventy and five years*; Gn 23¹ מֵאָה שָׁנָה וְעֶשְׂרִים שָׁנָה וְשִׁבְעָה שָׁנִים *an hundred and twenty and seven years*. Cf. Gn 5²².

- i* Rem. 1. It may further be remarked with regard to the order, that the thousand or thousands always precede the hundreds, &c., and the hundreds almost always come before the smaller numbers (in Kings and Ezekiel sometimes, and in the Priestly Code usually, after the smaller numbers), the tens in the earlier Books (documents J and D of the Pentateuch, in Joshua 1-12, Judges, Samuel, Isaiah, and also in Ezra and Nehemiah) *before* the units, but in Jeremiah, Ezekiel, the Priestly Code, Joshua 13-24 *after* the units (see Herner, op. cit., p. 73). After the hundreds the smaller number is very frequently added without וְ, especially in Ezra, Nehemiah, and Daniel.

On the syntax of the cardinals in general:—

- k* 2. The cardinals are determined by the article, when they refer back (without being connected with the object numbered; cf., however, Lv 25^{10 f.}, Nu 16²⁵, Jos 4⁴, 2 S 23¹³) to a number or list already mentioned, e. g. Gn 21¹ שֵׁם הָאִחָד בִּישׁוֹן *the name of the one (the first) is Pishon*; Gn 14⁹ *four kings against the five* (enumerated in verse 2); cf. 1 Ch 11^{20 f.}, and the determinate tens in Gn 18^{29, 31 f.} A demonstrative with the article may also be added to a numeral determined in this way, e. g. Dt 19⁹ (but cf. also Gn 9¹⁰, 22²³, where the numeral and demonstrative are practically determinate in themselves). In the case of the numerals from 11 to 19 the article may stand either before the unit (1 Ch 25¹⁹, 27¹⁵) or before עָשָׂר (Jos 4⁴); it is used before all three members of a compound number (273) in Nu 3⁴⁶.

- l* In apposition with any determinate substantive the cardinal number is used *without* the article, not only when it precedes the substantive, as in Jos 15¹⁴ אֶת־שְׁלוֹשָׁה בְּנֵי הַעֲנָק (where שְׁלוֹשָׁה is equivalent to a substantive determinate in itself; cf. Gn 18²³, Jos 6^{8, 22}, 1 S 17¹⁴, 1 K 11³¹, and the passages discussed above in § 126 *z*, Gn 21²⁹, &c.), but also when it follows the substantive, e. g. 1 K 7^{27, 43 f.} עֶשְׂרֵה וְעֶשְׂרִים; the omission of the article may here, as in the cases noticed in § 126 *z*, be also due to the dislike of a hiatus, but cf. also שְׁנָיִם 2 K 25¹⁶ after a determinate substantive. The fact that it is by nature determinate would also be a very simple explanation of אֶחָד Nu 28⁴, 1 S 13^{17 f.}, Jer 24², Ez 10⁹, instead of the more usual הָאֶחָד, and of אֶחָת 1 S 1² for הָאֶחָת.

Such cases as *שְׁבַעַת הַיָּמִים* Ju 14¹⁷ (which is determined by a following *m* determinate genitive) are explained from § 127 *b*; 1 Ch 9²⁵ perhaps from § 126 *q*; in Is 30²⁶ probably the light of all the seven days of the week is meant; on the other hand, in 1 S 9²⁰ and 25³⁸ the article is, with Wellhausen, to be omitted.

3. Certain specifications of *measure, weight, or time*, are commonly omitted *n* after numerals, e.g. Gn 20¹⁶ *אַלְפָּה כֶּסֶף* *a thousand (shekels) of silver*; so also before *וְהָב* Gn 24²², 1 K 10¹⁶, Is 7²³, cf. *פ* 119⁷². Moreover, Ru 3¹⁵ *שֵׁשׁ שְׁעָרִים* *six (ephahs) of barley*; 1 S 10⁴ *שְׁתֵּי-לֶחֶם* *two (sc. loaves, see verse 3) of bread*, cf. 17¹⁷ *עֶשְׂרֵה לֶחֶם*; 2 S 16¹, where before *כֶּיץ* a measure, or perhaps some term like *cakes*, is to be supplied.—The number of cubits is stated in the Priestly Code (Ex 26², &c.) and in 1 K 6 and 7 (otherwise only in Ez 40^{5,21}, 47⁸, Ze 5², 1 Ch 11²³, 2 Ch 4²¹.) by the addition of *בְּאַמָּה* prop. *by the cubit*. Also in Ex 27¹¹ the Samaritan and LXX read *בְּאַמָּה* after *אַרְבֶּה*, and in 27¹⁵ *אַמָּה* after *עֶשְׂרֵה*.

4. The *ordinals* above 10 have no special forms, but are expressed *o* by the corresponding cardinals, which may then stand either before or after the object numbered, e.g. Gn 7¹¹ *בְּשִׁבְעָה עָשָׂר יָמִים* *on the seventeenth day*; Dt 1³ *בְּאַרְבָּעִים שָׁנָה* *in the fortieth year*; cf. Gn 14⁵, 2 K 25²⁷, and, with repetition of *שָׁנָה* in a compound number, 1 K 6¹; such a cardinal occurs without *בְּ* (and therefore in the *accus. temporis*, according to § 118 *k*) in Gn 14⁴ (the Samaritan, however, has *רַב־שָׁנָה*); with the article (but without a numbered object, see under *k*), 1 K 19¹⁹.¹—On the position of the numeral as a genitive following its noun, cf. e.g. 1 K 16¹⁰ *בְּשִׁנֹּת עָשָׂרִים וְשִׁבְעִים* *in the twenty and seventh year*, and with a determinate numeral, Ex 12¹⁸, Nu 33³⁸, Dt 15⁹. In this case, however, *שָׁנָה* is very frequently repeated, e.g. Gn 7¹¹, 2 K 13¹⁰; after a determinate numeral, Lv 25¹⁰.²

Rem. In numbering days of the month and years, the cardinals are very *p* frequently used instead of the ordinals even for the numbers from 1 to 10, e.g. *בְּשִׁנֹּת שְׁתַּיִם* 1 K 15²⁵; *בְּשִׁנֹּת שְׁלֹשׁ* 2 K 18¹, &c., cf. Dt 15⁹. The months themselves are always numbered by the ordinals (*בְּרֵאשִׁי, בְּשֵׁנִי, &c.*, up to *בְּעֶשְׂרִי*), but not the days of the month, e.g. *בְּאַחַד לַחֹדֶשׁ* Gn 8⁵, &c., *בְּאַרְבָּעָה לַחֹדֶשׁ* Ze 7¹; *בְּחִמְשָׁה לַחֹדֶשׁ* Ez 1¹, &c., *בְּשִׁבְעָה לַחֹדֶשׁ* 2 K 25⁸, *בְּתִשְׁעָה לַחֹדֶשׁ* Lv 23³² (always, however, *בְּעָשֶׂר לַחֹדֶשׁ* *on the tenth day of the month*). On the

¹ Somewhat different from this is Ex 19¹⁵ *לְשָׁלֹשֶׁת יָמִים* prop. *after three days*, i.e. *on the third day* (in verses 11 and 16 and in Ezr 10⁸ the ordinal is used), also 1 S 30¹³ *שָׁלֹשָׁה יְמֵי חֲלִיתִי הָיָה* *because three days ago I fell sick*, prop. *10-day three (days)*.

² All these expressions may indeed be explained by supposing that, e.g. in Lv 25¹⁰, the proper meaning is *the year of the fifty years* which it completed, i.e. the fiftieth year; but it is more correct to regard *שְׁנַת* or *בְּשִׁנֹּת* in such cases not as a real *nomen regens*, but simply as a connective form to be explained on the analogy of the cases mentioned in § 128 *k*.

omission of יום in all these cases see under n; only in late passages is יום added, e.g. 2 Ch 29¹⁷ בַּיּוֹם שְׁמוֹנֶה עָרָשׁ; Ezr 3⁶ מִיּוֹם אֶחָד לַחֲרֹשׁ.—Finally, when the year is stated by בְּשָׁנָה governing a determinate ordinal, viz. 2 K 17⁶ בְּשָׁנָה הַתְּשִׁיעִית *in the ninth year*; 2 K 25¹ (in Jer 52⁴ בְּשָׁנָה), Jer 28¹ K^{eth.}, 32¹ K^{eth.}, 46², 51⁵⁹, Ezr 7⁸; בְּשָׁנָה in such cases is again (see note 2 on o) to be explained according to § 128 k. This is supported by the fact that the Masora on Jer 28¹, 32¹ requires in the Q^{ere} בְּשָׁנָה for בשנת.

q 5. *Distributives* are expressed either by repetition of the cardinal number, e.g. Gn 7^{9,15} שְׁנַיִם וְשְׁנַיִם *two and two*; 2 S 21²⁰ שֵׁשׁ וְשֵׁשׁ *six each*; with the numbered object also repeated, e.g. Jos 3¹² אֶחָד לְאֶחָד *for every tribe a man*; Nu 13², 34¹⁸ (אֶחָד מֵן), as in Neh 11¹, *one out of every ten*; cf. § 123 d; or a periphrasis with לְאֶחָד is used, Nu 17¹⁸, Dt 1²⁸, cf. Is 6² לְאֶחָד after *six wings* twice repeated; the simple distributive לְ is, however, sufficient (as in לְכַתְּוֹבִים, § 123 c), e.g. לְמֵאוֹת וּלְאַלְפִים *by hundreds and by thousands*.

r 6. The *multiplicatives* are expressed either (like the ordinals above 10, see under o) by the cardinals (in the feminine, probably owing to the omission of פְּעַם; so König, *Lehrgeb.*, ii. 228), as שְׁתַּיִם *twice*, Jb 40⁵; שֶׁבַע *seven times*, Lv 26^{21,24}, Pr 24¹⁶; cf. also אֶחָת *once*, 2 K 6¹⁰, Jb 40⁵, for which in Jb 33¹⁴ בְּאַחַת along with בְּשְׁתַּיִם (the latter also in 1 S 18²¹); or by the *dual* of the numeral, thus שְׁבַעַתַּיִם Gn 4¹⁵ (in verse 24 along with the cardinal 77 for 77 times); Is 30²⁶, ψ 12⁷, 79¹²; אַרְבַּעַתַּיִם 2 S 12⁶; or periphrastically by פְּעַם *a time* (prop. *a step*, with the article, הַפְּעַם *this time*; cf. also הַזֶּה above), as אֶחָת פְּעַם *once* (Neh 13²⁰ וּשְׁתַּיִם *once and twice*), שְׁלֹשׁ רָגְלִים *twice*, שְׁלֹשׁ פְּעַמִּים (for which in Ex 23¹⁴, Nu 22^{28,32} שְׁלֹשׁ רָגְלִים *three times*; cf. Ez 41⁶ *thirty-three times*; 2 S 24³ *an hundred times*; Dt 1¹¹ *a thousand times*; 1 K 22¹⁶ עַד-כַּמּוֹה פְּעַמִּים *until how many times*, i.e. how often. Cf. also עֶשְׂרֵת מַנִּים *ten times*, Gn 31^{7,14}, and רַבּוֹת עֵתִים *many times*, Neh 9²⁸.—In Gn 43³⁴, *five times* is expressed by הַמִּשׁ רִדּוֹת (prop. *five hands*),³ and in Ex 16⁵ the *double* is expressed by מִשְׁגָּה עַל- (prop. *a repetition over and above that which*, &c.).—Of the ordinals שְׁנִי is used as a numeral adverb, Gn 22¹⁵, &c., *a second time*, cf. the Latin *tertium consul*; בְּשִׁלִּישׁ *the third time*, 1 S 3⁸; פְּעַם הַמִּשִּׁית *a fifth time*, Neh 6⁵; בְּשִׁבְעִית *at the seventh (time)*, 1 K 18⁴⁴, and בְּפַעַם הַשִּׁי Jos 6¹⁶.

¹ But בְּאַחַת Nu 10⁴ is to be translated *on one* (trumpet).

² Probably also כְּפָלִים Jb 11⁶ (from כָּפַל *doubling*) does not mean *doubled* but *manifold*.

³ But הַמִּשׁ רִדּוֹת Gn 47²⁴ means *the (other) four parts*; cf. 2 K 11⁷, Neh 11¹.

Rem. The collocation of a numeral with the next above it (either in the same or in different sentences) is a rhetorical device employed in *numerical sayings* to express a number, which need not, or cannot, be more exactly specified. It must be gathered from the context whether such formulae are intended to denote only an insignificant number (e.g. Is 17⁶, *two* or at the most *three*), or a considerable number, e.g. Mi 5⁴. Sometimes, however, this juxtaposition serves to express merely an indefinite total, without the collateral idea of intensifying the lower by means of the higher number. Thus *one* and *two* are connected by וְ, Dt 32³⁰, Jer 3¹⁴, Jb 33¹⁴, 40⁵ (without וְ, ψ 62¹²); *two* and *three*, Is 17⁶ (Sirac 23¹⁶, 26²⁸, 56²⁸), and without וְ, 2 K 9³², Ho 6², Am 4⁸; *three* and *four*, Jer 36²³, Am 1³⁻¹¹, Pr 30¹⁸, 21²⁰ (Sirac 26⁵), and without וְ, Pr 30¹⁵; *four* and *five*, without וְ, Is 17⁶; *six* and *seven*, Jb 5¹⁹, Pr 6¹⁶; *seven* and *eight*, Mi 5⁴, Ec 11²; (*nine* and *ten*, Sirac 25⁷).

III. Syntax of the Pronoun.

§ 135. *The Personal Pronoun.*

1. The *separate* pronouns,—apart from their employment as the *a* subject in noun-clauses (cf. § 141 a) and the idiom mentioned under *d-h*,—are used, according to § 32 b, as a rule, only to give express emphasis to the subject; e.g. Gn 16⁵, 2 S 24¹⁷ אֲנִי i.e. *I myself*, so also אֲנִי 2 S 12²⁸, 17¹⁵ (after the verb), Ez 34¹⁵, ψ 2⁶;¹ but 1 S 10¹⁸, 2 S 12⁷, Is 45¹² אֲנִי *I* and none else; cf. also אֲנִי אֲנִי *I, I* Ho 5¹⁴, &c.; אֲתָה Gn 15¹⁵, Ju 15¹⁸, 1 S 17⁵⁶ (as in 20⁸, 22¹⁸, Ex 18¹⁹, Dt 5²⁴, Ju 8²¹, after the imperative); 1 K 21⁷; אֲתָם Gn 9⁷, Ex 20¹⁰ (after the verb, Ju 15¹³); fem. Gn 31⁶; הִיא 1 S 22¹⁸; הִיא Gn 3²⁰, Ju 14³; הִנֵּה Jer 5⁵.— Sometimes, however, the separate pronoun appears to be placed before the verb more on rhythmical grounds, i.e. in order to give the statement a fuller sound than that of the bare verbal form (cf. the similar use of the infinitive absolute, § 113 o). Thus Gn 14²³, ψ 139², and most clearly in such passages as Gn 21²⁴, 47³⁰, Ex 8²⁴, Ju 6¹⁸, 11⁹, 1 S 12²⁰, 2 S 3¹³, 21⁶, 1 K 2¹³ (in solemn promises). The same explanation applies to אֲנִי at the beginning of sentences, e.g. Gn 24⁴⁵, Ho 5³, 10¹¹, 12¹¹, ψ 39¹¹, 82⁶, Jb 5³.²

Rem. 1. Different from this is the pleonastic addition of the separate *b* pronoun immediately after the verb (according to Delitzsch on Ct 5² perhaps

¹ Also הוּא, הִיא *he himself, she herself* (of persons and things), e.g. Is 7¹⁴ הוּא אֲרָנִי *the Lord himself*; Est 9¹ הַיְּהוּדִים הֵמָּה *the Jews themselves*. In the sense of *the same* (ὁ αὐτός) or (*one and*) *the same*, הוּא is used in Is 41⁴, 43^{10,13}, 46⁴, 48¹² (always הוּא אֲנִי), ψ 102²⁸ (אֲתָה הוּא), and probably also Jb 3¹⁹.—The position of הֵמָּה, as an accusative of the object, before a perfect in 1 Ch 9²², can at most be explained on the analogy of Aramaic (Ezr 5¹²).

² As early as the Mēša' inscription (line 21 ff.) אֲנִי frequently stands at the beginning of a new sentence after the dividing stroke.

a trace of popular language), e.g. 1 S 23²² (?), Ct 5⁵, and (like other indications of the very late origin of the book) very frequently in Ecclesiastes, e.g. 1¹⁶, 2^{11,15}, 3¹⁷, and thirteen other places; in Aramaic, Dn 5¹⁶.

- c 2. Substantival subjects also are somewhat frequently resumed, and thus expressly emphasized, by the insertion of the corresponding separate pronoun of the 3rd person before the predicate is stated, e.g. Gn 3¹² *the woman whom thou gavest to be with me, she* (היא) gave me, &c.; 14²⁴ (הם); 15⁴, 24⁷, &c.; but היא in Is 7¹⁴ after the predicate and subject is equivalent to *he himself*.¹

- d 2. Not infrequently the separate pronoun serves to give strong emphasis to a suffix of the same person which precedes (or sometimes even to one which follows), whether the suffix be attached to a verb (as accusative) or to a noun or preposition (as genitive). In English such an emphasis on the pronoun can generally be rendered only by laying greater stress upon it, or sometimes by repeating it; cf., on the contrary, the French *mon livre à moi*. The separate pronoun in such instances is not to be regarded as a *casus obliquus* (accusative or genitive), but as the subject of an independent sentence, the predicate of which must in each case be supplied according to the context.

- e Examples of emphasis:—

(a) On a verbal suffix by means of אני (אני), Gn 27³⁴ בִּרְכָנִי בְּאֵנִי bless me, even me also (prop. bless me, I also would be blessed); Ze 7⁵; cf. also Ez 6⁵, 34^{11,20} הִנְנִי אֲנִי; by הִנְנִי אֲתָה (אֲתָה) Pr 22¹⁹ (but the text is most probably corrupt).—The separate pronoun precedes in Gn 24²⁷ (אֲנִי); 49⁸ אֲתָה, not Judah, thou art he whom, but Judah thee, thee thy brethren shall praise!), and Ec 2¹⁵ אֲנִי בְּנִי.

- f (b) On a noun-suffix with a substantive, by means of אני 2 S 19¹, Pr 23¹⁵; by אֲתָה 1 K 21¹⁹ אֲתָה בְּנִי אֲתָהּ thy blood, even thine; by הוא 2 S 17⁵, Jer 27⁷, Mi 7³; by אֲנִי 1 S 20⁴², after שָׁנִינוּ, but without special stress; Neh 5² (?); by אֲתָם Nu 14³²; by הם ψ 38¹¹ (without special stress), הֵמָּה ψ 97.—The separate pronoun precedes in Jb 21⁴ (אֲנִי); Gn 40¹⁶, Is 45¹², 1 Ch 28² (אֲנִי); Ze 9¹¹ (אֲתָה); Jos 23⁹ (אֲתָם); Ez 33¹⁷ (הֵמָּה).—In ψ 86⁴⁸, where אֲנִי might be taken as strengthening חָלַר (equivalent in sense to חָלַרְי), we should read אֲנִי for אֲנִי, as in verse 51.

- g (c) On a suffix united with a preposition, 1 S 25²⁴ בִּי אֲנִי upon me, upon me; 1 K 1¹⁶ אֲנִי . . . לִי; 2 Ch 35²¹ אֲתָה לֹא-עָלֶיךָ אֲתָה not against thee; 1 S 19²³ בְּנִי עָלָיו upon him also; Dt 5³ אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי but with us, even us; Hag 1⁴ אֲתָם לָכֵם for you yourselves; Jer 25¹⁴ בְּנִי-הֵמָּה בָּם.—The separate pronoun precedes in 1 S 12²³ לִי . . . אֲנִי; 1 K 1²⁰ עָלֶיךָ . . . אֲתָה; Mi 5¹ מִמֶּךָ . . . אֲתָה, and 2 Ch 28¹⁰ עִמָּכֶם אֲתָם.

- h The same principle also explains Gn 4²⁶ לְשֵׁת בְּנִי-הוּא to Seth, to him also (not בְּנִי-לִי); cf. 10²¹, and Ex 35³⁴, Nu 4²².

¹ Analogous to this is the resumption of a noun dependent on a preposition, by means of a pronominal suffix united with the same preposition, e.g. Gn 2¹⁷, 2 S 6²², 2 K 22¹⁸, or of an object by means of the *nota accusativi* אֵת with suffix, e.g. 1 S 15⁹ (where וְנִמְאַסְתָּ is certainly to be read), Is 5¹³.

3. The *oblique* cases of the personal pronouns expressed by means of *i* a preposition (or the *nota accus.* אַת) with a suffix may be used either in a demonstrative or reflexive sense,¹ as לו *to him*, but also to *himself*, e.g. Ju 3¹⁶ and Ehud made לו *for himself a sword*, cf. Gn 33¹⁷; so also לָהֶם *sibi*, Is 3⁹; אֵלָיו *unto him*, and Gn 8⁹ *unto himself*; וְאֵתוֹ *with him*, and Gn 22⁸ *with himself*; וְעִמָּהּ *with her*, and 1 S 1²⁴ *with herself*; also apparently as a pleonastic *dativus ethicus* (see § 119 s), Jb 12¹¹, 13¹.

Rarely, and only when marked emphasis is intended, is the *accusative* ה of the reflexive pronoun represented by the *nota accusativi* אַת with a suffix (this being ordinarily expressed by the reflexive conjugations *Niph'al* and *Hithpa'al*²); thus, הֵמָּה *se ipsos*, Ex 5¹⁹, Jer 7¹⁹ in sharp antithesis to הֵאֵתִי; Ez 34^{2,8,10}. Cf. § 57 at the end, together with note 2.

Rem. There is a similar emphasis in Is 49²⁶ on בְּשָׁרָם and בְּדָמָם in the *l* sense of *their own flesh, their own blood*. On the sometimes demonstrative, sometimes reflexive meaning of noun-suffixes of the 3rd person singular and plural, cf. § 91, p and q. For other circumlocutions to express the idea of *self*, see § 139 f.

4. The *possessive pronouns* are, according to § 33 c, expressed by *m* the *suffixes of the noun* (in the genitive),³ which may represent either a *subjective genitive*, or (like the genitives proper, § 128 h) an *objective genitive*, e.g. הַמִּצִּי הַזֶּה *the wrong done against me*, Gn 16⁵, Jer 51³⁵; cf. Gn 9², 18²¹, 27¹³ (2 S 16¹² *Keth.*); Gn 30²³, 39²¹ (cf. Ex 3²¹, &c.); 50⁴, Ex 20²⁰, 21³⁵, Ju 4⁹, 13¹² (כְּעֵשְׂרוֹתָ *the treatment of him*); Is 56¹, Jer 9⁷, Na 3¹⁹, Pr 1²⁷, 24²², Jb 20²⁹, 23¹⁴, 34⁶. Cf. also such pregnant expressions as ψ 20³ וְיִשְׁלַח עֲזָרָהּ *he will send thy help (help for thee)*, i.e. he will send thee help; Gn 30¹⁸, 39²¹, Ex 2⁹, Is 1²⁶ (*and I will restore judges for thee*); Ez 37¹⁵.

When several substantives are co-ordinated, the pronominal suffix must be attached to each singly, e.g. Gn 36⁶ and Esau took אֶת-בָּנָיו וְאֶת-בָּתָּיו וְאֶת-נְשָׁיו *his wives and his sons and his daughters*, &c.; 3S¹⁸, &c. In 2 S 23⁵ the text is hardly correct.

¹ As in Luther's Bible *im* (*ihm*), *jr* (*ihr*) for *sich*, and in our version *him*, *her* for *himself*, *herself*.

² *Niph'al* according to § 51 e (like *Hithpa'al* according to § 54 f) may also include the *dative* of the reflexive pronoun.

³ Like the substantival genitive, according to § 129 h, the possessive pronoun may also be paraphrased by a relative clause, e.g. Ru 2²¹ הַנְּעָרִים הָאֵלֶּם *the young men, which are to me*, i.e. *my young men*; so especially, when the substantive, which should take a genitive suffix, is already followed by a genitive, e.g. 1 S 17⁴⁰. In this case, however, the suffix also is sometimes attached pleonastically, e.g. Ct 1⁶ בְּרִמְיִי נִשְׁלִי *my vineyard, which belongs to me*. Cf. Ct 3⁷, and the analogous pleonasms in 2 S 22² (but see ψ 18²) and ψ 27².

n 5. When the genitive, following a construct state, is used periphrastically to express the idea of a material or attribute (§ 128 *o* and *p*), the pronominal suffix, which properly belongs to the compound idea (represented by the *nomen regens* and genitive), is, like the article (§ 127), attached to the second substantive (the genitive), e.g. הֶרְקֶשֶׁי prop. *the hill of my holiness*, i. e. my holy hill, ψ 2⁶, &c.; עִיר קִדְשֶׁךָ *thy holy city*, Dn 9²⁴; אֱלִילֵי כֶסֶף *his idols of silver*, Is 2²⁰, 30²³, 31⁷; ¹ cf. Dt 1⁴¹, Is 9³, 28⁴, 41¹¹, Ez 9¹⁴, ψ 41¹⁰, 150¹, Jb 18⁷ אֲנִי אֶעֱזֹר *his steps of strength*; 38⁶; after an adjective as *nomen regens*, Is 13³ (Zp 3¹¹) עֲלִיּוֹ נָאֻחִי *my proudly exulting ones*.—On the same analogy is the use of e.g. כְּלֵי מִלְחָמָה Dt 1⁴¹ *his weapons of war* [cf. Is 41¹²]; Is 56⁷ בֵּית הַפִּלְתִּי *my house of prayer*, although the genitive here does not convey the idea of an attribute.

O Rem. 1. Through a weakening in the distinction of gender, which is noticeable elsewhere (cf. § 110 *k*, 144 *a*, 145 *p*, *t*, *u*) and which probably passed from the colloquial language² into that of literature, *masculine* suffixes (especially in the plural) are not infrequently used to refer to *feminine* substantives; thus a noun-suffix in the singular, Ex 11⁶, 25¹⁹, Ju 11³⁴; ³ in the plural, Gn 31⁹, 32¹⁶, 41²³, Ex 12¹, 21⁷, Nu 27⁷ (but the feminine suffix twice immediately after, and so the Samaritan also in verse 7); 36⁶ (Samaritan אֲבִיָּהֶם, but also בְּעֵינֵיהֶם); Ju 16²⁴, 21²², 1 S 6^{7.10b} (בְּעֵינֵיהֶם); 9²⁰, Is 3¹⁶, Ez 23^{45ff.} (alternating with הֵן); Am 4¹¹ (but afterwards a feminine suffix); Jb 1⁴, 39⁸ הִכְלִיָּהֶם in parallelism with יִלְכְּדֵיהֶן; 42¹⁵, Ct 4², 6⁶, Ru 1^{8ff.} (along with feminine suffixes); Dn 1⁵, 8⁹. Verbal suffixes in the singular, Ex 22²⁰; in the plural, Ju 16⁸, Pr 6²¹, Jb 1¹⁰. But Gn 26^{15.18}, 33¹³, Ex 21⁷, 1 S 6^{10a} are to be explained according to § 60 *h*. On הִנֵּה as feminine, see § 32 *n*. On the use of the masculine in general as the *prior* gender, see § 122 *g*.

p 2. The suffix of the 3rd person singular feminine (as also the separate pronoun הִיא Nu 14⁴¹, Jos 10¹³, Ju 14⁴) sometimes refers in a general sense to the verbal idea contained in a preceding sentence (corresponding to our *it*); thus the verbal suffix, Gn 15⁶, Nu 23¹⁹, 1 S 11², 1 K 11¹², Is 30⁸, Am 8¹⁰; cf. Gn 24¹⁴ בָּהּ *thereby*, 42²⁶, 47²⁶, Ex 10¹¹ אֵתָּה *that*, Is 47⁷. Elsewhere the suffix of the 3rd singular feminine refers to the plurals of things, e.g. 2 K 3³

¹ On the other hand, more explicitly in prose, Gn 44² אֶת־נִבְיָי וְנִבִּיעַ הַכֶּסֶף *my cup, the silver cup*.

² According to Diehl (see the title at the head of § 91 *a*), who adduces numerous instances on pp. 44 ff., 54 ff., 67 f., many of these cases may be set down to corruption of the traditional text, while the sudden (and sometimes repeated) change of gender in suffixes is mainly due to the influence exercised on the copyists by the Mishnic and popular Aramaic dialects, neither of which recognizes such distinctions. Such influence, however, is insufficient to explain the large number of instances of this weakening, occurring even in the earlier documents.

³ The Masora reckons six instances of כְּלֵי מִלְחָמָה, where כְּלֵי מִלְחָמָה would be expected (Ju 11³⁴, where, however, the text is most probably corrupt), Ex 25¹⁵ (?), Lv 6⁸, 7¹⁸, 27⁹, Jos 1⁷; almost all these passages can, however, be easily explained in other ways.

[but see Kittel; so 13^{2.6.11}; 10²⁶, but LXX מַצְבֵּחַ], Jer 36²³, Jb 6²⁰ (if the text is correct), 39¹⁵ (but previously הַתְּחִיבִים), and to the plurals of names of animals, Is 35⁷, Ezr 11⁵. Conversely, plural suffixes refer to collective singulars, e.g. in Gn 15¹³, Nu 16³, 1 S 2⁸, Zp 2⁷ [but read הֵימָּה]; and to a verbal idea contained in the preceding clause, in Ez 33¹⁸, Jb 22²¹ (בָּהֶם thereby), Ez 18²⁶, 33¹⁸ (עָלֵיהֶם on that account, thereby).¹ But the suffix in נָתַנִּי Dt 21¹⁰ refers to the collective idea contained in אֲנִי־יָדֵי; in Jon 1⁸ עֲמָהָּ refers to the sailors included in sense under the term אֲנִיָּה. In Jos 2⁴ read וְהַצִּפִּים; in Is 30⁶ (מָהֶם), 38¹⁶, ψ 19⁵ (בָּהֶם) the text is most probably corrupt.

3. In a few examples the force of the noun-suffix or possessive pronoun *q* has become so weak that the language appears to be almost entirely unconscious of it. Thus in אֲדֹנָי my Lord, usually explained as being from the *pluralis maiestatis* אֲדֹנַיִם (§ 124 i) with the suffix of the 1st singular (always with *Qames* to distinguish it from אֲדֹנָי my lords, Gn 19²; but see note below), used exclusively of God, not only in addressing him (Gn 15², 18³, ψ 35²³), but ultimately (see, however, the note below), without any regard to the pronoun, as equivalent to the Lord.² On אֲדֹנָי as a *Qere perpetuum* of the Masoretes for יהוה see § 17 c and § 102 m.

A similar loss of vitality in the suffix is generally assumed in יַחְדָּו prop. in *r* his unitedness, i.e. he &c. together, e.g. בְּלִי־הָעָם יַחְדָּו Ex 19⁶; then, without regard to the suffix, even after the 1st person אֲנִי־נָתַנִּי 1 K 3¹⁸ in reference to two women; Is 41¹, Jb 9³², Neh 6^{2.7}; after the 2nd person, Is 45²⁰, &c. But the supposed pronominal suffix is perhaps rather to be explained, with Brockelmann, *ZA.* xiv. 344 f., as an old adverbial ending, which survives in the Arabic adverbs in *u* and in Assyrian.—Cf. further בָּלֵם prop. *their entirety*, but also after the 2nd person equivalent to *all together*, 1 K 22²³, Mi 1² (*hear, ye peoples, all of you*; cf. § 144 p), and even before the 2nd person, Jb 17¹⁰ (in 1 S 6⁴ read לָבֵם with the LXX).—On the redundant suffix in הִקְרַבְתָּ Lv 27²⁸, cf. § 127 i.

¹ In 2 K 7¹⁰ for שְׁעָרִי (the LXX had שְׁעָרִי) read שְׁעָרִי.

² Cf. the same weakening of the force of the possessive pronoun in רַבִּי prop. *my master*, from the second century A.D. onwards *the master*; so also in Syriac מֵרִי *my lord*, and ultimately as a title *the lord*; in Italian *Madonna*, French *Madame*, *Notre Dame*, *Monsieur*, *Monseigneur*, &c. It can, however, hardly be doubted that the regular distinction between אֲדֹנָי as a holy name, and אֲדֹנָי as an ordinary appellative is merely due to the practice of the later Rabbis. G. H. Dalman, *Der Gottesname Adonaj und seine Geschichte* (Berlin, 1889), in an exhaustive discussion, shows that apart from the book of Daniel and the eight critically doubtful passages, in which אֲדֹנָי is used by God himself, there is nowhere any necessity to regard the suffix as *entirely* meaningless, since אֲדֹנָי is always used either in an address to or (like אֲדֹנָי, which also is never a mere phrase or title) in reverent language *about* God—as the Lord of the speaker—like the Assyrian *bēli-ia*, *my lord*. Against any original distinction between אֲדֹנָי and אֲדֹנָי it may be urged especially that when unconnected with suffixes the singular אֲדֹנָי is always used of God, and not the *pluralis maiestatis* presupposed by אֲדֹנָי.

§ 136. The Demonstrative Pronoun.

- a* The demonstrative pronouns are הַזֶּה, fem. הַזֹּאת, plur. הַלְּזֵה (§ 34), *hic, haec (hoc), hi, &c.*, and the personal pronoun הוּא, likewise used as a demonstrative, fem. הִיא, plur. masc. הֵנּוּ, fem. הֵנָּה (§ 32 *b*), *is, ea (id), or ille, &c., ii, eae or illi, &c.* The distinction between them in usage is that הַזֶּה (like *hic*, ὁδε) almost always points out a (new) person or thing present, while הוּא (like *is, ille, αὐτός, εἰνός*) refers to a person or thing already mentioned or known (see the examples below).¹
- b* Rem. 1. Compare the instructive examples in Gn 32², Ju 7⁴ of *whom I say unto thee, this (הַזֶּה) shall go with thee, he (הוּא) shall go with thee* (so afterwards with negatives). Moreover, הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה *this day*, i.e. the actual day on which one is speaking or writing (Gn 20³³, &c.), but הַיּוֹם הַהוּא the day or period of which the historian has just been speaking (Gn 15¹³, 26³²) or of which the prophet has just been foretelling (Is 5³⁰, 7^{13.20} ff.) and of which he continues to speak or foretell. Nevertheless הַזֶּה and הַלְּזֵה are also found in certain common combinations where הוּא and הֵנָּה would be expected, and vice versa; thus almost always הַזֶּה הַדְּבָרִי, plur. הַלְּזֵה הַדְּבָרִים, but בְּיָמֵי הַהֵמָּה or בְּיָמֵי הַהֵם.—With a secondary sense of contempt (like Latin *iste*) הַזֶּה occurs, e.g. in 1 S 10²⁷, 21¹⁶, 1 K 22²⁷, Is 6¹⁰, &c. In the sense of the neuter, *this*, הַזֶּה is more common than הַזֶּה, as Is 5²³, 43⁹, &c., but הוּא more common than הִיא.
- c* 2. Both הַזֶּה and הוּא are sometimes used almost as enclitics to emphasize interrogative words (like the Latin *nam* in *quisnam*; cf. also *quis tandem*); e.g. Jb 38² מִי הוּא כִּי הַזֶּה *who now* (darkeneth, &c.) . . . ? 1 S 17⁵⁵¹, Is 63¹, Jer 49¹⁰, ψ 24⁸, 25¹², &c; מַה הוּא כִּי הַזֶּה *what now?* 1 S 10¹¹; *how now?* Gn 27²⁰; *why now?* Ju 18²⁴; but before the verb עָשָׂה it is usually מַה-הוּא Gn 3¹³, 12¹⁸, Ex 14⁵, Ju 15¹¹; לָמָּה הוּא *wherefore now?* Gn 18¹³, 25²², 1 S 17⁵⁵², 2 S 12²⁵, &c.—So also מִי-הוּא Is 50⁹, Jb 4⁷ ff.; and still more emphatically מִי הוּא-הַזֶּה ψ 24¹⁰, Jer 30²¹.
- d* 3. הַזֶּה is likewise used as an enclitic (see *c* above): (*a*) of *place*, in such passages as Gn 27²¹ הֲאֵתָה זֶה וְגו' *whether thou (that art here) be my son Esau?* 2 S 20² *is it thou?* הִנֵּה-הַזֶּה *behold, here*, 1 K 19⁵, Is 21⁹; ² cf. also the strengthen-

¹ On הַזֶּה and הוּא standing separately as determinate in themselves, see § 125 *i*. On the use of determinate demonstratives as adjectives, see § 126 *u*.

² On the other hand, it is very questionable whether הַזֶּה in ψ 104²⁵ (הַזֶּה הַיָּם), Is 23¹³ (הַזֶּה הַיָּם), Ju 5⁵, ψ 68⁹ (הַזֶּה הַיָּם) can be taken, according to the common explanation, simply as a prefixed demonstrative particle (*the sea yonder, &c.*). In ψ 104²⁵ הַיָּם may be in apposition to הַזֶּה; cf. § 126 *aa*, on Ex 32¹, and Ze 5⁷, where אֵשֶׁה אֶתֶּה is in apposition to זֹאת depending on הִנֵּה, and also Ez 40⁴⁷, where הַלְּזֵה is in apposition to הַזֶּה; otherwise it is most naturally taken as the subject, *this is the sea*. Is 23¹³, Ju 5⁵, 1 K 14¹⁴, and ψ 68⁹ might also be explained in the same way; but in these passages the text is almost certainly

ing of the separate pronoun by הוּא Is 43²⁵ (אֵלֶיךָ), 1 S 7²³, Is 37¹⁶, ψ 44⁵ (אֵלֶיךָ), and הֵם אֵלֶיךָ *these are*, Gn 25¹⁶, 1 S 4⁸; (b) *of time*: הֵן עַתָּה *now*, 1 K 17²⁴; *just now*, 2 K 5²²; and rather frequently before words denoting number, e.g. Gn 27³⁶ הֵן פַּעַיִם *twice, now*; cf. 31³³, 2 S 14², Jb 1¹², 7³, 19³; separated from the numeral in Gn 31⁴¹ הֵן-לִי elliptically for *this*, i. e. *this present period, is to me*, i. e. *makes altogether, twenty years, &c.* The other examples are similarly elliptical.

§ 137. The Interrogative Pronoun.

The interrogative pronoun מִי *who* may refer either to a masculine *a* or feminine person (Ct 3⁶), or even to a plural, e.g. מִי אֵהֶם *who are ye?* Jos 9⁸; מִי-אֵלֶיךָ Gn 33⁵, Nu 22⁹ (more minutely, מִי וְמִי Ex 10³, i. e. *who exactly, who in particular?*). It is used of the neuter only when the idea of a person is implied, e.g. מִי-שֶׁפֶּהם *who are the Shechemites?* Ju 9²⁸, 13¹⁷, Gn 33⁸, Mi 1⁵; even more boldly, with the repetition of a מִי used personally, in 1 S 18¹⁸, 2 S 7¹⁸.—Another interrogative is אֵיזֶה *which, what?*; of persons only in Est 7⁵.

Moreover, מִי may also be used in the sense of a genitive, e.g. בַּתְּרִי אֵיךְ *whose daughter art thou?* Gn 24²², 1 S 17^{55, 56, 58}; מִי דִבֶּר *whose word?* Jer 44²³, 1 S 12³; in the accusative, אֵת-מִי *quemnam?* 1 S 28¹¹, Is 6³; with prepositions, e.g. בְּמִי 1 K 20¹⁴ (in an abrupt question *by whom?*); לְמִי Gn 32¹⁸; מִי אֶתְרִי 1 S 24¹⁵.—Similarly מַה, מֶה, מָה *what?* is used for the nominative, or accusative, or genitive (Jer 8³), or with prepositions, e.g. עַל-מָה *whereupon?* Is 1⁵, Jb 38⁶; *why?* Nu 22³², &c.; עַד-מָה *quousque?* ψ 74⁹.¹

Rem. Both מִי and מָה are used also in indirect questions (on the merely *c* relative distinction between direct and indirect questions in Hebrew, see the *Interrogative Sentences*), e.g. Gn 39⁸ (but read מִיִּלְמָה with Samar. and LXX), 43²², Ex 32¹.—On the meaning of מִי and מָה as interrogatives is based also their use as *indefinite pronouns* (equivalent to *quisquis, quodcunque* or *quicquam*), e.g. Ex 32²⁶, Ju 7⁸, 1 S 20⁴, Is 50¹⁰ (read יִשְׁמַע in the apodosis), 54¹⁵, Pr 9^{4, 16}, 2 Ch 36²³; even שְׂמַרְדִּי *have a care, whosoever ye be*, 2 S 18¹² (unless לִי is to be read, with the LXX, for מִי); so also מָה (*whatever it be*) Jb 13¹³, 1 S 19³, 2 S 18^{22, 23}; cf. Nu 23³ מֶה-יִרְאֶי מִיִּלְמָה *and whatsoever he sheweth me*. Cf. also מִיִּלְמָה *whosoever* Ex 32²³, 2 S 20¹¹, and מִיִּלְמָה *any man who* Dt 20^{5, 6},

corrupt. In Ju 5⁵ in fact מִיִּלְמָה is most probably to be regarded with Moore as a very early gloss, which subsequently found its way from this passage into ψ 68.

¹ A quite different use of מָה was pointed out (privately) by P. Haupt in Ct 5⁸ *will ye not tell him?* i. e. *I charge you that ye tell him*, and 7¹ = *look now at the Shulamite*, corresponding to the late Arabic *mā tarā, just see! mā taqīlu, say now!* It has long been recognized that מָה is used as a negative in Ct 5⁴.

Ju 10¹⁸. A still further weakening of the *indefinite* use of כִּי is the combination כִּי-כִּי that *which*, Ec 1⁹, 3¹⁵ (just like the Syriac ܟܝܝܟܝ ; cf. Est 8¹, and $\text{כִּי} \dots \text{בֶּל}$ Pr 9¹³, $\text{כִּי} \dots \text{לֹא}$ Neh 2¹², *nothing whatever*.—On מֵאֵימָה *quicquam*, *anything at all* (usually with a negative), and as an adverb *in any way*, 1 S 21³, see the Lexicon.

§ 138. The Relative Pronoun.

Cf. Philippi, *Stat. constr.* (see heading of § 89), p. 71 f., and especially V. Baumann, *Hebräische Relativsätze*, Leipzig, 1894.

a Relative clauses are most frequently (but not necessarily; cf. § 155 b) introduced by the indeclinable אֲשֶׁר (see § 36).¹ This is not, however, a relative pronoun in the Greek, Latin, or English sense, nor is it a mere *nota relationis*,² but an original *demonstrative* pronoun [as though *iste, istius, &c.*].³ Hence it is used—

(1) In immediate dependence on the substantival idea to be defined, and virtually in the same case as it (hence belonging syntactically to the main clause); e.g. Gn 24⁷ $\dots \text{וְהָיָה אֲשֶׁר יִקְחֵנִי} \dots \text{יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי}$ *the Lord, iste, he took me . . . he shall send, &c. (= who took me)*; Gn 2² *and God finished עָשָׂה אֱלֹהִים מְלַאכְתּוֹ his work, istud, he had made (it)*. Such qualifying clauses may be called *dependent relative clauses*.

b Rem. 1. In the above examples אֲשֶׁר in Gn 24⁷ is virtually in the nominative, in Gn 2² in the accusative. A further distinction between the examples is that in Gn 24⁷ the main idea (יהוה), to which אֲשֶׁר is added in apposition, is only resumed in the qualifying clause by the subject (he) inherent in

¹ The etymology of the word is still a matter of dispute. Against the identification of אֲשֶׁר as an original substantive, with the Arabic *ʿaṣar*, *trace*, Aram. אַרְרַר *place, trace*, Nöldeke urges (*ZDMG*. xl. 738) that the expression *trace of . . .* could hardly have developed into the relative conjunction, while the meaning of *place* has been evolved only in Aramaic, where the word is never used as a relative. According to others, אֲשֶׁר is really a compound of several pronominal roots; cf. Sperling, *Die Nota relationis im Hebräischen*, Leipzig, 1876, and König, *Lehrgeb.*, ii. 323 ff., who follows Ewald and Böttcher in referring it to an original אֶשֶׁל . According to Hommel (*ZDMG*. xxxii. 708 ff.) אֲשֶׁר is an original substantive, to be distinguished from אֶשֶׁ and אֶשׁ (an original pronominal stem), but used in Hebrew as a *nota relationis*, or (as וְהוּא and וְהוּא are also sometimes used, see below, g and h) simply for the *relative pronoun*. Baumann (op. cit., p. 44) sees in the Assyrian *ša*, Phoenician, Punic, and Hebrew שׁ , the ground-forms, of which the Phoenician and Punic שׁ (see above, § 36 note) and the Hebrew אֲשֶׁר are developments.

² E.g. like Luther's use of *so*, in *die fremden Götter, so unter euch sind*, Gn 35².

³ This is the necessary conclusion both from the analogy of the Arabic *ʿaṣṣadi*, which is clearly a demonstrative (like the Hebr. הַלְלוּהוּ , הַלְלוּ), and from the use of וְהוּא and וְהוּא as relatives.

לְקַחְתִּי, while in Gn 2² it is not resumed at all. This suppression of the retrospective pronoun¹ takes place especially when it (as in Gn 2²) would represent an accusative of the object, or when it would be a separate pronoun representing a nominative of the subject in a noun-clause, e.g. Gn 1⁷ מִתַּחַת לְרִקְעֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם אֲשֶׁר מִתַּחַת לְרִקְעֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם the waters, those, under the firmament, &c. In negative sentences, however, the retrospective pronoun is not infrequently added, e.g. Gn 17¹² הוּא אֲשֶׁר; 7² הִיא; 1 K 9²⁰ הִנֵּה; Dt 20¹³ הִנֵּה; but cf. also Gn 9⁸. The addition of הִיא in a verbal clause, 2 K 22¹³, is unusual.

The very frequent omission of the retrospective pronoun is noticeable in cases where the predicate of the qualifying clause is a *verbum dicendi*, e.g. Nu 10²⁹ we are journeying unto the place, אֲשֶׁר אָמַר יְהוָה אֱתָנָן לָכֶם, that place, the Lord said (of it), It will I give to you; cf. Nu 14⁴⁰, Ju 8¹⁵, 1 S 9^{17,23}, 24⁵, 1 K 8²⁹, Jer 32⁴³.

2. When the substantive, followed by אֲשֶׁר and the qualifying clause, *c* expresses an idea of place, it may also be resumed by the adverbs of place שָׁם there, שָׁמָּה thither, כֹּשֶׁם thence, e.g. Gn 13² שָׁם אָהֳלָה אֲשֶׁר-הָיָה שָׁם אָהֳלָה unto the place, that one, his tent had been there, i.e. where his tent had been; cf. Gn 3²³ מִשָּׁם, Ex 21¹³ שָׁמָּה. But even in this case the retrospective word may be omitted, cf. Gn 35¹⁴, Nu 20¹³, Is 64¹⁰, where שָׁם would be expected, and Gn 30³⁸, Nu 13²⁷, 1 K 12², where שָׁמָּה would be expected.—When the appositional clause is added to a word of time, the retrospective pronoun is always omitted, e.g. 1 S 20³¹ for all the days, אֲשֶׁר בְּיָדָיו חַיִּי those—the son of Jesse is living (in them); cf. Gn 45⁶, Dt 14⁶, 9⁷, 1 K 11⁴²; see Baumann, op. cit., p. 33.

3. If the governing substantive forms part of a statement made in the first or second person, the retrospective pronoun (or the subject of the appositional clause) is in the same person, e.g. Gn 45⁴ I am Joseph, אֲשֶׁר-מָכַרְתָּם אֹתִי he—ye sold me, i.e. whom ye sold; Nu 22³⁰, Is 49²³; 41⁸ thou, Jacob, אֲשֶׁר בָּחַרְתִּיךָ he—I have chosen thee; Jer 32¹⁹, Ec 10^{16f.}; Gn 15⁷ I am the Lord, אֲשֶׁר הוֹצֵאתִיךָ he—I brought thee out, &c., Ex 20² (Dt 5⁶).

(2) Not depending (adjectivally) on a governing substantive, but *e* itself expressing a substantival idea. Clauses introduced in this way may be called *independent relative clauses*. This use of אֲשֶׁר is generally rendered in English by *he who*, *he whom*, &c. (according to the context), or *that which*, &c., or sometimes *of such a kind as (qualis)*, cf. Ex 14^{13b}, and in a dependent relative clause Is 7¹⁷. In reality, however, the אֲשֶׁר is still a demonstrative belonging to the construction of the main clause as subject or object, or as a genitive dependent on a noun or preposition, e.g. Nu 22⁵ אֲשֶׁר תִּאָּר יִצְחָר iste—thou cursest (him)—is cursed, i.e. he whom thou cursest, &c.; Ex 22⁸; 2 אֲשֶׁר as object, Gn 44¹,

¹ The instances in which, instead of a retrospective pronoun, the main idea itself is repeated (Gn 49³⁰, 50¹³, Jer 31²²) are most probably all due to subsequent amplification of the original text by another hand.

² The absolute use of אֲשֶׁר is very peculiar in the formula יְיָ דִּבֶּר וַיָּבֹא אֲשֶׁר הָיָה דְּבַר יְיָ this (is it)—it came as the word of the Lord to . . . , Jer 14¹, 46¹, 47¹, 49³⁴.

49¹, 1 S 16^{3ff}, Mi 6¹ (אֵת אֲשֶׁר); and even preceding the verb, e.g. Is 52¹⁵, ψ 69⁵; אֲשֶׁר as genitive, Ez 23²⁸ *I will deliver thee בִּיר אֲשֶׁר שָׂנְאָתָהּ into the hand of those—thou hatest (them)*; depending on a preposition, e.g. אֲשֶׁר לְאֲשֶׁר Gn 44⁴, 2 K 10²²; אֲשֶׁר בְּאֲשֶׁר Gn 21¹⁷, שָׁם הוּא אֲשֶׁר הוּא in that (place)—*he is there, i.e. where he is*; cf. Ju 17⁸ and Ru 1¹⁶ אֶל-אֲשֶׁר אֵל-אֲשֶׁר whither; ¹ 1 K 18¹² עַל-אֲשֶׁר whither; אֲשֶׁר מֵאֲשֶׁר Ex 5¹¹.

f From these examples it follows that in independent relative clauses the retrospective suffix, or adverb of place, may be, and in fact generally is, omitted. As a rule, however (as in the dependent relative clause), this does not apply to cases in which the retrospective pronoun, by the construction of the sentence, depends on a preposition, ² e.g. Gn 44^{9f}. וְנָמֹת... אֲשֶׁר יִמָּצֵא אֹתוֹ *he—it (the cup) is found with him,—shall die (for the Wāw of the apodosis in נָמֹת cf. § 143 d)*. In such cases אֲשֶׁר preceded by the preposition is quite anomalous, as in Gn 31³² עִם אֲשֶׁר תִּמְצָא *with whomsoever thou findest*, where אֲשֶׁר is a relative pronoun in the English sense; on the other hand, in Is 47¹² (and probably also 56⁴) אֲשֶׁר בְּאֲשֶׁר is to be explained (with Baumann, *op. cit.*, p. 37) by reference to 47¹⁵, as a demonstrative pronoun, *stand now with thine enchantments . . . , with those—thou hast laboured (with them)*.

[With regard to the preceding explanation of אֲשֶׁר, the student will of course understand that, in Hebrew as we know it, אֲשֶׁר never occurs as a mere demonstrative. A particle which, whatever its origin, is uniformly used with reference to something in another, contiguous clause, will naturally have acquired in practice that force which we denote by the term 'relative'.]

g Like the original demonstrative pronoun אֲשֶׁר, the demonstratives proper הֵן, הוּא, הֵיאָה (the last commonly),³ and sometimes the article, are used somewhat frequently in poetic language to introduce both dependent and independent relative clauses. With regard to the construction of הֵן, &c., the remarks on אֲשֶׁר, under *a* and *e*, also hold good.

Examples:—

(*a*) הֵן in apposition to a governing substantive in the nominative, ψ 104²⁰ לִיִּיתָן הֵן לְלֵוִיָּתָן (there is) *leviathan, he—thou hast formed (him)*, i.e. *whom thou hast formed*; Is 42²⁴ (הוּא); in the accusative, Is 25⁹, ψ 74² (in both cases with a retrospective pronoun; הוּא is used without it in ψ 132¹²); in apposition to a genitive dependent on a preposition, Pr 23²² הֵן לְאָבִיךָ הֵן לְאָבִיךָ שִׁמְעוּ *hearken unto thy father, him—he begat thee, i.e. who begat thee*; ψ 17⁹ (הוּא).—In ψ 104⁸ אֶל-מָקוֹם הֵן יִסְדָּתָם לָהֶם *unto the place which thou hadst founded for them* (cf. § 130 c), הֵן is in the genitive after the construct state מָקוֹם to the place of that, thou hadst

¹ In Ze 12¹⁰ also, instead of the unintelligible אֵלֵי אֵת אֲשֶׁר, we should probably read אֶל-אֲשֶׁר, and refer the passage to this class.

² Such a strong ellipse as in Is 31⁶, where מִכֶּנֶז would be expected after הַעֲמִיץ, is only possible in elevated poetic or prophetic language.

³ The etymological equivalent הֵן, הֵיאָה in Aramaic is always a relative.

founded (it) for them; on the same analogy we may also take, with Baumann (op. cit., p. 48), ψ 78⁵⁴ (חָרָה) and Ex 15¹³ (עָמְדוּ נֹאֲלָתָהּ), 15¹⁶, Is 43²¹, ψ 9¹⁶, 10², 31⁶, 32⁸, 62¹², 142⁴, 143⁸ (all examples of חָרָה).

To introduce independent relative clauses חָרָה is used as a nominative in Jb 19¹⁹; as accusative, Jb 15¹⁷ and חָרָה Hb 11, ψ 68²⁰ (after a preposition, חָרָה Ex 13⁸; but the text is evidently corrupt).

(b) More certain examples of the use of the article as a relative pronoun *i* (more correctly, perhaps, of the demonstrative which is otherwise used as article) are 1 Ch 26²⁸ כָּל הַהִקְדִּישׁ שְׁמוּאֵל all that Samuel had dedicated, &c.; 1 Ch 29⁸ (where נִמְצָא can only be perfect *Niph'al*); 2 Ch 29³⁶, Ezr 10¹⁴. In connexion with a plural, Jos 10²⁴ the chiefs of the men of war הָיָה לָהֶם who went with him; Ezr 8²⁵, 10¹⁷, 1 Ch 29¹⁷. Finally, in the sense of *id quod*, Jer 5¹³ (where, however, we should read with the LXX הַדְּבָר). Cf. moreover, 1 S 9²⁴ the thigh וְהָעֵלְיָהּ and that which was upon it (but see *k* below); 2 Ch 1⁴ בְּהֵכֵל equivalent to בָּאֵשׁ הַכִּינִי to the place, that he had prepared.

In all the examples adduced except 1 S 9²⁴ (where וְהָעֵלְיָהּ should probably *k* be read for וְהָעֵלְיָהּ) the חָרָה is followed by undoubted perfects; almost all the examples, moreover, belong to the latest Books (Ezra and Chronicles). On the other hand, another series of instances (even in the older texts) is extremely doubtful, in which the Masora likewise requires perfects, either by placing the tone on the penultima, as in Gn 18²¹, 46²⁷, Jb 21¹¹ הַבָּאָה; Is 51¹⁰ הַשָּׂמָה; Ez 26¹⁷ הַהִלָּה Ru 1²², 2⁶ and 4⁸ הַשָּׂבָה, or by the punctuation, Gn 21³ הַנּוֹלֵךְ; 1 K 11⁹, Dn 8¹ הַנִּרְאָה; Is 56⁸ הַנִּלְלָה, while no doubt the authors in all these cases intended participles (and in fact perfect participles, cf. § 116 *d*) with the article, thus הַבָּאָה, &c., Ez 26¹⁷ הַהִלָּה for הַמְהִלָּה according to § 52 *s*, and in the other examples הַנּוֹלֵךְ, הַנִּרְאָה, הַנִּלְלָה.

§ 139. Expression of Pronominal Ideas by means of Substantives.

Analogous to the periphrases for expressing materials and attributes *a* by means of substantives (§ 128 *o* and *p*), is the use of substantives to represent certain kinds of pronominal ideas, for which no special expressions exist. Thus—

1. אִישׁ, אִשָּׁה *man, woman*, are used to express—

(a) The idea of *each, every* (in the sense of each severally) with reference to persons,¹ and even animals (Gn 15¹⁰), e.g. Gn 10⁵, feminine Ex 3²²; אִישׁ is the object, e.g. in Jer 12¹⁵. On אִישׁ—אִישׁ cf. § 123 *c*.

In a few passages אִישׁ in the above sense is placed for the sake of emphasis *C* before the governing noun (always a substantive with a suffix), thus מִן אִישׁ מִן אֶחָיו Gn 9⁵, according to the usual explanation, stands for אִישׁ אֶחָי at the hand of the brother of every man. But although the explanation seems to be

¹ As a rule אִישׁ is used in the particularizing sense of *each man*, with the plural of the verb, e.g. Gn 44¹¹; sometimes, however, as subject to a verb in the singular, e.g. Gn 44¹³.

supported by Gn 42²⁸ and Nu 17¹⁷, it is inconceivable that such an inversion of *nomen regens* and *rectum* should occur. It is more likely, either that the second substantive is in apposition to אִישׁ (thus Gn 9⁵ *at the hand of every man, his brother*, [unless it is a combination of the two readings מִיִּד אִישׁ and מִיִּד הָאָדָם]; similarly 15¹⁰ *and he laid each or, more exactly, one piece of it, &c.*, and so probably also Nu 17¹⁷ *every one*, sc. *his name*), or אִישׁ precedes as a kind of *casus pendens*, and only receives its nearer definition from the following substantive with suffix; thus Gn 41¹², 42²⁸ (according to the context = *to every one in his sack*); 42²⁸, where צָרוּר־בְּסָפּוֹ בִּשְׁקֵוֹ is virtually the predicate of אִישׁ; Ex 12⁴, 28²¹, Nu 5¹⁰, 26⁵⁴, 2 K 23³⁵, and especially Ze 7¹⁰.¹

d (b) Any one, some one, e.g. Gn 13¹⁶, Ct 5⁷, with a negative *no one*;² so after אֵלֹּהִים Ex 16^{19, 20}; before לֹא Gn 23⁶ and frequently.—Instead of אִישׁ we sometimes find in a similar sense אָדָם *man, homo*, e.g. Lv 1⁸ (cf. בְּאַחַד הָאָדָם *as any one else*, Ju 16^{7, 11}), נֶפֶשׁ (*soul*) *person*, Lv 2¹, 5¹, &c., and in a neuter sense דָּבָר (prop. word, thing) for *anything*, Gn 18¹⁴, or כֹּל־דָּבָר Lv 5², Nu 31²³. With a negative דָּבָר means *nothing*; thus after אֵלֹּהִים Gn 19⁸; after לֹא Ec 8².—Cf. finally, כֹּל־אֶחָד *any one*, Dt 15⁷; *anything*, Ez 18¹⁰ (but in Lv 4², 5¹³ מִאֶחָת (n) and the expressions noticed in § 144 e. The latter include also instances like Ez 18³² *I have no pleasure in the death of him that dieth, i.e. of any man*.

e (c) In connexion with אָחִיו *his brother* or רֵעֵהוּ *his neighbour*, אִישׁ *one*, masc. (as אִשָּׁה *one*, fem., in connexion with אָחוֹתֶיהָ *her sister* or רֵעֵהָ *her neighbour*) is used to represent the ideas of *alter—alter, the one—the other*³ (in reference to persons, animals, or things without life; see the Lexicon) or the idea of *one another*, e.g. Gn 13¹¹ *and they separated themselves אָחִיו מֵעַל אֶחָד the one from the other*; Ex 26³ *five curtains יָרִיעוֹת (fem.) shall be coupled together אֶל־אָחוֹתֶיהָ one to another*.

f 2. נֶפֶשׁ *soul, person* expresses the idea of *self*,⁴ both in the singular, Pr 19^{8, 16}, 29²⁴, Jb 18⁴ (in all cases נֶפֶשׁוֹ equivalent to *himself*) and in the plural, Jer 37³, &c. Similar to this is the use of בְּקִרְבָּהּ Gn 18¹² (prop. *in her inward part*) in the sense of *within herself*.⁵

¹ Cf. on the whole question the thorough discussion by Budde, *Die bibl. Urgeschichte*, p. 283 ff.: according to him, the words in Gn 9⁵ are to be rendered *at the hand of one another* (from men mutually) *will I require it*. [In support of this view, Budde points to Ze 7¹⁰ אֶל־תִּתְּשְׁבוּ אָחִיו בְּלִבְבְּכֶם, which in the light of S¹⁷, בְּלִבְבְּכֶם, אֶל־תִּתְּשְׁבוּ בְּלִבְבְּכֶם, can only, he observes, be rendered ‘and devise not the hurt of one another in your heart’. So also König, *Syntax*, § 33.]

² Cf. also אֵין־אִישׁ Gn 39¹¹. On the expression of the idea of *no one* by means of אֵין with a following participle, see the *Negative Sentences*, § 152 l.

³ Elsewhere הֵן . . . הֵן are used in a similar sense, Ex 14²⁰, Is 6³; also הָאָחֶר . . . הָאָחֶר 2 S 14⁶, or the substantive is repeated, e.g. Gn 47²¹ (*from one end . . . to the other end*).

⁴ On the representation of this idea by pronouns, separate and suffixed, see § 135 a, i and k.

⁵ In a similar way the idea of *self* in Arabic, as in Sanskrit (*ātman*), is paraphrased by *soul, spirit*; in Arabic also by *eye*; in Rabbinic by גּוּף *body*,

3. **בְּעֶצֶם** *bone* (then metaphorically for *substance*) expresses the idea of *self*, *g*^r *selfsame*, *very same*, in reference to *things* (as **נִפְשׁוֹ** to persons, e.g. **הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה בְּעֶצֶם הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה** *in the selfsame day*, Gn 7¹³, cf. Jos 10²⁷, Ez 24²; **בְּעֶצֶם הַשָּׁמַיִם לְטָהָר** *as it were the very heaven for clearness*, Ex 24¹⁰; **בְּעֶצֶם חֲמוֹ** *in the very fullness of his strength* (= *in the midst of his full strength*), Jb 21²³).

4. The simple plural of words denoting time sometimes includes also the *h* idea of *a few*, *some*;¹ thus **יָמִים** *a few days*, Gn 24⁵⁵, 40⁴ (here even of a longer period, = *for some time*); Is 65²⁰, Dn 8²⁷ (on the other hand, Gn 27⁴⁴, 29²⁰ **יָמִים אֲחֵרִים**; see § 96 under **אֲחֵר**); **שָׁנִים** *some years*, Dn 11^{6,8}.

רֶגֶל or **עֶצֶם** *bone*, in Ethiopic and Amharic by *head*, in Egyptian by *mouth*, *hand*, &c.; cf. also the Middle High German *min lip*, *din lip*, for *ich*, *du*. However, **נִפְשׁוֹ** in such cases is never (not even in Is 46² **נִפְשָׁם** *they themselves*) a merely otiose periphrasis for the personal pronoun, but always involves a reference to the *mental* personality, as affected by the senses, desires, &c.

¹ *Some* in reference to persons in Ex 16²⁰ is expressed by **אֲנִישֵׁי**, and in Neh 5²⁻⁴ by **יֵשׁ אִשְׁרֵי** *sunt qui*, with a participle following.

CHAPTER II

THE SENTENCE

I. The Sentence in General.

§ 140. *Noun-clauses, Verbal-clauses, and the Compound Sentence.*

- a* 1. Every sentence, the subject and predicate of which are nouns or their equivalents (esp. participles), is called a *noun-clause*, e. g. יהוה כלפני יהוה *the Lord is our king*, Is 33²²; ואנשי סדם וחרמאים *now the men of Sodom were wicked and sinners*, Gn 13¹³; פה להם *a mouth is theirs*, ψ 115⁵; see further, § 141.
- b* 2. Every sentence, the subject of which is a noun (or pronoun included in a verbal-form) and its predicate a finite verb, is called a *verbal-clause*, e. g. ויאמר אלהים *and God said*, Gn 1³; ויבדל *and he divided*, 1⁷; see further, § 142.
- c* Rem. In the last example the pronominal subject is at least indicated by the preformative (*), and in almost all forms of the perfect by affirmatives. The 3rd pers. sing. perf. however, which contains no indication of the subject, must also be regarded as a full verbal-clause.
- d* 3. Every sentence, the subject or predicate of which is itself a full clause, is called a *compound sentence*, e. g. ψ 18³¹ האל המים דרכו *God—his way is perfect*, equivalent to *God's way is perfect*; Gn 34⁸ שכם בני שכם *my son Shechem—his soul longeth for your daughter*; see further, § 143.
- e* 4. The above distinction between different kinds of sentences—especially between noun- and verbal-clauses—is indispensable to the more delicate appreciation of Hebrew syntax (and that of the Semitic languages generally), since it is by no means merely external or formal, but involves fundamental differences of meaning. Noun-clauses with a substantive as predicate, represent something *fixed*, a *state* or in short, a *being* so and so; verbal-clauses on the other hand, something *moveable* and *in progress*, an *event* or *action*. The latter description is indeed true in a certain sense also of noun-clauses

with a participial predicate, except that in their case the event or action (as distinguished from that expressed by the verbal-clause) is of a fixed and abiding character.

Rem. By the Arab grammarians every clause beginning with an independent subject is regarded as a noun-clause, and every clause beginning with a finite verb as verbal. If a finite verb follows the noun-subject the two together (since the verb comprises its own subject and is thus a complete verbal-clause) form a compound noun-sentence, just as when the predicate consists of an independent noun-clause. Though this definition of the different kinds of sentence, which we formerly accepted (in § 144 a of the 22nd to the 24th German editions of this Grammar), is rejected above, a-d, we must, nevertheless, mention here the point in which this more complicated view of the Arab grammarians may be regarded as at least relatively correct, namely, in classifying verbal-clauses according as the subject precedes or follows the verb, a distinction which is often of great importance in Hebrew also; see further, in § 142 a.

§ 141. *The Noun-clause.*

1. The *subject* of a noun-clause (see § 140 a) may be—

a

(a) A substantive, e.g. וְנָהָר יָצָא מִן־עֵדֶן and *a river went out* (was going out) of *Eden*, Gn 2¹⁰.

(b) A pronoun, e.g. Gn 7⁴ אֲנִכִּי מִמָּטָר I *will cause it to rain*; 14¹⁸ וְהוּא כֹהֵן and *he was priest*; 2²³ וְהָאֵת (before a feminine predicate, as וְהָאֵת before a plural in Ex 32⁴); מִי חָכָם *who is wise?* Ho 14¹⁰.—In 1 Ch 5² וּלְגִנִּיר מִמֶּנּוּ and *of him one became a prince*, the subject is contained in מִמֶּנּוּ.¹

2. The *predicate* of a noun-clause may be—

b

(a) A substantive, e.g. Dt 14¹ וְאַתֶּם וְגו' בְּנִים אֲתֶם ye *are children of the Lord your God*; Gn 42¹³. Specially characteristic of the Semitic mode of expression are the cases in which both subject and predicate are substantives, thus emphasizing their identity ('the thing is its measure, material, or equivalent'), e.g. Ez 41²² עֵץ וְקִירָתָיו עֵץ ... הַמִּזְבֵּחַ the *altar* (was) *wood* . . . , and *the walls thereof* (were) *wood*, i.e. of wood. Cf. below, c.

(b) An adjective or participle, e.g. Gn 2¹² וְהַגִּבְעָה הָאֵלֶּה טוֹב and *the gold of that land is good*; Gn 23^{10, 2} וְעֶפְרוֹן יָשָׁב now *Ephron was sitting*, &c., Gn 23^{10, 2}. Very frequently such noun-clauses, attached by *Wāw* to a verbal-clause, are used to represent a state *contemporaneous* with the principal action; cf. e below.

(c) A numeral, e.g. Gn 42¹³ עֲבָדֶיךָ עֹשֵׂי עֲבָדֶיךָ the *twelve* (of us) *are thy servants*.

¹ For other remarkable instances of ellipse in the Chronicler, see Driver, *Introduction*, ed. 8, p. 537, no. 27.

² Cf. the numerous examples in § 116 n-p.

(d) A pronoun, e.g. Gn 10¹² (הֵיאָה), Ex 9²⁷ (אֵינִי), Gn 24⁶⁵ (כִּי), 1 K 9¹³ (כִּי).¹

(e) An adverb or (esp. if formed with a preposition) any specification of time, place, quality, possessor, &c., which may be regarded as the equivalent of a noun-idea, e.g. שָׁם הַבְּדִלְיָה *there is the bdellium*, Gn 2¹²; אֵי הָאֵל *where is Abel?* 4⁹; לְעוֹלָם חֲסִדוֹ *his mercy endureth for ever*, ψ 136¹¹; עֲשֵׂר בְּבֵיתוֹ *riches are in his house*, ψ 112³; לוֹ אֲנַחְנוּ *we are his*, ψ 100³ Q^{er}ē.

c Rem. 1. The employment of a substantive as predicate of a noun-clause is especially frequent, either when no corresponding adjective exists (so mostly with words expressing the material; cf. § 128 o) or when the attribute is intended to receive a certain emphasis. For in all cases there is a much greater stress upon a substantival predicate,² since it represents something as identical with the subject (see above, b [a]), than upon an adjectival or verbal predicate; cf. Ct 1¹⁰; ψ 25¹⁰ *all the paths of the Lord are lovingkindness and truth* (i.e. wholly lovingkindness, &c.; cf. Jer 10¹⁰); Ez 38⁵, ψ 10⁵, 19¹⁰, 23⁵, 88¹⁹, Pr 3¹⁷,³ Jb 22¹², 23², 26¹³, Ru 3². Sometimes the emphasis on the predicate is obtained by the use of the plural form (according to § 124 e), e.g. ψ 110³ *thy people are altogether willingness*; Ct 5¹⁶, Dn 9²³.

d Sometimes the boldness of such combinations is modified by the repetition of the subject, as *regens* of the predicate, e.g. Jb 6¹² אִם-יִכַּח אֲבָנִים בָּהִי *is my strength the strength of stones?* Pr 3¹⁷. That the language, however—especially in poetry—is not averse even to the boldest combinations in order to emphasize very strongly the unconditional relation between the subject and predicate, is shown by such examples as ψ 45⁵ *myrrh and aloes and cassia are all thy garments* (i.e. so perfumed with them that they seem to be composed of them); Ct 1¹⁵ *thine eyes are doves*, i.e. dove's eyes (but 5¹² בְּיוֹנִים); 4 ψ 23⁵, 109⁴, Jb 8⁹, 12¹², Ct 2¹³. In prose, e.g. Ex 9³¹, Ezr 10¹³ הָעֵת לְשָׁמַיִם *the season is rain showers*, i.e. the rainy season; with a bold enallage of the number, Gn 34³⁰ וְאֲנִי מְתִי מִסָּפֶר *and I (with my family) am persons few in number*. For similarly bold expressions with הָיָה cf. Gn 11¹, 12², Ez 17¹², Is 5¹², Jer 2²⁶, and again with a bold enallage of the number, Jb 29¹⁵ *I was eyes to the blind, and feet was I to the lame*, but in prose, Nu 10³¹ *and thou shalt be to us לְעֵינִים*.

¹ Why in these examples the pronouns, notwithstanding appearances to the contrary, are to be considered as predicates and not as subjects, may be seen from what has been remarked above, § 126 k.

² The same naturally applies to most of those cases which are not pure noun-clauses, but have the substantival predicate connected with the subject by הָיָה (e.g. Gn 1² *and the earth was a waste and emptiness*; cf. ψ 35⁶, Pr 8³⁰, Jb 3⁴) or where a preposition precedes the substantival predicate, as ψ 29⁴ *the voice of the Lord is with power*, i.e. powerful.

³ שָׁלוֹם here, as in Jb 21³, is evidently a substantive after a plural subject; on the other hand, it is doubtful whether שָׁלוֹם in such passages as Gn 43²⁷, 2 S 20⁹, ψ 120⁷, &c., is not rather to be regarded as an adjective.

⁴ As a rule, in such comparisons כִּי (which is then to be regarded as *nominative*) stands before the predicate, e.g. Is 63² *wherefore are thy garments like those of one that treadeth in the wine-press?* (prop. *the like of one that treadeth, instar calcantis*); Jer 50⁹. The comparison is then much less emphatic than in the noun-clauses cited above.

2. The noun-clause connected by *wāw copulative* to a verbal-clause, or its equivalent, always describes a state *contemporaneous* with the principal action, or (when the predicate is a transitive participle) an action represented in constant duration (cf. § 107 d, as well as § 116 n and o), e.g. Gn 19¹ *and the two angels came to Sodom at even*, יָשַׁב לוֹט *while Lot sat*, &c.; 18^{1, 16, 22}, 25²⁶, Ju 13⁹, 1 S 1⁹, 2 S 4⁷, 11⁴ (always with a participle); with an adjectival predicate, Gn 18¹²; with a substantival predicate, 18²⁷; with an adverbial predicate, 9²². Not infrequently such a *circumstantial* clause indicates at the same time some contradictory fact, so that י is equivalent to *whereas*, *whilst*, *although*, e.g. Gn 15², 18²⁷, 2c³, 48¹⁴ (*although he was the younger*); Ju 16¹⁵ *how canst thou say, I love thee*, אָהַבְתִּי אֵין לִבִּי *whereas thine heart is not with me?* 2 S 3²⁹, ψ 28³ *whilst mischief is in their hearts*. These clauses describing a state are, however, only a subdivision of the large class of circumstantial clauses, on which see § 156.

3. As the examples given under *a* and *b* show, the syntactical *f* relation existing between the subject and predicate of a noun-clause is as a rule expressed by simple juxtaposition, without a *copula* of any kind. To what period of time the statement applies must be inferred from the context; e.g. 1 K 18²¹ הַיְהוָה הָאֱלֹהִים *the Lord is the true God*; 1 S 9¹⁹; Is 31² גַּם־הוּא חָכָם *yet he also is wise*; Gn 42¹¹; on the other hand, Gn 19¹ יָשַׁב לוֹט *and (= while) Lot was sitting*; Ez 28¹⁵; Gn 7⁴ אֲנִכִּי מִמָּטָר *I am raining, i. e. I will rain*. Sometimes even a jussive or optative is to be supplied as predicate, Gn 27¹³ *upon me be thy curse*; Gn 11³, 20¹⁸, Ex 12². Cf. § 116 r, note.

Not infrequently, however, a connexion is established between subject *g* and predicate (*a*) by adding the separate pronoun of the 3rd person singular or plural, expressly resuming and therefore strengthening the subject, or (*b*) (especially for the sake of a more exact specification of time) by the help of the verb הָיָה. The first of these will be a *compound* sentence, since the predicate to the main subject consists of an independent clause.

Examples of (*a*): Gn 41²⁶ *the seven good kine* שִׁבְעַת שְׁנִים הֵנָּה *they are seven* הַ years; Dt 1¹⁷, 4²⁴; Ec 5¹⁸ הִיא מַתַּת אֱלֹהִים *this—it is a gift of God*; Nu 3²⁷ הֵם אֱלֹהֵי הָאָרֶץ; in a question, Gn 27³⁸. Sometimes הוּא is used in this way to strengthen a pronominal subject of the first or second person, and at the same time to connect it with the predicate which follows,¹ e.g. אֲנִכִּי הוּא Is 43²⁵ *I, even I, am he that bloteth out*, &c.; 51¹²; אֲתָה הוּא 2 S 7²⁸, Is 37¹⁶, ψ 44⁹, Neh 9^{6, 7}; in an interrogative sentence, Jer 14²²;² in Jer 49¹² הוּא in a *verbal-clause* strengthens אֲתָה.

¹ On a similar use of the separate pronoun of the third person in Aramaic (Dn 2³⁸, Ezr 5¹¹, &c.) see Kautzsch, *Gramm. des Bibl. Aram.*, § 87. 3.

² This is of course to be distinguished from the use of הוּא (to be inferred from the context) as predicate in the sense of *δ αὐτός*; see above, § 135 a, note 1; or such cases as Dt 32²⁹ *see now* הוּא אֲנִי אֲנִי *that I, even I, am he*; 1 Ch 21¹⁷.

i Of (b): naturally this does not apply to the examples, in which הָיָה , in the sense of *to become, to fare, to exist*, still retains its full force as a verb, and where accordingly the sentence is verbal, and not a noun-clause; especially when the predicate precedes the subject. On the other hand, such examples as Gn 1² and the earth was ($\text{וְהָאֲרֶץ תִּהְיֶה$) *waste and emptiness*, can scarcely be regarded as properly verbal clauses; וְהָיָה is used here really only for the purpose of referring to past time a statement which, as the description of a state, might also appear in the form of a pure noun-clause; cf. Gn 3¹. This is especially true of the somewhat numerous instances in which וְהָיָה occurs as a connecting word between the subject and the participial predicate; e.g. Ju 1⁷, Jb 1¹⁴ (immediately afterwards a pure noun-clause). The imperfect of הָיָה announces what is future in Nu 14³³, &c.; cf. § 116 r. However, especially in the latter case, וְהָיָה is not wholly without verbal force, but comes very near to being a mere copula, and this use is more frequent in the later books¹ than in the earlier.

k Rem. On the employment of שֵׁן *existence*, and אֵין *non-existence*, which were originally substantives (on their tendency to be used as verbs, equivalent to *est*, and *non est*, cf. § 100 o, and the *Negative Sentences*, § 152) as a connecting link between a pronominal subject and a participial predicate (especially in conditional and interrogative sentences, Gn 24^{42,43}, 43², &c.), see above, § 116 g, and the various kinds of subordinate clauses mentioned in §§ 150, 159.

l 4. The natural arrangement of words in the noun-clause, as describing a state, is *subject—predicate*; the principal stress falls on the former since it is the object of the description. Very frequently, however (and not merely in poetry, where greater freedom is naturally allowed in the arrangement of words), the reverse order is found, i. e. *predicate—subject*. The latter order *must* be used when special emphasis is laid on the predicate,² or when it consists of an interrogative word; thus with a substantival predicate, e.g. Gn 3¹⁹ עֵץ הָאֵלֶּם *dust thou art*; 4⁹, 12¹³ (*my sister*, not *my wife*); 20^{2,12}, 29¹⁴, Is 6^{8b}, Jb 5²¹, 6¹²; with an adjectival predicate, e.g. Is 6^{3a}, 28²¹, Jer 10⁶; with a participle, Gn 30¹, 32¹²; with an interrogative pronoun, e.g. Gn 24⁶⁵;³ with an adverbial interrogative, e.g. Gn 4⁹.

m Rem. On the above cf. the exhaustive investigations of C. Albrecht, 'Die Wortstellung im hebr. Nominalsatz,' ZAW. vii. 218 ff. and viii. 249 ff.; with a complete list of the exceptions to the order *subject—predicate*, p. 254 ff. The predicate *must* precede for the reasons stated (an *adjectival predicate* is particularly emphatic when it has the force of a comparative, e.g. Gn 4¹³; the predicate expressed by means of a preposition precedes most frequently when it serves to convey the ideas of *having*, *possessing*, e.g. Gn 18¹⁴, 29¹⁶, &c.; cf. also 26²⁰, 31^{16,43}).

n The predicate *may* precede: (a) when the subject is a pronoun, for 'the person assumed to be generally known, does not excite the same interest as

¹ According to Albrecht, ZAW. viii. 252, especially in Deuteronomy and in the Priestly Code.

² For the same reason specifications of place (e.g. Gn 4⁷) or other adverbial qualifications may stand at the beginning of the sentence.

³ The only exceptions, according to Albrecht (see the Rem. above), are Ex 16^{7,8}.

d Rem. 1. The close relation between verbal-clauses beginning with the subject and actual noun-clauses, is seen finally from the fact that the former also are somewhat frequently added with $\dot{\imath}$ (or subordinated) to a preceding sentence in order to lay stress upon some accompanying circumstance; on such noun-clauses describing a *state* or *circumstance*, cf. § 141 e. This is especially the case, again, when the circumstantial appendage involves an antithesis; cf. Gn 18¹⁸ *seeing that nevertheless Abraham shall surely become, &c.*; 24⁵⁶, 26²⁷, Is 29¹³, Jer 14¹⁵, ψ 50¹⁷, Jb 21²², and such examples as Gn 4^{2,4}, 29¹⁷, where by means of $\dot{\imath}$ a new subject is introduced in express antithesis to one just mentioned. Moreover, in the examples treated above, under b and c (1 S 28³, &c.), the subject is frequently introduced by $\dot{\imath}$, which then corresponds to the Greek $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$, used to interpose an explanation, &c., see Winer, *Gramm. des neutest. Sprachidioms*, § 53. 7 b.

e 2. By a peculiar construction verbal-clauses may be joined by means of $\dot{\imath}$ and a following subject to participial clauses, e.g. Gn 38²⁵ $\dot{\imath}$ $\text{וְהָיָה כִּי תִשְׁלַח$ שְׁלֵחַתָּהּ *she was already brought forth, when she sent, &c.*; 44^{3,4}, Ju 18³, 19¹¹, 2 S 20⁸; for other examples, see § 116 u (where it is pointed out, note 1, that the apodosis also frequently appears in the form of a *noun*-clause, a further proof of the close relation between verbal-clauses beginning with the subject and noun-clauses proper). Without doubt there is in all these cases a kind of inversion of the principal clause and the temporal subordinate clause; the latter for the sake of greater emphasis being raised to an independent noun-clause, while the real principal action is added as though it were an accompanying circumstance, and hence in the form of an ordinary circumstantial clause. [Cf. Driver, *Tenses*, § 166 ff.]

f 2. According to what has been remarked above, under a, the natural order of words within the verbal sentence is: *Verb—Subject*, or *Verb—Subject—Object*. But as in the noun-clause (§ 141 l) so also in the verbal-clause, a variation of the usual order of words frequently occurs when any member of the sentence is to be specially emphasized by priority of position.¹ Thus the order may be:—

(a) *Object—Verb—Subject*: Gn 30⁴⁰, 37⁴, 1 S 15¹, 2 K 23¹⁹ and frequently. Naturally the examples are far more numerous, in which the object precedes a verbal form which includes the subject in itself, e.g. Gn 3^{10,14,18}, 6¹⁶, 8¹⁷, 9¹³, Ex 18²³, Ju 14³, 1 S 18¹⁷, 20⁹, 21¹⁰, 2 K 22⁸, Pr 13⁵, &c.

(b) *Verb—Object—Subject*: Gn 21⁷, Nu 5²³, 1 S 15³³, 2 S 24¹⁶ (but $\text{וְהָיָה$ $\text{וְהָיָה$ is probably only a subsequent addition); Is 19¹³, ψ 34²², Jb 11¹⁹, &c.

(c) *Subject—Object—Verb*: Is 3¹⁷, 11⁸, 13¹⁸, Ho 12¹¹, ψ 6¹⁰, 11⁵, Jb 29²⁵.²

¹ Not infrequently also the striving after *chiasmus* mentioned in § 114 r, note, occasions a departure from the usual arrangement of words.

² This sequence occurs even in prose (Gn 17⁹, 23⁶, &c.); it is, however, more doubtful here than in the above prophetic and poetical passages, whether the preceding subject should not be regarded rather as the subject of a compound sentence (§ 143), the predicate of which is an independent verbal-clause; this would explain why the verbal-clause is usually separated from the subject by one of the greater disjunctives.—On the other hand, the sequence *Subject—Object—Verb* is quite common in Aramaic (e.g. Dn 27¹⁰); cf.

(d) *Object—Subject—Verb* (very rarely): 2 K 5¹³, Is 5¹⁷, 28¹⁷, ψ 51⁵, Pr 13¹⁶ (read בל).¹

(e) A substantival complement of the verb היה is placed first in Is 18⁸ יְהוָה נִצְּחָה וּבֶקֶר גָּמַל יְהוָה נִצְּחָה and a ripening grape the flower becometh.

Rem. Of specifications compounded with a preposition those of *place* stand regularly after the verb, unless they are specially emphatic as e.g. Gn 19², 30¹⁶, 32⁵, Mi 5¹, Est 9¹²; in Gn 29²⁵ בְּרַחֵל with ב pretii precedes for the sake of emphasis. Cf., however, in Gn 35¹³ the order *verb—specification of place—subject*.—The remoter object precedes for the sake of emphasis, e.g. in Gn 13¹⁵ (26⁸), 15³; even before the interrogative, Gn 27³⁷ (cf. Jer 22¹⁵ where the subject precedes an interrogative, and 1 S 20⁸, Jb 34³¹ where a prepositional specification precedes).—Prepositional specifications of *time*, such as בְּרֵאשִׁית (Gn 1¹), בְּיוֹם, בְּיוֹם הַהוּא, &c. (but not בְּרֵאשִׁיתָה, nor the simple רֵאשִׁיתָה, בְּתַחֲלָה, לְעוֹלָם), stand, as a rule, before the verb, provided it be not in the perf. consec. or imperf. consec.; so also certain adverbs of time, such as אָז, עַתָּה, whilst others like עוֹד, תָּמִיד regularly follow the verb.

§ 143. The Compound Sentence.

A compound sentence (§ 140 d) is formed by the juxtaposition of a subject² (which always precedes, see c) and

(a) An independent noun-clause, which (a) refers to the principal subject by means of a pronoun, e.g. Na 1³ יְהוָה בְּסוּפָהּ דָּרְבּוּ the Lord—in the storm is his way; 2 S 23⁶, ψ 18³¹, 104¹⁷, 125², Ec 2¹⁴; cf. also Gn 34²³, where the predicate is an interrogative clause.—A personal pronoun is somewhat frequently used as the principal subject, e.g. Is 59²¹ וְאֵנִי וְזֹאת בְּרִיתִי אִתָּם and as for me, this is my covenant with them, &c.; Gn 9⁹, 17⁴, Is 1⁷, 1 Ch 28²;³ with an interrogative noun-clause, Gn 37³⁰, Jb 21⁴, 38¹⁹:—or (β) is without a retrospective suffix (in which case naturally the connexion between the subject and predicate is much looser), e.g. 1 S 20²³ and as touching the matter which, &c. . . behold the Lord is between thee and me for ever; Pr 27².

Gesenius, *Comm.* on Is 42²⁴, and Kautzsch's *Gramm. des Bibl. Aram.*, § 84. 1 b. The pure Aramaic usage of placing the *object* before the *infinitive* occurs in Hebrew in Lv 19⁹, 21²¹, Dt 28⁵⁰, 2 S 11¹⁹, Is 49⁶, 2 Ch 28¹⁰, 31⁷, 36¹⁰ (?).

¹ This sequence occurs more frequently in noun-clauses with a participial predicate, e.g. Gn 37¹⁰, 41⁹, 2 S 13⁴, &c., in interrogative sentences, e.g. 2 K 6²², Jer 7¹⁰; in all which cases the emphasized object is placed before the natural sequence of *subject—predicate*. [Cf. Driver, *Tenses*, § 208.]

² In Gn 31⁴⁰ a verbal-clause (הָיִיתִי I was) occurs instead of the subject, and is then explained by another verbal-clause.

³ In 1 Chr 28² (cf. also 22⁷ אֲנִי הָיָה עִם-לִבִּי אֲנִי might also be taken as strengthening the pronominal suffix which follows (equivalent to *I myself had it in my mind*), as e.g. Ez 33¹⁷ whereas their own way is not equal; cf. § 135 f.

b (b) An independent verbal-clause: (a) with a retrospective suffix,¹ e.g. Gn 9⁶ (cf. § 116 w); 17¹⁵ *as for Sarai thy wife, thou shalt not call her name Sarai*; 26¹⁵, 28¹³, 34⁸, Ex 30³⁷, 32¹, 1 S 2¹⁰, 2 K 10²⁹, Is 9¹, 11¹⁰, Ez 33², Ho 9¹¹, ψ 11⁴, 46⁵, 65⁴, 74¹⁷, Dn 17¹⁷; with a pronoun as the principal subject, Gn 24²⁷; (β) without a retrospective suffix, Is 19¹⁷ *every one that mentions it (Judah) to it (Egypt), it (Egypt) is afraid*.

c Rem. 1. In all the above examples prominence is given to the principal subject (by its mere separation from the context by means of a greater disjunctive, as a *casus pendens*²) in a manner which would be quite impossible in a simple noun or verbal-clause (e.g. Na 1³ if it were יְהוָה בְּמִצְרַיִם; cf. the French *c'est moi qu'on a accusé*. But the statement or question contained in the clause which forms the predicate also receives greater weight. For the same purpose other members of the sentence also are sometimes placed at the beginning and resumed again by a following suffix; thus the object, Gn 13¹⁵, 21¹³, 35¹², 47²¹ (with the Samaritan and LXX read perhaps הָעֵבֶר); 1 S 25²⁹; a specification of place, Gn 2¹⁷, 2 K 22¹⁸, &c.; a substantive with ל, 1 S 9²⁰, 2 S 6²³; cf. the examples in § 135 a.—In Nu 15²⁹ a dative is co-ordinated with the *casus pendens*, i.e. there is a transition to a different construction.

d 2. To compound sentences belong also the numerous examples already treated in the account of the tenses, where the predicate of a *casus pendens* is introduced by the *wāw apodosis*. The isolation and prominence of the principal subject is in this case still more marked than in the instances treated above; on the *casus pendens* with a following imperfect consecutive (e.g. Jer 6¹⁹, 33²⁴), cf. § 111 h; with a following perfect consecutive (e.g. Ex 4²¹, 12⁴⁴, Nu 23⁵, 1 S 25²⁷, 2 S 14¹⁰, Is 9⁴, 56⁶), § 112 t and mm; on the participle as *casus pendens*, § 112 oo and § 116 w.—In Jb 15¹⁷ *wāw apodosis* follows with the cohortative; in Jb 23¹², ψ 115⁷, the imperfect is separated by הָלַךְ from the *wāw apodosis*; in Jb 4⁹ *as for thy hope, it is the integrity of thy ways*, 36²⁶, Ec 5⁶, an incomplete noun-clause is appended by *wāw apodosis*. On *wāw apodosis* after disconnected specifications of time, cf. § 112 oo at the end, and Gn 40⁹, 2 S 15³⁴ וְאַתָּה וְאֵנִי עַבְדֶּיךָ וְעַתָּה *and now* (so far as the present is concerned) *I will be thy servant*, Nu 12¹², Jer 4¹ (*me thou needest not fear*).

e 3. Sometimes a substantive introduced by ל (in respect to; cf. § 119 w) serves the same purpose as the *casus pendens* beginning the sentence, as Nu 18¹³ (unless the ל here serves to introduce the object, according to § 117 n); Is 32¹ (where, however, וְשָׂרִים should most probably be read); Ec 9³, 1 Ch 7¹, 24²⁰ ff., 2 Ch 7²¹. On the other hand, ψ 16³, 17⁴, 32⁶, 89¹⁹, 119⁵¹, are very doubtful. The suggestion of P. Haupt (*Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, xiii. no. 114; Baltimore, 1894) also deserves attention, that in passages like Ec 9⁴, and in לְכָל Gn 9¹⁰, 23¹⁰, Ex 27^{3,19}, Ez 44⁹, &c., ל is not the preposition, but an emphasizing particle, answering to the Arab. *lā*, surely; Assyrian *lū*; with לְכָל it is equivalent to *in short*. Cf. also לֶ—לֶ *sive—sive, et—et*, Jos 17¹⁶, Ezr 1¹¹, Assyrian *lū—lū*.

¹ Cf. the Mēša' inscription, l. 31, and Horonain, therein dwelt, &c.

² But this term must not (any more than that formerly used 'the subject preceding absolutely') be misunderstood to mean that the principal subject is, as it were, floating in the air, and that the whole sentence results in an anacoluthon. On the contrary, to the Semitic mind, such sentences appear quite as correctly formed as ordinary noun- and verbal-clauses.

§ 144. *Peculiarities in the Representation of the Subject*
(especially in the Verbal-clause).

1. According to § 40 ff. most forms of the finite verb include a *a* specification of the subject in the form of *personal affirmatives* (in the imperfect also in the form of *preformatives*). Not infrequently, however, masculine forms are used in referring to feminines, e.g. *וַיֵּרָעֵם* Ez 23⁴⁹; *וַעֲשִׂיתֶם* Ru 1⁸; in the imperfect, Jo 2²², Ct 2⁷; in the imperative, Am 4¹, Zc 13⁷ (for other examples, see § 110 k). On emphasizing the pronominal subject by the addition of the separate pronoun, see § 135 a and b.

On the masculine as *prior gender*, cf. § 122 g; on similar anomalies in the use of the personal pronoun, § 135 o, in the connexion between substantive and adjective, § 132 d, between subject and predicate, § 145 p, t, u.

2. The third person singular is often used impersonally, especially *b* in the masculine, e.g. *וַיָּהִי* and *it came to pass*, *וַיָּהִי* and *it shall come to pass*; *וַיָּהִי* followed by *לוֹ*, &c., *it became hot to him*, i.e. *he became angry*, Gn 4⁶, &c.; *וַיֵּצֵר לוֹ* lit. *and it became strait to him*, *he was distressed*, Gn 32⁸;¹ also in the feminine, e.g. 1 S 30⁶ (Ju 10⁹) *וַיֵּצֵר לָהּ*; Ju 11³⁹, Jer 7³¹, Ez 12²⁵, Jb 15³² (unless *וַיִּמְדֵּנִי* in verse 31 be the subject); cf. also the impersonal passives, Is 1⁶ (*וַיִּדְבַּק*), 29⁶ (*וַיִּתְּשֶׁר*). Somewhat different are the instances in which the 3rd singular feminine occurs as the predicate of a feminine subject which is not mentioned, but is before the mind of the speaker, e.g. Is 7⁷, 14²⁴, Jer 10⁷, Jb 4⁸, 18¹⁵ (in 2 K 24⁷ *וַיִּשְׁכַּח* is used in this way with a feminine predicate, and in Jer 19⁵ *וַיִּשְׁכַּח* alone); different, too, are the instances in which the 3rd singular masculine refers to an act just mentioned, e.g. Gn 17¹¹ *וַיָּהִי* and *this* (the circumcision) *shall be a token of a covenant*, &c.

Rem. The expressions for natural phenomena may be either in the 3rd C sing. masculine or feminine, e.g. *וַיֵּאֹר* *it becomes light*, 1 S 29¹⁰ (but with an explicit subject, Gn 44³); *וַיֵּאֹר* and *it became light*; so also *וַיִּשְׁכַּח* *it grows dark*, Jer 13¹⁶; but *וַיִּשְׁכַּח* Mi 3⁶; *וַיִּשְׁכַּח* though there be darkness, Jb 11¹⁷; *וַיִּשְׁכַּח* *it rains*, Am 4⁷ (where, however, the context requires the reading *וַיִּשְׁכַּח*); *וַיִּשְׁכַּח* *it is tempestuous*.

¹ In Arabic and Ethiopic the masculine is commonly used in this case, in Syriac the feminine.—The forms *חם* *hot*, *טוב* *good, well*, *מר* *bitter*, *צר* *narrow*, *רע* *evil* (frequently joined by *לִי*, *לוֹ*, &c.), which many regard as impersonal, are no doubt to be regarded in most cases not as forms of the 3rd pers. sing. perf., but, with Hupfeld on *ψ* 18⁷, as adjectives.

d 3. The indefinite personal subject (our *they*, *one*, the French *on*, and the German *man*¹) is expressed—

(a) By the 3rd person singular masculine, e. g. קָרָא *one* (sc. any *one* who named it, see the Rem.) called (or calls) it, Gn 11⁹, 16¹⁴, 19²², Ex 15²³, וַיִּקְרָא Gn 35^{8,10}, 2 S 2¹⁶, Is 9⁵; וַיֹּאמֶר *one* said, Gn 48¹, 1 S 16⁴;² other examples are Gn 38²⁸ *one* put out a hand; Nu 23²¹, 1 K 22²⁸, Is 6¹⁰ לֹא וַיְרַפֵּא *and one* heals them; 8⁴ (וַיִּשָּׂא); 46⁷ (וַיִּצְעַק); Am 6¹², Mi 2⁴, Jb 27²³; by the 3rd singular feminine (וַיֵּלֶךְ) Nu 26⁵⁰.

e Rem. The Jewish commentators, following the Arab grammarians, usually explain these singulars by the addition of the participle (generally determinate) of the same stem, e. g. קָרָא הַקְרִיאָה. This view is supported by the fact that such a complement sometimes occurs, e. g. Is 16¹⁰ הֹרֵךְ הַדֶּרֶךְ *the treader treads out, for one treads out*; 28^{4,24} (דֹּחַ *one* plow continually²); Dt 17⁶ (Ez 18³²), Dt 22⁸, 2 S 17⁹ (Ez 33⁴), Jer 9²³; with an indeterminate participle (as in Arabic, e. g. *qāla qā'ilum, a sayer says, i. e. some one says*), e. g. Nu 6⁹, Am 9¹; cf. above, § 116 t, and, on the whole question, Driver on 1 S 16⁴.

f (b) Very frequently by the 3rd plural masculine, e. g. Gn 29² *for out of that well* וַיִּשְׁקוּ *they* (i. e. people generally) watered the flocks; 26¹⁸, 35⁵, 41¹⁴, 49³¹, 1 K 1², Is 38¹⁶, Ho 12⁹, Jb 18¹⁸, 34²⁰, Est 2², Neh 2⁷.

g Rem. The 3rd plur. also is sometimes used to express an indefinite subject, where the context does not admit of a human agent or at least not of several, e. g. Gn 34²⁷. In such a case the 3rd plur. comes to be equivalent to a passive, as very commonly in Aramaic (see Kautzsch's *Gramm. des Bibl. Aram.*, § 96. 1 c); e. g. Jb 7³ *wearisome nights* כְּנֹגְדִי *have they allotted to me* (equivalent to *were allotted to me*; to make 'invisible powers' the subject is a merely artificial device); Jb 4¹⁹, 6², 18¹⁸, 19²⁶, 34²⁰, Ez 32²⁵, ψ 63¹¹, Pr 2²² (in parallelism with a passive); 9¹¹.

h (c) By the 2nd singular masculine, e. g. Is 7²⁵ לֹא-תָבוֹא שָׁמָּה *one* will (or can) not come thither (prop. *thou wilt . . .*); Jer 23³⁷, Pr 19²⁵, 30²⁸ (unless the reading should be תִּתְפַּשֵּׁשׁ). Cf. also עָלֶיךָ בָּאָה or simply בָּאָה (Gn 10^{19,30}, 13¹⁰ בָּאָהָה) prop. *until they coming*, i. e. *until one comes*.

i (d) By the plural of the participle, e. g. Jer 38²⁸ *and all thy wives and thy children* מֹוֹצִיִּים (prop. *are they bringing out=*) *they will bring out, &c.*; cf. Is 32¹², Ez 13⁷, Neh 6¹⁰ (*for some are coming to slay thee*)

¹ In 1 S 9⁹ הָאִישׁ (prop. *the man*) is used in exactly the same sense as our *one*.

² Elsewhere in such cases וַיִּקְרָא usually occurs (but not in the perfect, e. g. 1 S 23²²), so that it is doubtful whether the present reading of Gn 48¹, &c., would not be better explained according to § 7 d, note. In Gn 48² for the extraordinary וַיִּגָּד the common form וַיִּגְדֵּר is to be read; so in 50²⁶ for וַיִּשְׁעֵם (after a plural) either וַיִּשְׁעֻם or the 3rd plur.; in 2 K 21²³ וַיִּקְבְּרוּ.

and the passages discussed above, § 116 t.¹ In 1 K 5¹ the text is corrupt.

(e) By the passive, e. g. Gn 4²⁶ לָקְרָא אֶת הַיְהוָה לְקָרָא then (*was it begun* =) *he began men to call upon*, &c. (but read הֵחֵל הַיְהוָה *he began*).

4. A peculiar idiom, and one always confined to poetic language, *l* is the not infrequent occurrence of two subjects in a verbal sentence,² one of the person and the other of the thing. The latter then serves—whether it precedes or follows—to state the instrument, organ, or member by which the action in question is performed, and may be most often rendered in English by an adverb, as a nearer definition of the manner of the action. All the examples of this kind have this in common, that the subject denoting the thing takes a suffix in the same person as the personal subject.³ They are thus distinguished from the *accusatives* treated in § 117 s, with which they are often confused.

(a) Examples where the subject denoting the *thing* precedes, מִקוֹלִי אֶל-יְהוָה, *m* קוֹלִי my voice—I cry unto the Lord, i. e. *I cry aloud unto the Lord*, ψ 3⁵, 27¹, 142²; מִפִּי-קָרָאתִי my mouth—I cried, i. e. *I cried aloud*, ψ 66¹⁷ (cf. 17¹⁰); Is 26⁹ נַפְשִׁי with my soul, i. e. *ferently*, and parallel with it אֶת-רוּחִי; but נַפְשִׁי ψ 57⁵ is rather a periphrasis for the 1st pers. *I*.

(b) Where the subject denoting the *thing* follows, צִחֲלִי קוֹלִי cry—thy voice (i. e. aloud), Is 10³⁰; so also after an imperative, ψ 17¹³ תִּצְחֲלֵךְ and verse 14 (יִצְחֵךְ); 60⁷, 108⁷ (יִצְחִיךָ); after a perfect, Hb 3¹⁵ (סִיחֲרֵךְ); after a cohortative, ψ 108² (אֶת-קִבְּוֹרִי). The subject denoting the *thing* stands between the personal subject and the predicate in ψ 44³ יִרְדֵּךְ אֶתְּהָא.⁴

Rem. 1. Sometimes (as in other languages) an action is ascribed to a *n* subject which can only have been performed at his direction by another

¹ That this form of expression also (see *g*) comes to be equivalent to a passive is seen from the analogy of such Aramaic passages as Dn 4²², which exclude any idea of human agency. Cf. Kautzsch, *Gramm. des Bibl. Aram.*, § 76. 2 e at the end, and in post-bibl. Hebrew, e. g. *Pirke Aboth* 2, 16; 3, 5, &c.

² Two subjects occur in a noun-clause in ψ 83¹⁰.

³ In Ex 6⁹ שָׁמַיִשׁ is subordinated to the following passive נִדְרָעָתִי (§ 121 b); in 1 S 25^{26.33} יָדִי, רִגְלִי are subjects to the infinitive absolute הוֹשִׁיעַ, according to § 113 gg. In ψ 69¹¹ read וְאֶעֱבֹד for וְאֶבְכֶּה.

⁴ In several of the above examples it might naturally be supposed that the subject denoting the *thing* (especially when it follows the verb) is to be explained rather as a *casus instrumentalis*, i. e. as an accusative, analogous to the adverbial accusatives in § 118 g. But although it is true that the subject denoting the *thing* often defines more closely the manner in which the action is performed, and although in similar (but still different) examples, ψ 89², 109³⁰, Jb 19¹⁶, פִּי occurs with פִּי *instrumentale*, the explanation given above must nevertheless be accepted.

person; cf. e.g. Gn 40²² (41¹³), 41¹⁴, 43³⁴ (and he commanded to set before them, &c.); 46²⁹, 2 S 12⁹.

o 2. Supposed ellipses of a definite subject are due either to a misunderstanding of the passage, or to a corruption of the text. Thus in 1 S 24¹¹ after וַתִּהְיוּ either עֵינַי has dropped out (through confusion with עֵינַי) or we should read with the LXX וַתִּהְיוּ. In 2 S 13³⁹ (וַתִּהְיוּ דָוִד) the text is obviously corrupt.

p 3. In poetic (or prophetic) language¹ there sometimes occurs (supposing the text to be correct) a more or less abrupt transition from one person to another. Thus from the 2nd to the 3rd (i.e. from an address to a statement), Gn 49⁴ (?), Is 31⁶ (?), 42²⁰, 52¹⁴, 61⁷, Mal 2¹⁵ (where, however, for וַיִּבְרַךְ we should undoubtedly read וַתִּבְרַךְ); ψ 22⁹ [and regularly after a vocative, Is 22¹⁶, 47⁸, 48¹, 54¹⁻¹¹, Jer 22¹⁶, 49^{4,16}, Am 5^{6f.}, Mic 1² (= 1 K 22²⁸), Mal 3⁹, 2 K 9³¹; and after הוּא Is 5⁸, 29¹⁵, Jer 22¹⁸]. From the 3rd to the 2nd pers., Dt 32¹⁵, Is 1²⁹ (but read probably הִמְדִּיתֶם for הִמְדִּיתִּם, which has caused the insertion of וְאִנִּי, 5⁸, Jer 29¹⁹, Jb 16⁷, cf. also Dt 32¹⁷). From the 1st to the 3rd pers., La 3¹ (in a relative clause). In Jb 13²⁸ the 3rd pers. הוּא is probably employed *deutero* for the 1st.

§ 145. Agreement between the Members of a Sentence, especially between Subject and Predicate, in respect of Gender and Number.

a 1. As in other languages, so also in Hebrew, the predicate in general conforms to the subject in gender and number (even when it is a pronoun, e.g. וְזֶה בְרִיתִי *this is my covenant*, Gn 17¹⁰). There are, however, numerous exceptions to this fundamental rule. These are due partly to the *constructio ad sensum* (where attention is paid to the meaning rather than to the grammatical form; see b-l below), partly to the position of the predicate (regarded as being without gender) before the subject.

b 2. Singular nouns which include in themselves a collective idea (§ 123 a), or which occasionally have a collective sense (§ 123 b), may readily, in accordance with their meaning, be construed with the plural of the predicate, whether it precedes or follows. This is also the case, when the collective is itself feminine but represents, exclusively or at least generally, masculine persons.

Examples:—

c (a) Of collectives proper (cf. § 132 g): (a) with the predicate preceding, Gn 30³⁸ הָעֵצִים הָיִינוּ (cf. 30³⁹, 31⁸ and 33¹³); Ju 1^{22f.} בָּיִת representing persons belonging to the tribe; Mi 4³ גִּבּוֹי; 2 K 25⁵ הָיִל *army*; Pr 11²⁶ לְאִים

¹ In prose, Lv 2⁸; but וְהָיָה לְךָ here is hardly the original reading. Different from this is Gn 26⁷, where there is a transition to direct narration.

the people; Nu 10³ כָּל־הָעֵדָה all the congregation (cf. 1 K 8⁵); 1 K 1⁴⁰, Is 9⁸, 25³, Am 1⁵ עַם; 1 S 17⁴⁷, Ezr 10¹² קָהָל assembly. Cf. also the construction of national names, as אֲרָם (§ 122 i), e.g. 1 K 20²⁰ וַיָּכֹסוּ אֲרָם and the Syrians fled; 1 S 4⁵.—(β) with the predicate following, 1 K 8⁸ צֹאן בִּקְרָא sheep and oxen, construed with the plural in the following relative clause; Jb 1¹⁴ הַבָּקָר הָיוּ הֹרִישוּת the cattle (cows) were ploughing; 2 S 3¹ and 1 Ch 10⁶ בָּיִת = family (in 1 S 6¹³ בֵּית יִשָּׁשׁוּר on the analogy of names of countries, is used for the inhabitants of Bethshemesh); Ho 11⁷, Ezr 4⁴ עַם; ψ 68¹¹ חֵיָה herd [if correct, figuratively for people]; Is 26¹⁹ גִּבְלוֹת דָּבָרִים dead bodies; Is 27¹¹ קִצְוֵי בֹשֶׁל boughs; 1 S 4¹ יִשְׁאָלָא, preceded by a predicate in the singular.

(b) Of substantives occasionally used as collectives: (a) with the predicate *d* preceding, Gn 34²⁴ זָכָר; Ju 9⁵⁵, 15¹⁰ אִישׁ; Is 16⁴ רֹמֵם the treader down.—(β) with the predicate following, Jb 8¹⁹ אֲחֵר = others; Ez 28⁸ סֵתֵר a secret; [ψ 9⁷, and even after הָהָה Jb 19¹⁰.]

(c) Of feminines as collective terms denoting masculine persons: (a) with *e* the predicate preceding, 1 S 17⁴⁶ כָּל־הָאָרֶץ וְיָדְעוּ that all the earth may know, i.e. all the inhabitants of the earth; cf. Dt 9²³, ψ 66¹, 96^{1,9}, &c.; Am 1⁸ שְׁאִרִית remnant; (ψ 33⁸ כָּל־הָאָרֶץ).—(β) with the predicate following, Gn 41²⁷, 2 S 15²³, 1 K 10²⁴, Gn 48⁶ מוֹרֶת issue; 1 S 2³³ כָּל־מְרִבִּית all the increase; Jb 30¹² פְּרָחָה rabble. In Hag 2⁷ read חֲמֹרֶת with the LXX.

Examples of predicates in the singular, notwithstanding the collective meaning of the subject, occur in Gn 35¹¹, Ex 10²⁴, 14¹⁰, Dt 1³⁹, &c.—For examples of bold enallage of the number in noun-clauses with a substantival predicate, see above, § 141 c.

Rem. Not infrequently the construction begins in the singular (especially *g* when the predicate precedes; see *o* below), but is carried on, after the collective subject has been mentioned, in the plural; e.g. Ex 1²⁰ וַיִּרְבּוּ הָעָם וַיַּעֲצֻמוּ and the people multiplied, and waxed very mighty; 33⁴.

3. On the other hand, plurals which have a singular meaning *h* (§ 124 a) are frequently construed with the singular, especially the *pluralis excellentiae* or *maiestatis* (§ 124 g-i; on the union of these plurals with attributes, cf. § 132 h), as אֱלֹהִים Gn 1^{1,3}, &c. (but see the Rem.), מֶלֶךְ master, Ex 21⁴ בָּעָלִים master, owner, Ex 21²⁹; cf., more-over, פְּנִים with the singular, Jb 16¹⁶ *Keth.*, רִהֲמִים Pr 12¹⁰.—So feminine forms with a masculine meaning are construed with a masculine predicate, e.g. Ec 12⁹ חָכָם הָיָה קֹהֵלֶת the preacher was wise.

Rem. The construction of אֱלֹהִים God with the plural of the predicate may *i* be explained (apart of course from such passages as 1 K 19³, 20¹⁰, where the speakers are heathen, and אֱלֹהִים may, therefore, be a numerical plural) partly as an acquiescence in a polytheistic form of expression, partly from the peculiar usage of one of the early documents of the Hexateuch, called *E* by Wellhausen, &c., *B* by Dillmann; cf. his commentary on Numbers—Joshua, p. 618, and above, § 124 g, note 2. So Gn 20¹³ (but in conversation with a heathen); 31⁶⁸, 35⁷, cf. also Jos 24¹⁹. That this construction was afterwards studiously avoided from fear of misconception, is shown by such passages as Neh 9¹⁸ compared with Ex 32^{4,8}, and 1 Ch 17²¹ compared with 2 S 7²³. Cf. Strack's excursus on Gen 20¹³ in *Die Genesis*, Munich, 1905, p. 77.

k 4. Plurals of names of animals or things, and of abstracts, whether they be masculine or feminine, are frequently construed with the feminine singular of the verbal predicate¹ (on the collective sense of the feminine form, cf. § 122 *s*); thus Jo 1²⁰ שָׂרָה הָעֵרֶגְוּ *the beasts of the field long*; Jer 12⁴ (where the predicate precedes), cf. also Jb 12⁷; names of things with the predicate preceding occur in 2 S 24¹³, Is 34¹³, Jer 4¹⁴, 51²⁹, ψ 18³⁵, 37³¹, 73² *Keth.*, 103⁵ (unless הִתְחַדֵּשׁ is to be read for הִתְחַדֵּשׁ, Jb 14¹⁹, 27³⁰; with the predicate following, Gn 49²² (נִגְזָרוֹת=*branches*); Dt 21⁷, 1 S 4¹⁵ (וַיִּצְיֹר לָמָּה),² 2 S 10⁹, Is 59¹², Jer 2¹³ *Keth.*, 48¹¹, 49²⁴, Pr 15²², 20¹⁸, Jb 41¹⁰.³

l 5. Moreover, the plural of persons (especially in the participle) is sometimes construed with the singular of the predicate, when instead of the whole class of individuals, each severally is to be represented as affected by the statement. Undoubted examples of this *distributive* singular are Gn 27²⁹ (Nu 24⁹) וְכָל־אֶחָד־מֵהֶם בֵּרַךְ אֶת־יְהוָה *those that curse thee, cursed be every one of them, and those that bless thee, blessed be every one of them*; Ex 31¹⁴, Lv 17¹⁴ and 19⁸ (in both places the Samaritan has אֶחָד); Is 3¹² unless נִנְשָׂא is to be regarded as a *pluralis maiestatis* according to § 124 *k*; Pr 3^{18,35} (?), 18²¹ (?), 21^{27b}, 27¹⁶, 28^{1b}, 28¹⁶ *Keth.*

m Rem. Analogous to the examples above mentioned is the somewhat frequent⁴ use of suffixes in the singular (distributively) referring to plurals; cf. the *verbal*-suffixes in Dt 21¹⁰, 28⁴⁸, Am 6¹⁰; and the *noun*-suffixes in Is 2⁸, 30²², Jer 31¹⁴, Ho 4⁸ (but since ו follows, נִבְשָׁו is undoubtedly a dittography for נִבְשָׁו), Zc 14¹², ψ 5¹⁰ (where, however, פִּימֹו is clearly to be read with all the early versions); 62⁵, 141¹⁰ (?), Jb 38³², Ec 10¹⁵ [but LXX ἡ ἐκπύλι]; finally, the suffixes with prepositions in Is 2⁵⁰ אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה־לֹו *which they made each one for himself* (according to others, *which they (the makers) made for him*); 5²⁶, 8²⁰, Jb 24⁵, in each case לֹו; in Gn 2¹⁹ לֹו refers to the collectives הָיָה and עוֹף; cf. further, Jos 24⁷, Is 5²³ מַכְפִּנִי אַחֲרַיִם (but read probably צִדִּיקִים with the LXX, &c.). Conversely in Mi 1¹¹ לָכֶם עֲבָרִי [cf. Jer 13²⁰ *Keth.*], but the text is undoubtedly corrupt.

¹ Cf. in Greek the construction of the neuter plural with the singular of the predicate τὰ πρόβατα βαίει; in Attic Greek the plural of the predicate is allowed only when the neuter denotes actual persons, as τὰ ἀνδράποδα ἐλαβον. In Arabic also the *pluralis inhumanus* (i.e. not denoting persons) is regularly construed with the feminine singular of the attribute or predicate, as are all the *plurales fracti* (properly collective forms).

² On the possibility of explaining forms like לָמָּה as 3rd plural feminine, cf. above, § 44 *m*; but this explanation would not apply to all the cases under this head, cf. Jo 1²⁰, ψ 37³¹, 103⁵.

³ In Pr 14¹ an abstract plural חֲכָמוֹת (to be read thus with G¹, &c., instead of חֲכָמוֹת) is construed with the singular; but cf. § 86 *l*, § 124 *e*, end.

⁴ In several of the above examples the text is doubtful, and hence Mayer Lambert (*REJ.* xxiv. 110) rejects the theory of distributive singulars generally. [Cf. Driver, *Jeremiah*, p. 362, on 16⁷.]

6. Subjects in the dual are construed with the plural of the predicate, *n* since verbs, adjectives, and pronouns, according to § 88 *a*, have no dual forms; thus עֵינַי רְבוּת לֵאָהָה Gn 29¹⁷ and *Leah's eyes were dull*; 2 S 24³, Is 30²⁰, Jer 14⁶, Mi 7¹⁰, ψ 18²⁸, 38¹¹ (on the other hand, in 1 S 4¹⁵ the predicate is in the feminine singular *after* the subject, and in Mi 4¹¹ *before* it; on both constructions cf. *k* above); so also אֹזְנִים ears, 2 Ch 6⁴⁰; יָדִים hands, Is 1¹⁵, Jb 10⁸, 20¹⁰ (in Ex 17¹² even with the plural masculine קַבְרִים; cf. *p*); שְׁפָתַי lips, 1 S 1¹³, Jb 27⁴; שְׁדֵי breasts, Ho 9¹⁴.

7. Variations from the fundamental rule (see above, *a*) very frequently occur *when the predicate precedes the subject* (denoting animals or things¹). The speaker or writer begins with the most simple form of the predicate, the uninflected 3rd singular masculine, and leaves us without indication as to which of the following subjects (and so which gender or number) is to define the predicate thus left temporarily indefinite.² Thus inflexions are omitted in—

(*a*) The verb, with a following singular feminine, Is 2¹⁷ וְנִהְיֶה וְיִשָּׁחַ וְיִשָּׁחַ and *bowed down shall be the loftiness of man*; 9¹⁸, 14¹¹, 28¹⁸, 47¹¹; 1 S 25²⁷ (see note 1 below); 1 K 8^{31b}, 22³⁶, 2 K 3²⁶, Jer 51⁴⁶, Ec 7⁷; with a following plural masc., Is 13²² וְיִנָּח וְיִנָּח and *there shall cry wolves, &c.*; Ju 13¹⁷ *Keth.*, 20⁴⁶, 1 S 1², 4¹⁰, 2 S 24¹⁵, 1 K 13³³, Jer 51⁴⁸, ψ 124⁵, Est 9²³ (see note 1 below); Gn 1¹⁴ וְהָיָה מְאֹרֹת let *there be lights*; with a following plural feminine, Dt 32³⁵, 1 K 11^{8a}, Is 8⁸, Jer 13¹⁸, Mi 2⁶, ψ 57²; before collectives and mixed subjects, e.g. Gn 12¹⁵, 13⁵, 30⁴³, 32⁶, &c.; before a following dual, Is 44¹⁸, ψ 73⁷ (where, however, with the LXX וְיִנָּח should be read).

Rem. 1. The instances in which a preceding predicate appears in the plural masculine before a plural (or collective singular) feminine of persons (Ju 21²¹, 1 K 11^{8b}), of animals (Gn 30³⁰ where however אֵלָּה may refer specially to male animals) or of things (Lv 26³³, Jer 13¹⁶, Ho 14⁷, ψ 16⁴, Jb 3²⁴, Ct 6⁹), or before a dual (2 S 4¹, Zp 3¹⁶, 2 Ch 15⁷) are to be explained not on the analogy of the examples under *a*, but from a dislike of using the 3rd plur. fem. imperf., for this is the only form concerned in the above examples (cf., however, Na 3¹¹ הָיָה instead of הָיָה); cf. the examples of a following predicate in the 3rd plur. masc., instead of the fem., under *t* and *u*, and on an analogous phenomenon in the imperative, see § 110 *k*.

2. As in the case of verbs proper so also the verb הָיָה, when used as a *q* copula, frequently remains uninflected before the subject; cf. Gn 5²³ ^{fr.}, 35⁵,

¹ Only rarely does an uninflected predicate precede a personal subject, as 1 S 25²⁷ (but וְהָיָה should probably be read, as in verse 35); Est 9²³ (before a plur. masc.). Such examples as Jb 42¹⁵ are to be explained according to § 121 *a*.

² In a certain sense this is analogous to the German *es kommt ein Mann, eine Frau, &c.*

Dt 21³ (according to the accents); 22²³, Is 18⁵ **וְבִכֹּר זָמַל יְהוָה נִצָּח** and *a ripening grape the flower becometh*.

7 (b) The adjective in a noun-clause, e.g. **יָשָׁר מִשְׁפָּטֶיךָ** 119¹³⁷ *upright are thy judgements*; cf. verse 155.¹—On the other hand, **רָעָה** *thy servants are shepherds*, Gn 47³, is either an unusual orthography or simply a misspelling for **רָעִי**.

S Rem. 1. As soon as a sentence which begins with an uninflected predicate is carried on after the mention of the subject, the gender and number of the subsequent (co-ordinate) predicates must coincide with those of the subject, e.g. Gn 14¹⁴ **וְהָיָה מֵאֵרֶת יְהוָה** (see *o* above); Nu 9⁶, Ez 14¹; cf. also Gn 30³⁹ (see *p* above).

t 2. The dislike mentioned in *p* above, of using the feminine form (cf., further, § 144 *a*, with the sections of the Grammar referred to there, and below, under *u*), is exemplified sometimes by the fact that of several predicates only that which stands next to the feminine substantive is inflected as feminine (cf. the treatment of several attributes following a feminine substantive, § 132 *d*); thus in Is 14⁹ **רָנוּהָ**, and afterwards **עוֹרֵר** (but **עוֹרֵר** is better taken as an infin. abs. = *excitando*, reading **הָקֵם** for **הָקִים**); 33⁹ **אָבַל** *mourneth, languisheth the land*. Cf. Jer 4³⁰, and the examples (§ 47 *k*) where only the first of several consecutive forms of the 2nd sing. fem. imperf. has the affirmative *i*, Is 57⁸, Jer 3⁵, Ez 22⁴, 23³² (**תִּקְוֶה** after **תִּשְׁתִּי**); on the converse sequence of genders in imperatives, Na 3¹⁵, cf. § 110 *k*.—Of a different kind are instances like Lv 21¹, 51¹, 20⁶, where **נָפֵשׁ** *person* (fem.) as the narrative continues, assumes (in agreement with the context) the sense of a masculine person.

u 3. The instances in which the gender or number of the following predicate appears to differ from that of the subject are due partly to manifest errors in the text, e.g. Gn 32⁹ read with the Samaritan **הָאֶחָד** instead of **וְהָיָה**; then follows correctly; 1 S 22⁰ read with Wellhausen **שָׁאֵל**, according to 12²⁸, instead of **שָׁאֵל**; 1 S 16⁴ read **וַיֵּאמְרוּ**; Ez 18²⁹ instead of **וְהָיָה** read the plural as in verse 25; so also Ez 20³⁸ for **וַיָּבוֹא**,² and in Jb 6²⁰ for **בָּטַח**; in La 5¹⁰ read **נִבְכָּר**, and cf. in general, § 7 *d*, note; 1 Ch 24⁸ read **יִלְרָה**; in Jer 48¹⁵ also the text is certainly corrupt. Other instances are due to special reasons. The anomalies in Is 49¹¹, Ho 14¹, Pr 11⁶ (after **וַיִּלְכְּדוּ**), **וְיִלְכְּדוּ** (after **וַיִּלְכְּדוּ**), 63⁴, Pr 5², 10^{21,32}, 18⁶, 26²³, Jb 15⁶ (all after **וַיִּשְׁפְּטוּ**), Pr 3² (after **וַיִּמְצְאוּ**), **וְיִמְצְאוּ** (after **וַיִּמְצְאוּ**), Dn 11⁴¹ (read **וַיִּבְנוּ**), and perhaps Gn 20¹⁷ are also to be explained (see *p*) from the dislike of the 3rd plur. fem. imperf.; moreover, in Jer 44¹⁹, Pr 26²² the plur. masc. even of a participle occurs instead of the plur. fem.—In Gn 31⁸ **וְהָיָה**, after a plural subject, is explained as a case of attraction to the following singular predicate.³—In Gn 47⁷ **וְיִבְנֶיךָ**

¹ This does not include such cases as Jb 24⁷⁻¹⁰, where **עָרוֹם** is rather to be explained as an accusative denoting a state, § 118 *n*.

² **וַיָּבוֹא** probably an error for **וַיָּבֹאוּ**. The Masora on Lv 11³⁴ reckons fourteen instances of **וַיָּבֹאוּ**, where we should expect the plural.

³ So also the pronoun **הוּא** emphatically resuming the subject (see § 141 *h*) is attracted to the predicate in number in Jos 13¹⁴ **הוּא הָיָה לְהוֹרְתוֹ** . . . **וְהָיָה לְהוֹרְתוֹ** *the offerings of the Lord . . . that is his inheritance*; in number and gender, Lv 25³³ **וְהָיָה לְהוֹרְתוֹ**; Jer 10³.

is a substantival participle (*a lurker, a coucher*). In Gn 47²⁴ יְהִיָּה remains undefined in gender (masc.), although the noun precedes for the sake of emphasis; so also in Gn 28²², Ex 12⁴⁰, 28^{7,32}, Nu 9¹⁴, 15²⁰, Jer 50⁴⁶, Ec 2⁷ (לִי יְהִיָּה as if the sentence began afresh, *and servants born in my house . . . there fell to my lot this possession* also). In Jb 20²⁶ לֹא-נִפַּח may (unless אִשׁ is regarded as masculine, § 122 o) be taken impersonally, *fire, without its being blown upon*.—In Is 16⁸ and Hb 3¹⁷ the predicate in the singular is explained from the collective character of שְׂרָמֹת (see *h* above); on the other hand, the masculine form of the predicate is abnormal in ψ 87³, Pr 2¹⁰, 12²⁵, 29²⁵, Jb 8⁷, 36¹⁸.

§ 146. Construction of Compound Subjects.

1. When the subject is composed of a *nomen regens* (in the construct *a* state) with a following genitive, the predicate sometimes agrees in gender and number not with the *nomen regens*, but with the genitive, when this represents the principal idea of the compound subject.¹ Thus 1 S 2⁴ קִשְׁת׃ גִּבּוֹרִים חֲתִים *the bow of the mighty men is broken*, as if it were *the mighty men with their bow are broken*; Ex 26¹², Lv 13⁹, 1 K 1⁴¹ (but the text is clearly very corrupt), 17¹⁶, Is 2¹¹, 21¹⁷, Zc 8¹⁰, Jb 15²⁰, 21²¹, 29¹⁰, 32⁷ (רַב שָׁנִים equivalent to *many years*); 38²³; with the predicate preceding, 2 S 10⁹, unless it is to be explained according to § 145 *k*.

Rem. 1. The cases in which קוֹל (*voice, sound*) with a following genitive *b* stands at the beginning of a sentence, apparently in this construction, are really of a different kind. The קוֹל is there to be taken as an exclamation, and the supposed predicate as in apposition to the genitive, e.g. Gn 4¹⁰ *the voice of thy brother's blood, which crieth* (prop. as *one crying*) . . . ! = *hark! thy brother's blood is crying, &c.*; Is 13⁴, 66⁴. In Is 52⁸ an independent verbal-clause follows the exclamation *the voice of thy watchmen!*; in Jer 16²² and Ct 2⁸ an independent noun-clause; in Is 40³ קוֹל קָרָא *the voice of one that crieth!* i.e. *hark! there is one crying* is followed immediately by direct speech; in Mi 6⁹ קוֹל *hark!* may be used disconnectedly (cf. the almost adverbial use of קוֹל in § 144 *m*) and יְהוָה be taken as the subject to יִקְרָא.

2. When the substantive כֻּל (כָּל-) *entirety* is used in connexion with a *c* genitive as subject of the sentence, the predicate usually agrees in gender and number with the genitive, since כֻּל is equivalent in sense to an attribute (*whole, all*) of the genitive; hence, e.g. with the predicate preceding, Gn 5⁵ וַיְהִי כָל-יְמֵי אָדָם *and all the days of Adam were, &c.* (in 5²³, 9²⁹ וַיְהִי; but the Samaritan reads וַיְהִי here also); Ex 15²⁰; with the predicate following, ψ 150⁶, &c. Exceptions are, e.g. Lv 17¹⁴ (but cf. § 145 *l*), Jos 8²⁵, Is 64¹⁰, Pr 16², Na 3⁷. On the other hand, in such cases as Ex 12¹⁶ the agreement of the

¹ Sometimes, however, the attraction of the predicate to the genitive may be merely due to juxtaposition.

predicate with **כָּל־** is explained from the stress laid upon the latter, **כָּל־מְלָאכָה** **לֹא** being equivalent to *the whole of work* (is forbidden).

d 2. When the subject of the sentence consists of several nouns connected by *wāw copulative*, usually

(a) The predicate *following* is put in the plural, e.g. Gn 8²² *seed time and harvest, and cold and heat . . . shall not cease* (לֹא יִשְׁבָּחוּ); after subjects of different genders it is in the masculine (as the *prior gender*, cf. § 132 d), e.g. Gn 18¹¹ *Abraham and Sarah were old*; Dt 28³², 1 K 1²¹.

c Rem. Rare exceptions are Pr 27⁹ *ointment and perfume rejoice the heart*, where the predicate agrees in gender with the masculine **שִׁמֵן** (as in Is 51³ with **שִׁשְׁוֹן**); on the other hand, in Ex 21⁴ (where **הָאִשָּׁה** **וַיִּלְדֶּיהָ** are the subjects) it agrees with **הָאִשָּׁה** as being the principal person; in the compound sentence, Is 9⁴, it agrees with the feminine subject immediately preceding.¹

f (b) The predicate *preceding* two or more subjects may likewise be used in the plural (Gn 40¹, Jb 3⁵, &c.); not infrequently, however, it agrees in gender and number with the first, as being the subject nearest to it. Thus the predicate is put in the singular masculine before several masculines singular in Gn 9²³, 11²⁹, 21³², 24⁵⁰, 34²⁰, Ju 14⁵; before a masculine and a feminine singular, e.g. Gn 3⁸, 24⁵⁵ *then said* (וַיֹּאמֶר) *her brother and her mother*; 33⁷; before a masculine singular and a plural, e.g. Gn 7⁷ *and Noah went in, and his sons, &c.*; Gn 8¹⁸ (where feminines plural also follow); 44¹⁴, Ex 15¹, 2 S 5²¹; before collectives feminine and masculine, 2 S 12².

g Similarly, the feminine singular occurs before several feminines singular, e.g. Gn 31¹⁴ *then answered Rachel and Leah*; before a feminine singular and a feminine plural, e.g. Gn 24⁶¹; before a feminine singular and a masculine singular, Nu 12¹ *then spake Miriam and Aaron*; Ju 5¹; before a feminine singular and a masculine plural, e.g. Gn 33⁷ (cf., on the other hand, ψ 75⁴ *dissolved are the earth and all the inhabitants thereof*). The plural feminine occurs before a plural feminine and a plural masculine in Am 8¹³.—In Jer 44²⁵ for *read them* **אָתָם וַיִּשְׁכֶּם** **אָתָם** with the LXX, and cf. verse 19.

h (c) When other predicates follow after the subjects have been mentioned, they are necessarily put in the plural; cf. Gn 21³², 24⁶¹, 31¹⁴, 33⁷, &c., and § 145 s.

¹ Similarly with a mixed object, Gn 33² *he put . . . Leah and her children after*; **אֲחֵרֵיכֶם** agrees with the masculine immediately preceding.

§ 147. *Incomplete Sentences.*

1. Sentences are called *incomplete*, in which either the subject or *a* the predicate or both must in some way be supplied from the context.¹ Besides the instances enumerated in § 116 *s* (omission of the personal pronoun when subject of a participial clause) and the periphrases for negative attributes § 152 *u*, this description includes certain (noun-) clauses introduced by הִנֵּה (see *b* below), and also a number of exclamations of the most varied kinds (see *c* below).

Rem. Incomplete sentences are very common in Chronicles, but are mostly due to the bad condition of the text; cf. Driver, *Introd.*⁶, p. 537, no. 27. Thus in 2 Ch 11^{22b} restore הָיָה, with the LXX, before לְהַמְלִיכוֹ; in 35²¹ add אֲנִי, with the LXX, after הָיָה and read פָּרַח for בָּיִת; in 2 Ch 19⁶ and 28²¹ the pronoun הוּא is wanted as subject, and in 30³ the predicate הָיָה; cf. also the unusual expressions in 1 Ch 9³³ (Ezr 3³), 1 Ch 15¹³ (*ye were not present?*), 2 Ch 15⁸, 16^{10,12} (*bis*), 16⁹.

2. The demonstrative particle הִנֵּה, הִנֵּה *en*, *ecce* may be used either *b* absolutely (as a kind of interjection, cf. § 105 *b*) before complete noun- or verbal-clauses, e.g. Gn 28¹⁵ וְהִנֵּה אֲנִי עִמָּךְ *and, behold! I am with thee*; 37⁷, 48²¹, Ex 3¹³, 34¹⁰, or may take the pronoun, which would be the natural subject of a noun-clause, in the form of a suffix, see § 100 *o*. Whether these suffixes are to be regarded as in the accusative has been shown to be doubtful in § 100 *p*. However, in the case of הִנֵּה the analogy of the corresponding Arabic demonstrative particle 'inna (followed by an accusative of the noun) is significant.² If הִנֵּה with a suffix and a following adjective or participle (see the examples in § 116 *p* and *q*) forms a noun-clause, the subject proper, to which הִנֵּה with the suffix refers, must, strictly speaking, be supplied again before the predicate.³ Sometimes, however, the pronoun referring to the subject is wanting, and the simple הִנֵּה takes the place of the

¹ This does not apply to such cases as Gn 33⁸, where an infinitive with הֵן appears alone in answer to a question, the substance of the question being presupposed as a main clause; cf. also Gn 26⁷, where הָיָה must again be supplied after אֲשַׁחֲתֶה.

² On the same analogy any substantive following הִנֵּה would have to be regarded as originally a virtual accusative. Since, however, Hebrew does not possess case-terminations (as the Arabic does, and uses the accusative necessarily after 'inna), it is very doubtful whether, and how far, substantives following הִנֵּה were felt to be accusatives.

³ That these are real noun-clauses and that the participle (e.g. מֵת in מֵת הִנֵּה Gn 20³) cannot be taken as a second accusative (as it were *ecce te moriturum*), is also shown by the analogy of Arabic, where after 'inna with an accusative the predicate is expressly in the *nominative*.

subject and copula (as Gn 18⁹ הִנֵּה בָּאֵהָל *behold she is in the tent*; 42²⁸), or there is no indication whatever of the predicate, so that the sentence is limited to הִנֵּה with the suffix, as in the frequent use of הִנֵּנִי, הִנֵּנִי *here am I*, in answer to an address. Elsewhere a substantive follows הִנֵּה (or הִן Gn 11⁶, Jb 31³⁵), and הִנֵּה then includes the meaning of a demonstrative pronoun and the copula, e.g. Gn 22⁷ הִנֵּה הָאֵשׁ וְהָעֵצִים *here is the fire and the wood*, &c.; 12¹⁹ *behold thou hast thy wife*! Ex 24⁸; with reference to the past, e.g. Am 7¹ וְהִנֵּה לְקֵשׁ וְג' *and lo, it was the latter growth*, &c. By a very pregnant construction the simple הִנֵּה is used as the equivalent of a sentence in Jb 9¹⁹, *lo, here am I*!

- c 3. Examples of exclamations (threatening, complaining, triumphing, especially warlike or seditious) in which, owing to the excitement of the speaker, some indispensable member of the sentence is suppressed, are—(a) with suppression of the predicate (which has frequently to be supplied in the form of a jussive), e.g. Ju 7²⁰ *a sword for the Lord and for Gideon*! (verse 18 without הָיָה); 2 S 20¹ and 2 Ch 10¹⁶ (cf. also 1 K 22³⁶) *every man to his tents, O Israel*! (i.e. *let every man go to or remain in his tent*); without אֵשׁ 1 K 12¹⁶; moreover, Is 1²⁸, 13⁴ (on the exclamatory קִל equivalent to *hark*! cf. § 146 b); 28¹⁰, 29¹⁶ (הִפְכֵּךְכֶּם *O your perversity*! i.e. *how great it is*!); Jer 49¹⁶ (if תִּפְלַעַתְךָ be equivalent to *terror be upon thee*!); Jo 4¹⁴, Mal 1¹³ הִנֵּה מַתְלָאָה *behold what a weariness*!); Jb 22²⁰; perhaps also Gn 49⁴ פָּחוּ כַּפַּיִם *a bubbling over as water* (sc. happened), unless it is better to supply a subject אַתָּה (*thou wast*).—(b) With suppression of the subject, Ju 4²⁰, cf. § 152 k; Jb 15²³ אֵיךְ *where* sc. is bread?—(c) With suppression of both subject and predicate, Ju 7¹⁸ (see above); 1 K 12¹⁶ (see above); 2 K 9²⁷ אֵתוֹ גַּם *him also*! explained immediately afterwards by הַבְּהִי *smite him*! Ho 5⁸ *after thee, Benjamin*! sc. is the enemy (differently in Ju 5¹⁴); ψ 6⁴, 90¹³, Hb 2⁶ עֲדִמְכִי; ψ 74⁹ עֲדִמָּה.—On וְלֹא *and if not* (unless וְלֹא is to be read), 2 S 13²⁶, 2 K 5¹⁷, see § 159 dd.

- d Rem. 1. To the class of incomplete sentences naturally belong exclamations introduced by interjections אַהֵה, אַי, הוּי, הֵם; ¹ cf. § 105. After the first two the object of the *threat* or *imprecation* follows regularly with לְ (cf. *vae tibi*) or אֶל־ or עַל־, e.g. אַי לָנוּ *voe unto us*! 1 S 4⁸, Is 6⁵; cf. also אַהֵה לַיּוֹם *alas for the day*! Jo 1¹⁷; on the other hand, the object of *commiseration* (after הוּי) follows mostly in the vocative, or rather in the accusative of exclamation (cf. *vae te* in Plautus); so in lamentation for the dead, אַי הוּי אַי *alas, my brother*! 1 K 13³⁰,

¹ We do not consider here the cases in which these interjections (e.g. הֵם Ju 3¹⁹, Am 6¹⁰) stand quite disconnectedly (so always אַח and אַחָא).

Jer 22¹⁸; אֵלֶּה הָיָה הָאֱלֹהִים *ah, sinful nation!* Is 1⁴, 5^{8.11.18.20.22} (*ah! they that . . .*).—For אֵלֶּה cf. Hb 2²⁰, Zp 1⁷, Ze 2¹⁷.

2. Finally, instances of noun-clauses shortened in an unusual manner *ε* may perhaps occur in יְדֵיהֶם and רַגְלֵיהֶם ψ 115⁷, for לָהֶם *they have hands*, &c.; cf. verses 5 and 6 פָּהֶם, &c. Perhaps also וּפִלְגָּשׁוֹ Gn 22²⁴, and וְהָיָה Ec 5¹⁶ are to be regarded in the same way, but hardly נְבִיאָם Nu 12⁶; cf. § 128 d above.

II. Special Kinds of Sentences.

§ 148. Exclamations.

The originally interrogative מָה is used to introduce exclamations *α* of wonder or indignation = *O how!* or ridicule, *why! how!* sometimes strengthened by הֵן or וְהֵן according to § 136 c.—Astonishment or indignation at something which has happened is introduced by מָה *how* (likewise originally interrogative) with the perfect; the indignant refusal of a demand by מָה (but also by מָה Jb 31¹) with the imperfect; an exclamation of lamentation by מָה, less frequently מָה *how!*; in Jo 1¹⁸ by מָה.

Examples:—

מָה (or מָה with a following *Dageš*, see § 37) expressing admiration (or *b* astonishment) before verbal-clauses, e.g. Gn 27²⁰ (מָה זֶה); 38²⁹, Nu 24⁵ (*how goodly are . . .!*); ψ 21², Ct 7²; before the predicate of noun-clauses, e.g. Gn 28¹⁷, ψ 8²; mockingly before the verb, 2 S 6²⁰ (*how glorious was . . .!*); Jer 22²³, Jb 26²⁴; indignantly, Gn 3¹³ מָה-זֶה; 4¹⁰, 20⁹, 31²⁰ *what hast thou done!*

מָה with the perfect, e.g. Gn 26⁹, ψ 73¹⁹; in scornful exclamation, Is 14^{4.12}; in a lament (usually מָה, 2 S 1^{26.27}; with the imperfect, in a reproachful question, Gn 39⁹, 44⁸, ψ 11¹, 137⁴; in a mocking imitation of lament, Mi 2⁴.

מָה with the perfect, Is 1²¹, La 1¹; with the imperfect, La 2¹, 4¹.

Rem. 1. The close relation between a question and an exclamation appears *c* also in the interrogative personal pronoun מִי in such cases as Mi 7¹³ מִי־אֵל כְּמֹנֶה *who is a God like unto thee?* and so in general in *rhetorical* questions as the expression of a forcible denial; similarly in the use of an interrogative sentence to express a wish, see §§ 150 d, 151 a.

2. A weaker form of exclamation is sometimes produced by the insertion *d* of a corroborative כִּי *verily, surely*, before the predicate, Gn 18²⁰; cf. 33¹¹, Is 7⁹, and the analogous cases in the apodoses of conditional sentences, § 159 ee.

§ 149. Sentences which express an Oath or Asseveration.

The particle אֲנִי, in the sense of *certainly not*, and אֲנִי-לֹא (rarely כִּי *α* Gn 22¹⁶) in the sense of *certainly*, are used to introduce promises or threats confirmed by an oath (especially after such formulae as הִי־יָהוָה,

הִי־נִפְשָׁךְ, &c., as well as after imprecations, see below), and also simple asseverations, e.g. 1 S 2³⁰, 2 S 20²⁰, Jb 27⁵ after חַלְלָהּ *far be it from me*, but mostly without any introductory formula.

- b* Rem. No certain explanation of these particles has yet been given. According to the usual view, phrases expressing an oath depend on the suppression of an imprecation upon oneself, e.g. *the Lord do so unto me, if I do it* equivalent to *I certainly will not do it*; then naturally אִם־לֹא properly *if I do it* not equivalent to *I certainly will do it*. It is indeed difficult to understand such self-imprecations, put into the mouth of God, as in Dt 1^{34 f.}, Is 14²⁴, 22¹⁴, Jer 22⁶, Ez 3⁶, 35⁶, ψ 95¹¹. Possibly, however, the consciousness of the real meaning of the formula was lost at an early period, and אִם־לֹא simply came to express *verily*, אִם *verily not*.—In 1 S 25²², where, instead of a self-imprecation, a curse is pronounced upon others, read לְדָוִד with the LXX for לְאִיבִי דָּוִד.

Examples:—

- c* (a) The particles אִם and אִם־לֹא used after the utterance of an oath and after formulae of swearing, e.g. 2 S 11¹¹ (see note on *a*) חַי־יְהוָה וְחַי נַפְשְׁךָ אִם־אֶעֱשֶׂה אֶת־הַדָּבָר הַזֶּה *as the Lord liveth, and as thy soul liveth, I will not do this thing*; 1 S 14⁴⁵, 2 K 5¹⁶ (after יְהוָה חַי; in 1 S 14³⁹ and 29⁶ חַי־י is followed by a simple *בִּי*); Ct 2⁷, 3⁵ (after הִשְׁבַּעְתִּי *I adjure you*); cf. also Gn 14²³, 21³³, 26²⁹; spoken by God, Dt 1^{34 f.}, 1 S 3¹⁴, ψ 95¹¹; similarly אִם־לֹא Gn 24^{37 f.}; spoken by God, Is 14²⁴, where אִם־לֹא occurs first with the perfect in the sense of a prophetic perfect, § 106 *n*, but in the parallel clause with the imperfect; Jer 22⁶; in Gn 31⁵² the negative oath introduced by אִם־אֶנִּי, אִם־אֶתָּה is immediately afterwards continued by לֹא with the imperfect.—In Ez 34¹⁰ the threat introduced in verse 8 by אִם־לֹא is, after a long parenthesis, resumed with הִנְנִי.
- d* (b) אִם and אִם־לֹא after formulae of cursing, e.g. 1 S 3¹⁷ בָּהּ יַעֲשֶׂה־לָּךְ אֱלֹהִים וְכֵה יוֹסִיף אִם־תִּכְחֹד מִפְּנֵי דָבָר וּג' *God do so to thee, and more also! thou shalt not hide anything from me, &c.*; cf. 1 S 25²². On the other hand, בִּי follows the curse, in 1 S 14⁴⁴, 1 K 2²³ (here with a perfect), and in 2 S 3³⁵ אִם; in 1 S 25³⁴ the preceding בִּי is repeated before אִם; in 1 S 20¹³ the purport of the asseveration is repeated (after the insertion of a conditional sentence) in the perfect consecutive.
- e* (c) אִם and אִם־לֹא as simple particles of asseveration, e.g. Ju 5⁸ מִגֵּן וְיָסֵר אִם־הָרָאָה וְלִמָּח וּג' *truly, there was not a shield and spear seen, &c.*; Is 22¹⁴, Jb 6²⁸ (in the middle of the sentence); after חָלְלָהּ חָלְלָהּ *absit*, 2 S 20²⁰; אִם־לֹא with the imperf. Is 5⁹, with the perfect, Jb 22²⁰.

¹ Also combined חַי־יְהוָה וְחַי נַפְשְׁךָ 1 S 20³, 25²⁶ *as the Lord liveth, and as thy soul (i.e. thou) liveth!* (Also in 2 S 11¹¹ read חַי־יְהוָה instead of the impossible חַי־יָדְךָ). On חַי and חַי־י in these noun-clauses (prop. *living is the Lord, &c.*), cf. § 93 *aa*, note.

§ 150. Interrogative Sentences.

H. G. Mitchell, 'The omission of the interrogative particle,' in *Old Test. and Sem. Studies in memory of W. R. Harper*, Chicago, 1907, i, 113 ff.

1. A question need not necessarily be introduced by a special *a* interrogative pronoun or adverb. Frequently¹ the natural emphasis upon the words is of itself sufficient to indicate an interrogative sentence as such; cf. Gn 27²⁴ וְהָ בְנִי עֵשָׂו אֵתָהּ *thou art my son Esau?* (but cf. note 1 below) Gn 18¹², Ex 33¹⁴ (אֵי בְנֵי); 1 S 11¹² וְיִמְלֹךְ שָׁאוּל *Saul shall reign over us?* 1 S 22⁷, 2 S 16¹⁷, 18²⁹ לַפֶּעַר שְׁלוֹם *is it well with the young man?* (but cf. note 1); 1 S 16⁴, 1 K 1²⁴, Is 28²⁸, Ho 4¹⁶, Zc 8⁶ (*should it also be marvellous in mine eyes?*); Pr 5¹⁶. So especially, when the interrogative clause is connected with a preceding sentence by וְ, e.g. Jn 4¹¹ וְאֵי לֹא אֲחֻם *and I should not have pity?* Ex 8²² *will they not stone us?* Ju 11²³, 14¹⁶, 1 S 20⁹, 24²⁰, 25¹¹, 2 S 11¹¹, 15²⁰, Is 37¹¹, 44^{10b}, Jer 25²⁹, 45⁵, 49¹², Ez 20³¹, Jb 2¹⁰, 10⁹; or when (as in some of the examples just given) it is negative (with לֹא for הֲלֹא *nonne?*), 2 K 5²⁶ (but cf. note 1), La 3³³.²

Rem. The statement formerly made here that the interrogative particle is omitted especially before gutturals, cannot be maintained in view of Mitchell's statistics (op. cit. p. 123 f.). The supposed considerations of euphony are quite disproved by the 118 cases in which הָ or הֶ occurs before a guttural.

2. As a rule, however, the simple question is introduced by *He c* interrogative הָ (הֶ; as to its form, cf. § 100 k-n), *ne?* *num?* the disjunctive question by הֶ (*num?* *utrum?*) in the first clause, and אִם³ (also אִםִּי, less frequently אִן) *an?* in the second, e.g. 1 K 22¹⁵ . . . הֲלֹא־הָ

¹ Mitchell (op. cit.) restricts the number of instances to 39, of which he attributes 12 (or 17) to corruption of the text. Thus in Gn 27²⁴ he would read, with the Samaritan, אֵתָהּ as in verse 21, in 1 S 16⁴ הֲשָׁלֵם, in 2 S 18²⁹ הֲשָׁלֵם as in verse 32; similarly he would read the interrogative particle in 2 K 5²⁶, Ez 11³, Jb 40²⁵, 41¹; 1 S 30⁸, 2 K 9¹⁹, Ez 11¹³, 17⁹.

² But in 1 S 27¹⁰ instead of לֹא (which according to the usual explanation would expect a negative answer) read either אֶל־מִי (עֲלִי־מִי) with the LXX, or better, אֵן (אֲנִה) *whither?* with the Targum. In 2 S 23⁵ read הֲלֹא־הָ הֲפִצִּי with Wellhausen.

³ Quite exceptional is the use of the particle אִן *num?* (common in Aramaic) in 1 S 21⁹ וְאִן יֵשׁ־פֹּה *num est hic?* The text is, however, undoubtedly corrupt; according to Wellhausen, *Text der Bücher Sam.*, the LXX express the reading הֲיֵשׁ הֲיֵשׁ; but cf. the full discussion of the passage by König, *ZAW.* xviii. 239 ff.—The above does not apply to interrogative sentences introduced by interrogative pronouns (§ 37) or by the interrogatives compounded with מָה *what?* such as מָה פְּמָה *how many?* מָה לָּמָה *why?* (see § 102 k), מָה מָה *why?* (§ 99 e), or by הֲיֵה *where?* הֲיֵה *how?* (§ 148), &c. On the transformation of

נִהְיֶה¹ אִם shall we go . . . or shall we forbear? Cf. also אֵן where? whither? אֵנָה whither, and J. Barth, *Sprachwiss. Untersuchungen*, i. 13 ff.

d The particular uses are as follows:—

(a) The particle הֲ stands primarily before the simple question, when the questioner is wholly uncertain as to the answer to be expected, and may be used either before noun-clauses, e.g. Gn 43⁷ הֲחַיִּים לְךָ אָחִי הַיֵּשׁ לְךָ brother? for הֲיֵשׁ cf. Gn 24²³, 1 S 9¹¹; for הֲכִי is it that? Jb 6²²; for הֲכִי יֵשׁ is there yet? 2 S 9¹ (but in 2 S 23¹⁹ for הֲכִי read הֲנֹה with 1 Ch 11²⁵); for הֲאֵין is there not? 1 K 22⁷, &c.; or before verbal-clauses, e.g. Jb 2³ הֲשָׁמַעְתָּ לְבָבְךָ hast thou considered (הַשְׁמַעְתָּ לְבָבְךָ) my servant Job? In other cases הֲ (= num?) is used before questions, to which, from their tone and contents, a negative answer is expected, e.g. Jb 14¹⁴ הֲיִחְיֶה shall he indeed live again? Sometimes a question is so used only as a rhetorical form instead of a negative assertion, or of a surprised or indignant refusal,² e.g. 2 S 7⁵ הֲבֵית תִּבְנֶה־לִּי בֵית shall thou build me an house? (in the parallel passage 1 Ch 17⁴ לֹא אֶבְנֶה וְג' thou shalt not, &c.); Gn 4⁹ אֲמִי אֶנֶכִּי am I my brother's keeper? cf. 2 K 5⁷, and the two passages where הֲ is used before the infinitive (constr. Jb 34¹⁸, absol. Jb 40²; on both, see § 113 ee, with the note).—On the other hand, in 1 K 16³¹ for הֲנִקֵּל (אֲחִי) read הִנֵּקֵל.

c Rem. 1. A few passages deserve special mention, in which the use of the interrogative is altogether different from our idiom, since it serves merely to express the conviction that the contents of the statement are well known to the hearer, and are unconditionally admitted by him. Thus, Gn 3¹¹ surely thou hast eaten; Gn 27³⁶ קָרָא הֲכִי prop. is it so that one names? &c., i. e. of a truth he is rightly named Jacob; Gn 29¹⁵ verily thou art my brother; Dt 11³⁰, Ju 4⁶, 1 S 2²⁷ I did indeed, &c.; 20²⁷, 1 K 22³ ye know surely . . .; Mi 3¹, Jb 20⁴.—In 1 S 23¹⁹ (cf. ψ 54²) a surprising communication is introduced in this way (by הֲלֹא) in order to show it to be absolutely true, and in Am 9⁷ a concession is expressed by הֲלֹא I have, it is true, &c. Finally, we may include the formula of quotation הֲלֹא הִיא כְּתוּבָה Jos 10¹³ or כְּתוּבִים הֵם הֲלֹא equivalent to surely it is, they are written (the latter in 1 K 11⁴¹, 14²⁰, and very often elsewhere in the books of Kings and Chronicles), synonymous with the simple formula of assertion הִנֵּה כְּתוּבָה 2 S 1¹⁸, and הִנֵּם כְּתוּבִים 1 K 14¹⁸, 2 K 15¹⁴, 2 Ch 27⁷, 32³².

Of very frequent occurrence also are questions introduced by לָמָּה, which really contain an affirmation and are used to state the reason for a request or warning, e.g. 2 S 2²² turn thee aside . . . wherefore should I smite thee to the ground? i. e. otherwise I will (or must) smite, &c.; cf. 1 S 19¹⁷, and Driver on the passage; 2 Ch 25¹⁶; also Gn 27⁴⁵, Ex 32¹² (Jo 2¹⁷, ψ 79¹⁰, 115²); Ct 1⁷, Ec 5⁵, 7¹⁷, Dn 1¹⁰.

pronouns and adverbs into interrogative words by means of a prefixed אֵי, see the Lexicon.

¹ On the use of the *imperfect* in deliberative questions, see § 107 t; on the *perfectum confidentiae* in interrogative sentences, see § 106 n.

² Analogous to this is the use of the interrogative מָה in the sense of a reproachful remonstrance instead of a prohibition, as Ct 8⁴ מַה-תְּעִירֵנִי why should ye stir up? i. e. pray, stir not up; cf. also Jb 31¹; see above, § 148.

2. The rare cases in which a *simple* question is introduced by **אֲנִי** (as sometimes in Latin by *an? is it?*) are really due to the suppression of the first member of a double question; thus 1 K 1²⁷, Is 29¹⁶, Jb 6¹², 39¹³.

(b) Disjunctive questions are, as a rule, introduced by **אֲנִי—וְ** (*utrum—an?*) ^f or sometimes by **אֲנִי¹—וְ**, e. g. Jo 1², Jb 21⁴ (even with **וְ** repeated after **אֲנִי** in a question which implies disbelief, Gn 17¹⁷). In Jb 34¹⁷, 40^{8 f} special emphasis is given to the first member by **הֲאִינִי** prop. *is it even?* The second member is introduced by **וְ** or in 2 K 6²⁷, Jb 16³, 38²⁸, 31³⁶ (Mal 1⁸ **וְ** **אִנִּי**), in each case before **וְ**, and hence no doubt for euphonic reasons, to avoid the combination **וְ** **אֲנִי**; cf. also Ju 18¹⁹, Ec 2¹⁹.

Double questions with (**אֲנִי**) **אֲנִי—וְ** need not always be mutually exclusive; ^h frequently the disjunctive form serves (especially in poetic parallelism; but cf. also e. g. Gn 37³) merely to repeat the same question in different words, and thus to express it more emphatically. So Jb 4¹⁷ *shall mortal man be just before God?* or (**אֲנִי**) *shall a man be pure before his Maker?* Jb 6^{5 f}, 8³, 10^{4 f}, 11^{2 f}, 22³, Is 10¹⁵, Jer 5²⁹. The second member may, therefore, just as well be connected by a simple **וְ**, e. g. Jb 13⁷, 15^{7 f}, 38^{16 f. 22.32.39}; cf. also **וְ** 8⁵ after **וְ**; Jb 21^{17 f} after **וְ**; or even without a conjunction, Jb 8¹¹, 22⁴; after **וְ** 144³.

(c) With regard to *indirect* questions² after verbs of inquiring, doubting, ⁱ examining, ³ &c., simple questions of this kind take either **וְ** *whether*, Gn 8^{3, 4} or **אֲנִי** Gn 15⁵, 2 K 1², Ct 7¹³; even before a noun-clause, Jer 5¹; in 1 S 20¹⁰ the indirect question is introduced by **אִנִּי**, i. e. probably *if perchance*. In disjunctives (*whether—or*) **אֲנִי—וְ** Nu 13¹⁸ at the end (or **אֲנִי—וְ** Gn 24²¹, 27²¹, 37³², Ex 16⁴), and **וְ—וְ** Nu 13¹⁸, which is followed by **אֲנִי—וְ**; also **אִנִּי—וְ** Ec 2¹⁹. The formula **אֲנִי יוֹדֵעַ מִי** has an affirmative force, *who knows whether...* ^{not}, like the Latin *nescio an*, Est 4¹⁴.

In Jon 1^{7, 8} the relative pronouns **וְ** and **וְ** owing to the following **לְ** have become also interrogative, *for whose cause?*

(d) **וְ** and **וְ** (cf. § 136 c) immediately after the interrogative serve to ^l give vividness to the question; so also **אֲנִי** (for which **אֲנִי** five times in Job) *then, now*, Gn 27³³ **וְ** **אֲנִי** *who then is he?* Ju 9²⁸, Is 19¹², Jb 17¹⁵; **אֲנִי**

¹ **אֲנִי** occurs in Pr 27²⁴ after a negative statement; we should, however, with Dyserinck read **אֲנִי**. Not less irregular is **אֲנִי** instead of **אֲנִי** **אֲנִי** in the second clause of Ju 14¹⁵, but the text can hardly be correct (cf. Moore, *Ju3ges*, New York, 1895, p. 337); in 1 S 23¹¹ the second **וְ** introduces a fresh question which is only loosely connected with the first.—In Nu 17²⁸ and in the third clause of Jb 6¹³, **אֲנִי** is best taken with Ewald in the sense of **אֲנִי**, since **אֲנִי** from its use in oaths (see above, § 149 b) may simply mean *verily not*.

² It should here be remarked that the distinction between direct and indirect questions cannot have been recognized by the Hebrew mind to the same extent as it is in Latin or English. In Hebrew there is no difference between the two kinds of sentence, either as regards mood (as in Latin) or in tense and position of the words (as in English). Cf. also § 137 c.

³ In Gn 43⁸ the **וְ** after **וְ** is explained from the fact that the latter, according to the context, implies *to give information upon a question*.

⁴ Also in Ec 3²¹ we should read **וְ** and **וְ** (*whether—whether*) instead of the article which is assumed by the Masora.

where then is . . . ? However, **לִּנְדֹּן** may also be placed at the end of the entire question (Ex 33¹⁶, Is 22¹; also Ho 13¹⁰, since either **לִּנְדֹּן** is a dialectical form of **לִּנְדֹּן**, or **לִּנְדֹּן** should be read instead of it) or at the beginning of the question proper, after a strongly emphasized word, as in Gn 27³⁷.¹

- m (e) Sometimes one interrogative governs two co-ordinate clauses, the first of which should rather be subordinated to the second, so that the interrogative word strictly speaking affects only the second; thus Is 5⁴ after **מִדְּרִיעַ** *wherefore looked I . . . and it brought forth?* i.e. wherefore brought it forth, while I looked, &c.; Is 50²; after **הִי** Nu 32⁶, Jer 8⁴, also Nu 16²² (read **לִּנְדֹּן**); after **לִּנְדֹּן** Jos 22²⁰; after **לִּנְדֹּן** Is 58³, 2 Ch 32⁴; after **לִּנְדֹּן** Is 40²⁵.² But **הִי** Jb 4² and **לִּנְדֹּן** 4²¹ are separated from the verb to which they belong by the insertion of a conditional clause.

- n 3. The affirmative answer is generally expressed, as in Latin, by repeating the emphatic word in the question (or with the second person changed to the first, Gn 24⁵⁸, 27²⁴, 29⁵, Ju 13¹¹), Gn 29⁶, 37³², 1 S 23¹¹, 26¹⁷, 1 K 21¹⁰, Jer 37¹⁷. (On **וַיֵּשׁ** *if it be so* in the corrected text of 2 K 10¹⁵, see § 159 *dd.*) As a negative answer the simple **לֹא** is sometimes sufficient, as in Gn 19², 1 K 3²², &c.; cf. § 152 c; and in Ju 4²⁰ the simple **לֹא** equivalent to *no* or *no one*.

§ 151. Desiderative Sentences.

- a A wish may be expressed not only by the simple imperfect (§ 107 n), cohortative (§ 108, especially with **נָא** § 108 c), jussive (§ 109; with **נָא** § 109 b), imperative (§ 110 a), perfect consecutive (§ 112 aa) or by a simple noun-clause (§ 116 r, note, and § 141 g) but also in the following ways:—

1. By exclamations in the form of *interrogative* clauses:³ especially sentences with **וְ** followed by the imperfect as being the mood of that which is still unfulfilled but possible, and hence also of that which is desired, e.g. 2 S 15⁴ **מִי יַשְׁפֵּט כִּי־יִשְׁפֹּטֵנִי** *who maketh me judge?* i.e. *O that I were made judge!* 1 S 20¹⁰, 2 S 23¹⁵. On the other hand, **כִּי** with the perfect (Gn 21⁷, Nu 23¹⁰, 1 S 26⁹, Is 53¹, &c.) or participle (**וְ** 59⁸, Pr 24²², &c.), rather expresses a rhetorical question, i.e. a denial, cf. § 150 d. Especially frequent is the use of **כִּי־יִתֵּן** (prop. *who gives?*) to introduce all kinds of desiderative clauses (see under b).—In Mal 1¹⁰ the desiderative clause proper is co-ordinated with an interrogative clause,

¹ On the other hand, in Jb 9²⁴ and 24²⁵ **לִּנְדֹּן** is not prefixed to the **כִּי**, but appended to the conditional sentence.

² Cf. the analogous sentences after **וְ** *because*, Is 65¹², Jer 35¹⁷; after causal **אֲשֶׁר** 1 S 26²³; after **כִּי** Is 12¹; likewise after **וְ** § 153 at the end; after **וְ** Dt 8¹²⁻¹⁴, 25³, Jos 6¹⁸, 2 S 12²³.

³ The transition from a question to a wish may be seen, e.g. in Nu 11⁴ *who shall give us flesh to eat?* i.e. *O that we had flesh to eat!*

וְיִסְגְּרוּ דְלָתַיִם וְיִסְגְּרוּ בְּכֶם מִי *would that one were among you and would shut the doors*, i. e. O that one would shut the doors!

Rem. Sometimes the original sense of מִי־יִתֵּן is still plainly discernible, *b* e. g. Ju 9²⁹ בְּיָדִי אֶת־הָעָם הַזֶּה כִּי־יִתֵּן מִי־יִתֵּן *who gives this people into my hand?* equivalent to, O that this people were given into my hand! cf. ψ 55⁷. In these examples, however, מִי־יִתֵּן is still equivalent to *O had I!* and in numerous other instances the idea of *giving* has entirely disappeared, מִי־יִתֵּן having become stereotyped as a mere desiderative particle (*utinam*). Its construction is either—

(a) With the *accusative* (in accordance with its original meaning) of a substantive, Dt 28⁶⁷ *would that it were even! . . . morning!* Ju 9²⁹, ψ 14⁷ (53⁷), 55⁷; with an accusative and a following infinitive, Jb 11⁵; with two accusatives, Nu 11²⁰, Jer 8²³; with the accusative of an infinitive, Ex 16³, 2 S 19¹ מִי־יִתֵּן אֲנִי תַחֲתָיִךְ *would that I had died for thee* (for אֲנִי cf. § 135 f); of a participle, Jb 31³⁵; of a personal pronoun (as a suffix), Jb 29² (with a following בְּ; but מִי־יִתֵּןנִי Is 27⁴ and Jer 9¹ with a following accusative is not simply equivalent to לִי מִי־יִתֵּן, but is properly *who endows me with*, &c.; cf. § 117 f).—With a still greater weakening of the original meaning מִי־יִתֵּן is used with an adjective in Jb 14⁴ *could a clean thing but come out of an unclean!* i. e. *how can a clean thing come*, &c.; similarly in Jb 31³¹ *who can find one that hath not been satisfied!*

(b) With a following perfect, Jb 23³ (cf. § 120 e); with a perfect consecutive, C Dt 5²⁶ *O that they had such an heart!*

(c) With a following imperfect, Jb 6⁸, 13⁵, 14¹³; in Jb 19³ the imperfect is *d* twice added with *Wāw* (cf. a above, on Mal. 1¹⁰).

On the cohortative in the apodosis to such desiderative clauses, cf. § 108 f.

2. The wish may also be expressed by the particles אִם (ψ 81³, 95⁷, e 139¹⁹, Pr 24¹¹, 1 Ch 4¹⁰; always with a following imperfect) and לִי (for which in ψ 119⁵ we have אֶחָלִי, 2 K 5³ אֶחָלִי, from אָח *ah!* and לִי=לִי; both with a following imperfect) *si, o si! utinam*.¹ לִי is followed by the imperfect, Gn 17¹⁸, Jb 6²; by the jussive, Gn 30³⁴ (rather concessive, equivalent to *let it be so*); by the perfect, as the expression of a wish that something might have happened in past time (cf. § 106 p), Nu 14² מָתַנִּי לִי *would that we had died*; 20³ and Jos 7⁷ (both times וְלִי); on the other hand, Is 48¹⁸ and 63¹⁹ (both times לִנִּי) to express a wish that something expected in the future may already have happened.—On לִי with the imperative (by an anacoluthon) Gn 23¹⁸ cf. § 110 e. On the perfect after אִם בִּי Gn 40¹⁴, 2 K 5²⁰, cf. § 106 n, note 2.

¹ Cf. a similar transition from a conditional to a desiderative particle, in consequence of the suppression of the apodosis, in the English, *O if I had!* and the like; e. g. Nu 22²⁹ *if there were* (לֹא יֵשׁ) *a sword in my hand now had I surely killed thee!*

§ 152. Negative Sentences.

- a* 1. Besides the use of rhetorical questions (§§ 150 *d*, 151 *a*), independent sentences are made negative by the adverbs לֹא (Jb 6²¹, where instead of the *Keth.* לוּ we must evidently read לֹא; perhaps preserved as a substantive)=the Greek οὐ, *not*, לֹא=μή (Jb 24²⁵ as a substantive), לוֹ (it is) *not*; מְדַם *not yet*, אֲפָס *not*, אֲפָסִי (cf. § 90 *m*) *not*. The forms בַּל, בְּלִי, בְּלִיתִי *not* belong almost entirely to poetry.—With regard to לֹא and לוֹ the main distinction is that verbal-clauses (rarely noun-clauses, see *e*) are regularly negated by לֹא (besides its use as negating *single words*¹), while לוֹ is used exclusively with noun-clauses (see the examples below).
- b* The conjunctions וְכִי and וְכִי־כֵן *that not*, serve to negative dependent clauses. The particular uses of these particles are as follows:—

(*a*) לֹא (less frequently לוֹא), like οὐ, οὐκ, is used regularly for the *objective, unconditional* negation, and hence is usually connected with the perfect or imperfect (as indicative); on לֹא with the imperfect to express an unconditional prohibition, see § 107 *o*; on its use with the jussive, see § 109 *d*.—On לֹא for הֲלֹא *nonne*, in interrogative sentences, cf. § 150 *a*. In connexion with בַּל, בְּלִי (= *any*), לֹא is used to express an *absolute* negation, *nullus, none whatever* (cf. the French *ne . . . personne, ne . . . rien*), usually in the order לֹא . . . בַּל, e.g. Gn 3¹ הֲנֵן עֵץ מִכֹּל עֵץ הָאֲכָלִי מִכֹּל עֵץ הָאֲכָלִי לֹא תֹאכְלוּ מִכֹּל עֵץ הָאֲכָלִי *ye shall not eat of any tree of the garden*; 9¹¹, Ex 10¹⁵, 20¹⁰, Liv 7²³, Dt 8⁹, Jer 13⁷, 32¹⁷ לֹא בְּכֹל־דָּבָר *nothing at all*; cf. the same statement in the form of a rhetorical question, Jer 32²⁷; Pr 12²¹, 30³⁰

¹ Especially in compounds, e.g. לֹא־אֱלֹהִים lit. *a no-God* (Germ. *Ungott*) who is indeed called a god, but is not really a god, Dt 32²¹; לֹא־אֱלֹהִים verse 17, cf. Jer 5⁷, 2 Ch 13⁹; לֹא־עָם lit. *a not-people* (Germ. *Unvolk*), Dt 32²¹; לֹא־דָבָר *a nothing*, Am 6¹³; לֹא־עֵץ lit. *not-wood*, Is 10¹⁵; לֹא־אִישׁ, לֹא־אָדָם lit. *not-man, superhuman* (of God), Is 31⁸; לֹא־צֶדֶק *unrighteousness*, Jer 22¹³, cf. Ez 22²⁰; לֹא־סֶדֶק *disorder*, Jb 10²²; לֹא־חֶמֶס *not-violence*, 16¹⁷; after לִי Jb 26²¹. (לֹא־חֶמֶס, לֹא־עֵז *helplessness, לֹא־חֶמֶס *insipientia**); cf. also Is 55² לֹא־שָׂבַעְתָּ *for what is unsatisfying*; ψ 44¹³, Jb 8¹¹, 15³², 1 Ch 12³³.—In Nu 20⁵ a construct state with several genitives is negated by לֹא.—Also לֹא is used with an infinitive, Nu 35²³; with an adjective, לֹא־חָכָם *unwise*, Dt 32⁶, Ho 13¹³; לֹא־חַסִּיד *impious*, ψ 43¹; and לֹא־עָצוֹם *not strong*, Pr 30²⁵.; לֹא־רָאוּ *unsuitably*, 2 K 7⁹; לֹא־טוֹב *not-good*, Is 65², Ez 20²⁶, &c.; לֹא־טָהוֹר *not-clean*, 2 Ch 30¹⁷; with a participle, e.g. Jer 2² (unsown); 6⁸, Ez 4¹⁴, 22²⁴, Zp 2¹, 3⁵; the Masora, however, requires נִחְמָה in Is 54¹¹, נִחְמָה in 62¹², נִחְמָה in Jer 6⁸, רַחֲמָה in Ho 1⁶, i.e. always 3rd sing. fem. perf. in pause=*she was not comforted*, &c., and consequently not compounds, but either relative clauses or (Is 54¹¹, Ho 1⁶, and especially 2²⁵) main clauses instead of proper names.—On the above compounds generally, cf. the dissertation mentioned in § 81 *d*, note 2; on their use in sentences expressing a state, to convey attributive ideas, see *u* below.

מִפְּנֵי-כֹל . . . לֹא and turneth *not* away for any; 2 Ch 32¹⁵; but cf. also the inverted order, Ex 12¹⁶ כָּל-מְלָאכָה לֹא-יַעֲשֶׂה *no manner of work shall be done*; 12⁴³, 15²⁶, 22²¹, Lv 16¹⁷, Jb 33¹³, Dn 11³⁷. The meaning is different when כֹּל by being determinate is used in the sense of *whole*, e.g. Nu 23¹³ לֹא תִרְאֶה *thou shalt not see them all*, but only a part.

Analogous to כֹּל . . . לֹא is the use of לֹא . . . אִישׁ Gn 23⁶, &c., in verbal-clauses in the sense of *no one at all, not a single one*. On אִין-כֹּל *nothing at all*, see under *p*.

Rem. 1. The examples in which לֹא is used absolutely as a negative answer, *c* equivalent to *certainly not! no!* must be regarded as extremely short verbal-clauses, e.g. Gn 19² (לֹא according to the context for נִסְדָּר &c.); 23¹¹, 42¹⁰, Hag 2¹², Jb 23⁶, sometimes with a following כִּי *but*, Gn 19² (see above); Jos 5¹⁴, 1 K 3²².

2. The negation of noun-clauses by לֹא (as opposed to the regular negation אִין by אִין) always includes a certain emphasis, since the force of the negation falls rather upon a particular word (cf. e.g. Ez 36³²), than upon the whole clause. In 2 S 3³⁴ לֹא-אֶסְבֹּרֶת יָדֶיךָ *thy hands were not bound*, a participle is thus specially negated by לֹא; cf. ψ 74⁹, where, however, לֹא is separated from the participle by אֶתְּנֵנִי, and Jb 12³. As a rule, noun-clauses with a pronominal subject are thus negated by לֹא, Gn 20¹², Nu 35²³ (Dt 4⁴², 19⁴); 1 S 15²⁹, 2 S 21², Jer 4²², ψ 22⁷, Jb 28¹⁴, parallel with אִין; generally with לֹא before a substantival predicate, e.g. Ex 4¹⁰ לֹא אִישׁ דְּבָרִים אֲנִכִּי *I am not a man of words*; Am 5¹⁸.—Noun-clauses with a substantival subject, Gn 29⁷, Nu 23¹⁹, Is 22², 44¹⁹, Hag 1², ψ 22³, Jb 9³², 18¹⁷, 21⁹, 22¹⁶, 36²⁶ (with וְ of the apodosis); 41²; in Jb 9³³ even יֵשׁ לֹא *non est* is used instead of אִין.—In Pr 18⁵ לֹא is used before an adjectival predicate; in 1 S 20²⁶ (where a preceding noun-clause is negated by בְּלִיתִי) read לֹא טָהוֹר with the LXX, for לֹא טָהוֹר. On אִין for לֹא in circumstantial clauses to express attributive ideas, see *u* below.

3. As a rule לֹא stands immediately before the verb, but sometimes is *e* separated from it (frequently to bring into special prominence another word which follows it); thus Jb 22⁷, Ec 10¹⁰ before the object and verb; Nu 16²⁹ before the subject and verb; Dt 8⁹, 2 S 3³⁴, ψ 49¹⁸, 103¹⁰, Jb 13¹⁶, 34²³ before a complementary adjunct. In Dt 32⁵ לֹא according to the accentuation even stands at the end of the clause (*they offend him not*); but undoubtedly לֹא בָנִינוּ are to be taken together.—On the position of לֹא with the infinitive absolute, see § 113 *v*.

(b) אִל is used like *μή* and *ne* to express a *subjective* and *conditional* negation, *f* and hence especially in connexion with the jussive (§ 109 *c* and *e*) to introduce prohibitions, warnings, negative desires, and requests. On אִל with the imperfect, see § 107 *p*; with the cohortative, see § 108 *c*; on 2 K 6²⁷, see § 109 *h*.

Rem. 1. אִל (like לֹא, see note on *a* above) may be used to form a compound *g* word, as in Pr 12²⁸ אִל-מָוֶת *not-death* (immortality); though all the early versions read אִל-מָוֶת. The instances in which אִל appears to stand absolutely, equivalent to *no, certainly not* (like *μή* for *μή ἐννηται*), e.g. Ru 1¹³ אִל בָּנֹתַי *my daughters*, and Gn 19¹⁸, 33¹⁰ (אִל-נָא), are also due (see under *c*) to extreme shortening of a full clause (in 2 S 13²⁵ such a clause is repeated immediately

afterwards); thus in 2 S 1²¹, Is 62², ψ 83² יהי is evidently to be supplied, and in Jo 2¹³, Am 5¹⁴, Pr 8¹⁰ the corresponding jussive from the preceding imperatives, in Pr 17¹² from the preceding infinitive absolute.

h 2. לֹא , like לֹא , regularly stands immediately before the verb, but in Is 64⁸, Jer 10²⁴, 15¹⁵, ψ 6², 38² before another strongly emphasized member of the sentence.¹

i (c) אֵין construct state (unless it be sometimes merely a contracted connective form, cf. שָׁנִים for שְׁנַיִם § 97 d) of אֵין non-existence (as also the absolute state, see below) is the negative of יֵשׁ existence; cf. e.g. Gn 31²⁰ with Neh 5⁵. As יֵשׁ (he, she, it is, was, &c.) includes the idea of being in all tenses, so אֵין , אֵין includes the idea of not being in all tenses. Hence—

k (1) The absolute state אֵין , with an evident transition to the meaning of a verbal predicate, *there does not exist*, always follows the word negated, e.g. Is 37³ (2 K 19⁸) $\text{וְכַח אֵין לְלָרֶה}$ and strength does not exist to bring forth; Gn 2⁵ אֵין was not present; Ex 17⁷ אֵין אִם-אֵין or is he not? after הִישׁ is he . . . ? (cf. Nu 13²⁰); Lv 26³⁷, Nu 20⁵, Ju 4²⁰ (אֵין no). In 1 S 9⁴ and 10¹⁴ אֵין is used in reference to a plural; 1 K 18¹⁰, Is 41¹⁷, 45²¹, 59¹¹, Mi 7², Pr 13⁴, 25¹⁴, Jb 3⁹ אֵין and let there be none, let none come! Ec 3¹⁹.—Cf. finally אֵין אִם-אֵין if it be not so, Gn 30¹, Ex 32³², Ju 9¹⁵, 2 K 2¹⁰.—Quite anomalous is אֵין Jb 35¹⁵ before a perfect as an emphatic negation; the text, however, can hardly be correct.

l (2) The construct state אֵין stands in its natural position immediately before the substantive whose non-existence it predicates, or before the subject of the sentence which is to be negated. To the former class belong also the very numerous instances in which אֵין is joined to a participle, e.g. 1 S 26¹² $\text{וְאֵין רֹאֶה וְאֵין יוֹדֵעַ וְאֵין מַסִּין}$ and there was not one seeing, &c., i.e. and no man saw it, nor knew it, neither did any awake; so especially וְאֵין מְצִיט with a participle in subordinate circumstantial or descriptive clauses, such as Is 5²⁰ וְאֵין מְצִיט and he shall carry it away, while there is none delivering, i.e. without any one's delivering it; ψ 7³, &c.; Lv 26⁶ &c., וְאֵין מְחַרֵּד without any one's making you afraid; cf. § 141 e. אֵין is used as the negation of an entire noun-clause, e.g. in Gn 39²³, Nu 14⁴² $\text{אֵין יְהוָה בְּקִרְבְּכֶם}$ the Lord is not among you; Gn 37²⁹ $\text{אֵין-יוֹסֵף בְּבֹר}$ Joseph was not in the pit.

m (3) When the subject which is to be negated is a personal pronoun, it is joined as a suffix to אֵין , according to § 100 o, e.g. אֵינִי I am not, was not, shall not be; אֵינְךָ , fem. אֵינְהָ , thou art not, &c.; אֵינָנִי , fem. אֵינְנָהּ he, she is not, &c.; also absolutely, Gn 42¹³ he is (5²⁴ he was) no longer alive; אֵינִים they are not, &c. When the accompanying predicate is a verb, it follows again (see l) in the form of a participle, since אֵין always introduces a noun-clause, e.g. Ex 5¹⁰ אֵין אֶתְּנֶנִּי I will not give; S¹⁷, Dt 1³².

n Rem. In Neh 4¹⁷ אֵין אֵין אֵין is due to its being co-ordinate with three other (substantival) subjects; these are again expressly summed up in אֵין-אֶתְּנֶנִּי .—In Hag 2¹⁷ אֵין אֶתְּכֶם the pronominal complement of אֵין appears

¹ In Jer 51³ the pointing אֶל- occurs twice instead of אֵל , and is thus, in the opinion of the Masoretes, equivalent to *against him that bendeth*; but undoubtedly we should read אֶל .

to follow with the sign of the accusative;¹ but most probably we should read with the LXX שְׁבַבְּם for אֶתְבַּבְּם.

(4) The fact that אֵין (like אֵין) always includes the idea of a verb (*is not*, *O was not*, &c.) led finally to such a predominance of the verbal element, that the original character of אֵין as a construct state (but cf. *i* above) was forgotten, and accordingly it is very frequently separated from its noun (substantive or participle); especially so by the insertion of shorter words (of the nature of enclitics), e.g. בּוֹ Is 1⁶, לוֹ Lv 11^{10,12}, לָהּ Gn 11³⁰, בָּם ψ 14³, נָם Ju 18¹⁰, Ex 12³⁰; but cf. also ψ 5¹⁰, 6⁶, 32², and אֵין used absolutely in Ex 22², 1 K 8⁹, Ru 4⁴.—Hence, finally, even the transposition of אֵין and its noun became possible, e.g. Gn 40⁸ and 41¹⁵ וַתִּפְתֹּר אֵין אֹתוֹ and an interpreter there is not of it; Gn 47¹³, Ju 14⁶, 1 S 21², Is 1³⁰, Jer 30¹³, Hb 2¹⁹, Pr 5¹⁷ (וְאֵין) = *neve sint*; cf. *h* above, on Jb 3⁹); 30²⁷.—In Gn 19³¹, Ex 5¹⁶ אֵין is placed between the subject and predicate.

Rem. 1. Like כֹּל . . . לֹא or לֹא . . . כֹּל (see *b* above) so also אֵין בֶּל expresses an *absolute* negation, e.g. Ec 1⁹ אֵין כֹּל-חֲדָשׁ there is no new thing, &c.; 2 S 12³, Dn 1⁴ (cf. also מְאִימָה אֵין there is nothing, 1 K 18⁴³, Ec 5¹³); as also אֵין . . . כֹּל Hb 2¹⁰; cf. מְאִימָה אֵין Ju 14⁶.

2. Undoubtedly akin to אֵין in origin is the negative syllable אֵ occurring in the two compounds כְּבֹד אֵ (as a proper name, 1 S 4²¹; Baer אֵי-כְּבֹד) and אֵי-נָקִי not innocent, Jb 22³⁰; but the proper name אֵי-תִמְרֵי is doubtful, and the fem. אֵי-בֶל very doubtful. In Ethiopic this אֵ is the most common form of negation, prefixed even to verbs.

(d) אֵינִי not yet, when referring to past time is used, as a rule (§ 107 c), γ with the imperfect, Gn 2⁵ אֵינִי . . . כֹּל none . . . yet; see *b* and *p* above; Gn 19⁴, 24⁴⁵, Jos 2⁸, 1 S 3³; with the imperfect in the sense of a present, Ex 10⁷ הֲתַעֲבֹרְהֶם הַיּוֹם knowest thou not yet? Ex 9³⁰; but cf. Gn 24¹⁵, and בְּתִרְגִּים with the perfect in ψ 90² (but see § 107 c), Pr 8²⁵.

(e) אֵפֶס (prop. a substantive, *cessation*) no longer, including the verbal idea *of existing*, cf. Dt 32³⁰, Is 45^{6,14}, 46⁹; used absolutely, Am 6¹⁰ in the question הֲאֵפֶס עוֹד אֵישׁ is there none left? &c., 2 S 9³; frequently also in the sense of *non nisi*; with אֵ—paragoge (§ 90 m) אֵפֶסִי Is 47^{8,10}, Zp 2¹⁵ אֵפֶסִי עוֹד I am, and there is none else.

(f) כֹּל, ² in poetic and prophetic style, and with a certain emphasis, = אֵל, *t* is used with the imperfect, e.g. Is 26¹⁴, 33^{20,23} (immediately afterwards with a perfect); Ho 7², ψ 49¹³, Pr 10³⁰ (but Is 14²¹ before the jussive, = אֵל); before an adjective, Pr 24²³; before a preposition, ψ 16², Pr 23⁷.

(g) כֹּלִי with a perfect, Gn 31²⁰, Is 14⁶; with an imperfect, Jb 41¹⁸; to negative a participle, Ho 7⁸, ψ 19⁴; to negative an adjective, 2 S 1²¹.

(h) כֹּלִי to negative an adjective, 1 S 20²⁶; on כֹּלִי Ez 13³, see *x*; on

¹ According to De Lagarde, *Novae psalterii graeci editionis specimen*, p. 26, יִשְׁבַּבְּתָהּ ψ 3³ is also an accusative after אֵין.

² Evidently from כֹּלֵה to waste away, from which stem also כֹּלִי and כֹּלֵה (whence אֵין כֹּלֵה § 90 m), originally substantives, are formed.

לֹא־לִבְלִיתִי as the regular negative with the infinitive construct, see § 114 s; on לֹא־לִבְלִיתִי as a conjunction, see *x* below.

On אֵין as a negative particle in oaths (*verily not*), see § 149 c above.

- 26 Rem. on לֹא, אֵין, בְּלִי. To the category of negative sentences belongs also the expression of negative attributes by means of לֹא, בְּלִי, *not* (both so used almost exclusively in poetic language) or אֵין with a following substantive, mostly in the simplest form of circumstantial clause; e.g. 2 S 23⁴ לֹא בֹקֶר עֲבוֹת a morning when there are *not* clouds, i. e. a cloudless morning; cf. Jb 12²⁴, 26^{2b}, 38²⁶ (לֹא־אִישׁ) where no man is, i. e. uninhabited; 1 Ch 23^{30,32} לֹא בָנִים childless; so also בְּלִי e.g. Jb 24¹⁰ and אֵין e.g. ψ 88⁵ I am as a man אֵין־יִתְּיָל there is *not* help, i. e. like a helpless man; Is 9⁶ אֵין־קֵץ endless; 47¹, Ho 7¹¹; אֵין־מִסָּפָר countless, Ct 6⁸, &c., but usually (ψ 104²⁵, &c.) like a proper circumstantial clause (cf. § 141 e) connected by *Wāw*, וְאֵין־מִסָּפָר.—Less frequently such periphrases take the form of relative clauses (cf. § 155 e), e.g. Jb 30¹³ לֹא עֹזֵר לָמוֹ they for whom there is *no* helper, i. e. the helpless (but probably עֹזֵר is only an intrusion from 29¹³, and we should read עֲצָר without any one's restraining them; in 29¹³ translate the fatherless and him that had none to help him; in ψ 72¹² וְאֵין־יָד is used in the same sense); Hb 1¹⁴; with אֵין Is 45⁵ they work is that of a man who hath no hands; Zc 9¹¹ out of the waterless pit.¹
- 27 How far such compounds finally came to be regarded by the language simply as negative adjectives, may be seen partly from the fact that they (as also relative clauses analogous to the above) are frequently co-ordinated with real adjectives, Jo 1⁶, ψ 72¹², Jb 29¹²; cf. also Is 59¹⁰, where בְּאֵין־עֵינָיִם is parallel with כְּעֵרְוִים; partly from their being introduced by the sign of the dative לְ, e.g. Is 46²⁰ (= and to the powerless); Jb 26^{2a,3}, Neh 8¹⁰.

- 28 (ז) לֵאמֹר lest, that not, at the beginning of a clause expressing a fear or precaution, hence especially after such ideas as *fearing*, Gn 32¹², &c. (cf. *δείδω μὴ, vereor ne*), taking heed, frequently after הִשָּׁמֶר, Gn 24⁶, 31²⁴, &c., taking care, 2 K 10²³, &c. Not infrequently the idea on which לֵאמֹר depends, is only virtually contained in the main clause, e.g. Gn 19¹⁹ I cannot escape to the mountain (because I am afraid), הִרְעָה, לֵאמֹר לֵאמֹר לֵאמֹר lest some evil overtake me; Gn 26⁹, 38¹¹; also in Gn 44³⁴ from the rhetorical question how shall I . . .? we must understand I cannot, governing לֵאמֹר. This is especially the case after an appeal to do or not to do an action by which something may be prevented (in which case לֵאמֹר is simply equivalent to the final *ne*); cf. e.g. Gn 11⁴, 19¹⁵, Nu 20¹⁸ (where לֵאמֹר lest is separated from the verb by a strongly emphasized substantive); Ju 15¹² after swear unto me; Pr 24¹⁸.—In Gn 3²² and now, lest he put forth his hand, &c., לֵאמֹר is to be regarded as virtually dependent on a cohortative, which immediately afterwards (verse 23) is changed into an historic tense; cf. also Gn 26⁷, 31³¹, 42⁴ Ex 13¹⁷, 1 S 13¹⁶, 27¹¹, ψ 38¹⁷, in every case after בִּי אָמַרְתִּי, בִּי אָמַרְתִּי, &c. = I thought, &c., I must beware lest, &c.

Rem. According to § 107 q, לֵאמֹר is naturally followed by the imperfect; for the exceptions, 2 S 20⁶, 2 K 2¹⁶, see § 107 q, note 3; cf. moreover, 2 K 10²³ רְאוּ לֵאמֹר look lest there be here, &c.

¹ In Pr 9¹³ (perhaps also 14⁷; but see Delitzsch on the passage) a verbal clause is used co-ordinately in this way as a periphrasis for an adjective.

(k) לְבִלְתִּי *that . . . not*, with the imperfect, Ex 20²⁰, 2 S 14¹⁴ (in Jer 23¹⁴ *ℳ* read the infinitive שִׁבּוּ for שָׁבוּ, in 27⁸ יָבֹאוּ for בָּאוּ). In Ez 13³ בִּלְתִּי רָאוּ *is a relative clause governed by לְ = according to things which they have not seen*.

2. Two negatives in the same sentence do not neutralize each other *y* (as in *nonnulli, non nemo*), but make the negation the more emphatic (like οὐκ οὐδείς, οὐκ οὐδαμῶς, *nulli—non, nemo non*); e. g. Zp 2² (if the text is correct) לֹא יָבוֹא בְּתָרָם *before there shall (not) come*.¹ This especially applies to the compounds formed by the union of אִין or בְּלִי with כִּין *without* (§ 119 *y*), e. g. Is 5⁹ (6¹¹) יֵשֶׁב מֵאִין (for which in Jer 2¹⁵ מִבְּלִי יֵשֶׁב, *prop. without no inhabitant, i. e. so that no inhabitant is left there*). On the other hand, in Is 50² מֵאִין מַיִם the כִּין is causative, *because there is no water*; as also in Ex 14¹¹ הֲמִבְּלִי אִין *is it because there were no . . . ?* 2 K 1^{3.6.16}. In Ec 3¹¹ לֹא מִבְּלִי אִישֶׁר *except that (yet so that man cannot, &c.)*.

3. The negative sometimes extends its influence from the first to *z* a second negative sentence parallel with it (which may or may not have *Wāw*); e. g. 1 S 2³ *talk not so much arrogancy; let (not) boasting come out of your mouth*; Ex 28⁴³, Lv 19¹², 22^{9.15 f.}, Nu 16¹⁴, 23¹⁹, Dt 7²⁵, Is 23⁴, 28²⁷, 38¹⁸, 47¹⁴, Ez 16⁴⁷, ψ 9¹⁹, 13⁵, 35¹⁹, 38², 44¹⁹, 75⁶, Jb 28¹⁷ (עַל לֹא *why . . . not ?* in Jb 3¹¹ also affects the parallel clause).

§ 153. Restrictive and Intensive Clauses.

The particles אִין, כִּין *only*, serve to introduce restrictive clauses, and כִּין, אִין *also, besides, even*, intensive clauses. It is to be observed that the force of these particles does not necessarily affect the word which immediately follows (as is the case with אִין Gn 7²³, 34¹⁵; כִּין Gn 6⁵, Am 3²; even אִין הֲלֵךְ *hath he indeed only ?* Nu 12²; כִּין Gn 27³⁴, Jb 7¹¹; אִין Dt 15¹⁷), but very frequently extends to the whole of the following sentence. Thus with אִין, e. g. Nu 14⁹, 1 K 17¹³, Pr 17¹¹, Jb 13¹⁵, 14²², 16⁷, 23⁶; כִּין Gn 20¹¹, 24⁸, ψ 32⁶, Pr 13¹⁰; כִּין Gn 27³³, 32²¹ (כִּין הֲגֵה), 44¹⁰; 1 S 22⁷, 28²⁰, Zc 9¹¹, Pr 17²⁶, 20¹¹; אִין Jb 14³, 15⁴.—In Mal 1¹⁰ and Jb 2¹⁰ כִּין is placed before two co-ordinate sentences, although, strictly speaking, it applies only to the second. Cf. the analogous examples in § 150 *m*.

¹ In 1 K 10²¹ אִין־פָּסֶה goes with what precedes and must be emended, with the LXX and Lucian, to כִּין הֲפָסֶה.

§ 154. Sentences connected by *Wāw*.

*Wāw copulativum*¹ (?) serves to connect two or more sentences, or single words (on its various vocalization, cf. § 104 d-g). Its use, however, is by no means restricted merely to joining sentences which

¹ For further particulars of the use of *wāw copulativum*, see Gesenius' *Thesaurus*, i. 393 ff. On its use in the co-ordination of similar tenses and moods (e.g. five imperfects consecutive in Gn 25³⁴, five perfects with וַיְהִי) as well as of dissimilar tenses and moods, the remarks made in the treatment of the tenses will suffice. With regard to the connexion of single nouns by וַיְהִי (which strictly speaking is always really a contraction of so many clauses into a single sentence) the following observations may be made:—

(a) Contrary to English usage, which in lengthy enumerations uses the *and* to connect only the last member of the series, in Hebrew *polysyndeton* is customary, as in Gn 12¹⁶ *wāw copulativum* six times, 24³⁵ seven times, 15^{19 ff.} nine times, and in Jos 7²⁴ ten times. Sometimes, however, only the last two words are joined (so in a series of three members, Gn 5³², 10¹, 11²⁶, 13², 14¹, 30³⁹, &c.; the last three out of a series of four, Jer 2²⁶); less frequently only the first two, ψ 45⁹; cf. § 132 d. The formula וְשֵׁשׁ הָיָה הַיּוֹם yesterday (and) the day before yesterday, Ex 5⁸, &c., is always without the copula. On the other hand, the *constructio asyndetos* in a series of verbs is used as a rhetorical expedient to produce a hurried and so an impassioned description; e.g. Ju 5²⁷ at her feet he bowed, he fell, he lay; Ex 15⁹, Dt 32¹⁵, 1 S 15⁶, Jer 4⁷, Am 5²¹, ψ 10¹⁰, 14¹, 45⁵, Jb 20¹⁰, 28⁴, 29⁸, Ct 2¹¹, 5⁹, &c.

(b) Frequently *wāw copulativum* is also explanatory (like *isque*, *et—quidem*, and the German *und zwar*, English *to wit*), and is then called *wāw explicativum*, e.g. Gn 4⁴ and (i.e. namely) of the fat thereof (unless it is simply copulative); Ex 24¹², 25¹² (to wit two); 27¹⁴, 28²³, Ju 17³ (in וַיִּמְסַכֶּה; here as often elsewhere, to introduce an explanatory gloss, cf. Is 17⁸, Ez 3¹⁵, and especially P. Haupt, *SBOT*. Isaiah, p. 90, l. 21 ff.), 1 S 17³⁴ and that too with the bear; 2 S 13²⁰, Is 57¹¹, Jer 17¹⁰, Am 3¹¹, 4¹⁰, Ze 9⁹, Pr 3¹², Neh 8¹³, 2 Ch 23¹⁰ (but in 1 S 28³ the ו before בְּעִירוֹ is to be omitted with the LXX); cf. also such combinations as קִין—וְאָדָם from . . . and even to . . ., Gn 13³, 14²³, 19^{4,11}, &c.—In 1 S 6¹¹ (see Driver on the passage), 2 S 12³, &c., ו is equivalent to *yea*, *and*; in Is 32⁷ *even*.

ו is used to express emphasis (= *and especially*), e.g. in Gn 3¹⁶ וְהָרְהִיבָהּ; Is 2¹, ψ 18¹, perhaps also in Jb 10¹⁷ *yea*, a whole host; 2 Ch 16¹⁴.—An undoubted example of what is called *wāw concomitantiae* occurs in Jb 41¹² a scething pot וְאֵשׁ with burning rushes; cf. Ex 10¹⁰ (with your little ones), 12³, Lv 12¹, Is 42⁵. In Arabic this *wāw concom.* is followed by the accusative.

ו—ו is used in the sense of *both—and* in ψ 76⁷, Dn 1³, 8¹³. On ו—ו as meaning *sive—sive*, cf. § 162 b.

(c) See the Lexicon on adverbs used in a copulative sense, such as וְאֵלְכָה also, moreover, summing up a number, e.g. וְשֵׁשׁ יָמִים both together, Gn 27⁴⁵, Pr 17¹⁵; וְכָל־בָּנָי all together; as an intensive *and*, e.g. Gn 30⁸, 37⁷, 1 S 30⁸; cf. also such examples as 1 S 24¹² see, yea see! וְכָל־בָּנָי or וְכָל־בָּנָי Gn 24⁴⁴ = *both—and*; וְכָל occurs three times in Gn 24²⁵ and 32²⁰; also וְאֵלְכָה, which is generally still more intensive, in the sense of *also*, *in addition to this*, *even*, and belongs rather to poetry, and to the later language; frequently also equivalent to a mere *and*, but sometimes adversative *but now*, ψ 44¹⁰, &c.; and וְאֵלְכָה (also three times), equivalent to *both—and*; cf. וְאֵלְכָה and *even*, Lv 26⁴⁴; וְאֵלְכָה prop. *add to this also that*, equivalent to *not to mention*, according to the context either *quanto magis* or *quanto minus*.

are actually co-ordinate. Frequently the language employs merely the simple connexion by *Wāw*, even to introduce an antithesis (Gn 17²¹, 19¹⁰, Lv 2¹², Jb 6²³, and very frequently in circumstantial noun-clauses), or when one of the two clauses is not co-ordinated, but subordinated to the other. On the use of **וְ** to introduce circumstantial clauses, cf. especially § 141 e and § 142 d; introducing causal clauses, § 158 a; comparative clauses, § 161 a; final clauses, § 165 a; consecutive clauses, § 166 a. On *wāw apodosis*, cf. § 143 d, and the sections there cited; on the use of *Wāw* in numerical sayings, cf. § 134 s.

Rem. Sometimes *wāw copulativum* joins a sentence apparently to what immediately precedes, but in reality to a sentence which is suppressed and which must, therefore, be supplied from the context. So especially **וְ** with imperatives to express inferences, e.g. 1 K 2²² וְהִשְׁתַּחֲוִי ask now rather; Ez 18²² for I have no pleasure in the death of him that dieth . . . , וְהִשְׁבִּיבוּ wherefore turn yourselves. Also at the beginning of a speech in loose connexion with an act or speech of another person, e.g. Ex 2²⁰, 2 S 18¹¹, 24³, 2 K 4^{14,41}, 7¹³, 2 Ch 25⁹; cf. also Jos 7⁷ (וְלִי), ψ 2¹⁰, 4⁴, Is 8⁷. Sometimes the suppression of the protasis is due to passionate excitement or haste, which does not allow time for full expression; this is especially illustrated by Nu 12¹⁴, 20³ (וְלִי), 1 S 10¹², 15¹⁴, 22¹⁴, 28¹⁶, 2 S 18¹², 24³, 1 K 2²² (וְלִי), 2 K 1¹⁰, 7¹⁰ (cf. verse 2); Is 3¹⁴, Ze 2¹⁰, ψ 2⁶ (at the same time a circumstantial clause *whereas I = and yet I have*, &c.); cf. also a new clause beginning with the formula of wishing וְיֵצֵא Nu 11²⁹, Ju 9²⁹; on the disconnected use of וְלִי and וְיֵצֵא cf. § 159 dd.

§ 155. Relative Clauses.

See V. Baumann, *Hebräische Relativsätze*, Leipzig, 1894 (cf. the heading of § 138 above); G. Bergsträsser, 'Das hebr. Präfix וְ', *ZATW.* 1909, p. 40 ff.¹

1. By § 138 a, e, relative clauses are divided into two classes: those *a* which are used for the nearer definition of a noun (substantive or pronoun), and those which are not dependent on a noun. The former may be called *incomplete*, the latter *complete* relative clauses.

Complete relative clauses, as a rule (see the exceptions under n), *b* are introduced by the originally demonstrative pronoun וְהַזֶּה; see further in § 138 e. Similarly, incomplete relative clauses may also be introduced by וְהַזֶּה, or by some other demonstrative pronoun; see further in § 138 a and g-k. Very frequently, however, especially

¹ In this exhaustive article the author shows that between וְ (on the pronunciation see § 36) and וְהַזֶּה there is syntactically no primary difference, but only a secondary distinction which arose in the course of the development of the language, namely that וְהַזֶּה is preferred in combinations which are customary in the old literary language, and וְ in those which are derived from the popular language or from Aramaic.

in poetic style, the attributive relation is expressed by simple co-ordination.¹

c The governing substantive or pronoun is frequently (in certain cases *always*) resumed by a pronominal suffix or an adverb. The resumption may, however, be omitted, just as in relative clauses introduced by *וְאֵשֶׁר*, &c.; see § 138 *f*.

d In Arabic a distinction is made between relative clauses used for the nearer definition of a *determinate* substantive (*si/a*), and those which are attached to an *indeterminate* substantive (*si/a*). The former must be introduced by the demonstrative pronoun *alladī*, the latter are always simply co-ordinated. The same distinction was no doubt originally observed in Hebrew, since simply co-ordinated relative clauses are most commonly found after *indeterminate* substantives (see the examples below), and in cases like Dt 28⁴⁰ (*וְאֵשֶׁר לֹא-הָשְׁמַע לְשֹׁנָו* *a nation whose tongue thou shalt not understand*; cf. Is 66¹³, and especially 1 S 3¹¹), the addition of *וְאֵשֶׁר* is explained from the special stress laid on the indeterminate substantive,² *a nation of such a kind, thou understandest not their tongue*. On the other hand, in poetic style at least, *וְאֵשֶׁר* is somewhat frequently omitted even after a determinate noun, but only rarely in prose (except by the Chronicler; cf. 1 Ch 9²², 12²³, 29¹ (read prob. *וְאֵשֶׁר* for *וְאֵלֶּה*), 2 Ch 15¹¹; after *בְּלִי* 1 Ch 29³, 2 Ch 18²³, 30¹⁷, 31¹⁹, Ezr 1⁵, but also Gn 39⁴; for further instances, see Driver, *Introd.*⁸, p. 537, no. 30); so Ex 18⁵⁰, Ju 8¹, 20¹⁵, 1 K 13¹² (= which way), so 2 K 3⁸, 2 Ch 18²³; Neh 13²²; after a pronominal subject, 1 S 6⁹. In Jer 52¹² for *עֲמֹד* read *עֲמֹד* with the LXX.

e 2. If the nearer definition of a substantive or pronoun is effected by simple co-ordination of the relative clause, it may take the form—

(*a*) Of a noun-clause, e.g. 2 S 20²¹ *a man of the hill country of Ephraim* *שֵׁבַע שְׁמוֹ* *whose name was Sheba*; Zc 6¹², Jb 1¹, 3¹⁵ *with princes* *וְהָיָה לָהֶם* *that had gold*; *ψ* 11⁴, Pr 22¹¹; when referring to a noun-suffix, e.g. *ψ* 49¹⁴ *לָמוֹ בְּסֵל יְרֵכָם* *this is the way of them who have (self)-confidence*.—On periphrases of this kind to express negative attributes, as in Jb 38²⁶ *עַל-אֲדָמָה לֹא-אִישׁ* *on a land where no man is*, see § 152 *u*, and cf. for this very short form of the relative clause, Gn 15¹³ *לָהֶם לֹא בְּאֶרֶץ* *in a land that belongs not to them*; Dt 32¹⁷ (*לֹא-יִלְדוּ לָאֱלֹהִים*); Hb 1⁶, Pr 26¹⁷ (*לֹא-יִלְדוּ*).

f (*b*) Of a verbal clause.

Here we must distinguish the cases in which the retrospective pronoun—

(1) Is the subject of the relative clause, and is contained in the

¹ The old view that all these cases arise from the omission of *וְאֵשֶׁר* is incorrect. These co-ordinated attributive clauses are rather a mere subdivision of the various kinds of circumstantial clauses (see § 156) which may be attached to a *nomen regens*. Cf. in English *this is the letter (which) he wrote to me*.

² So Baumann, *op. cit.*, p. 14 *f*, following Böttcher, *Lehrbuch*, ii. 80.

verb; so after a determinate substantive, ψ 34⁹ *happy is the man* יִתְסַדְּבוּ *that trusteth in him*; Jb 3^{ab} הַלַּיְלָה אָמַר *the night which said*; after ψ 71¹⁸; referring to a vocative, which is determinate in itself even without the article, Is 54¹, or to a noun-suffix (see under e), ψ 16⁴; after an indeterminate substantive, e.g. Jb 31¹² *it is a fire* (that) *devoureth unto Abaddon*; Dt 32^{17b}, 1 S 6⁹, Is 55¹³, 56², ψ 68³¹, 78⁹, Pr 30¹⁷, La 1¹⁰, 2 Ch 28⁹; referring to the suffix in הִנְנִי Is 28¹⁶, prop. *behold me, who have laid, &c.*, but perhaps the participle יֹסֵר is to be read; 29¹⁴, 38⁵ (but probably again the participle יוֹסֵף should be read instead of the imperfect); Ez 25⁷. The relative clause is used in this way especially to supply the place of an adjective, e.g. Gn 49²⁷ זֶאֱבִי אֲרָרָה *a wolf that ravineth, i. e. a ravining wolf*; Is 51¹²; to express a negative quality, e.g. Is 40²⁰, Ho 4¹⁴ עַם לֹא־יָבִין *an undiscerning people*.

Rem. Very frequently such relative sentences are attached to substantives *g* which have the particle of comparison בְּ, e.g. Jb 7² כְּעֹבֵד יִשְׁאָר־עֵל *as a servant that earnestly desireth the shadow, &c.*; Dt 32¹¹, Is 62¹, Jer 23²⁹, Ho 6³, ψ 42², 83¹⁵, Jb 9²⁶, 11¹⁶; so also after בְּמֹו ψ 58⁵; after a determinate substantive, e.g. Is 53⁷ (but the better reading is כְּעֶזֶה without the article), 61^{10f}, Hb 2¹⁴, ψ 45^{13,21}, 125¹; see also the examples under *h*. Sometimes it seems simpler in such cases, to take the verb directly as predicate to the preceding substantive, and to explain בְּ (for בְּאִשֶּׁר; see *Comparative Clauses*, § 161 b) as a conjunction—a view which even Hupfeld was ready to accept, at least as regards ψ 90⁵, 125¹, Is 53⁷, 61¹¹, but it can hardly be right.

(2) The cases in which the retrospective pronoun represents an *h* accusative of the object, or would do so if not suppressed, as it usually is in such cases in relative clauses with אֲשֶׁר, cf. § 138 b. Examples with the retrospective pronoun are, Dt 32¹⁷ אֱלֹהִים לֹא יָדְעוּם *gods whom they knew not* (see also the end of the verse); after a substantive with אֲשֶׁר (see above, *g*), Jer 23⁹, Jb 13²⁸. Without a retrospective pronoun, after a determinate substantive, Ju 8¹, ψ 33¹² (preceded by a relative clause with אֲשֶׁר); Jb 28¹. Other examples of this kind, though the article is omitted according to poetic usage, are Is 15⁷ יִתְּרָה עֵשָׂה (for יִתְרָה עֵשָׂה) with the substantive in the construct state governing the relative clause, see § 130 d), ψ 7¹⁶, 51¹⁰, La 1²¹.—Without the retrospective pronoun, after an indeterminate substantive, e.g. Is 6⁶ רָצַףָה בְּמִלֻּקְתָּהֶם לָקַח מִעַל הַמִּזְבֵּחַ *a live coal which he had taken with the tongs from off the altar*; Ex 15¹⁷, Is 42¹⁶ (48¹⁷, ψ 25¹², all after בְּדִרְוֹ; but ψ 32⁸ תִּלְקֶהוּ וְיִתְּנֶהוּ; Is 64²; Ec 10⁵ (in 6¹ the same clause with אֲשֶׁר); moreover, in Jer 14¹⁸ read with the LXX אֶל־אֲרָצָן לֹא יָדְעִי *into a land (that) they know not*.

(3) The cases in which the retrospective pronoun is dependent on *i* a preposition, or its place is taken by the adverb שָׁם, as in Jer 2⁶ end.

Thus after a determinate substantive, ψ 18³ צִירִי אֶתְּסֶהֱבוּ *my rock in which I take refuge*; Ex 18²⁰, Is 42¹; in Jb 3^{3a} also, the omission of the article with יִם is only a poetic licence. After an indeterminate substantive, Jer 2⁶, last clause but one; ψ 32².

k In this case also the retrospective word is not infrequently suppressed, giving rise to extremely short, bold expressions, such as Is 51¹ look unto the rock הַצִּבְתָּם (whence) ye were heven, and to the hole of the pit הַקְרַתָּם (whence) ye were digged; Jb 21²⁷ the devices (where-with) ye art violently against me.—A retrospective adverb is suppressed in Jb 38¹⁹ where is the way (to the place where) the light dwelleth? cf. 38²⁴.

l Rem. 1. The omission of the retrospective word occurs most frequently in relative clauses which are governed by the construct state of a preceding substantive (especially an expression of time) and hence are virtually in the genitive. In addition to the instances already given in § 130 d, cf. the following: after בְּיוֹם Lv 7³⁵, ψ 56¹⁰; after מִיּוֹם Jer 36²; after simple יוֹם ψ 56⁴ (אִירָא on the day when I am afraid); after בְּעֵת 2 Ch 29²⁷ הַחֹל הָעוֹלָה (at the time when the burnt offering began); 20²², 24¹¹, Jb 6¹⁷; after לְעֵת Dt 32²⁵; after עַד-מִי Mi 5²; after מִעַתָּה ψ 4⁸ thou hast put gladness in my heart more than (their gladness) at the time (when) their corn and their wine are increased.

m 2. The agreement (§ 138 d) of the retrospective pronoun with a pronominal regens in the 1st or 2nd person also takes place in a simple co-ordinated relative clause in 1 S 26¹⁴ who art thou (that) criest? Cf., however, Is 63¹⁹ we are become as they over whom (בָּם not בָּנִי) thou no longer bearest rule.

n 3. Occasionally—chiefly in poetic or otherwise elevated style—even independent relative clauses are simply co-ordinated with a regens, whereas we should expect them always to be preceded by a demonstrative pronoun, on the analogy of the examples in § 138 e. The suppressed pronoun would stand—

(a) As subject, Is 41²⁴ an abomination (is he) that chooseth you (but read perhaps לְבָהֶר; Jb 30¹⁸, cf. § 152 u.

(b) As object, Is 41², with a retrospective pronoun; Mal 2¹⁶ וְכִסָּה and him that covereth (or read וְכִסָּה?); Jb 29¹² I delivered . . . the fatherless also, and him that had none to help him.

(c) In the genitive governed by a substantive (cf. § 130 d), Ex 4¹³ שְׁלַח-נָא בְּיַד-יְהוָה send, I pray thee, by the hand of him whom thou wilt send, i.e. by the hand of some one else; ψ 65⁵ and Pr 8²², verbal-clauses after אֲשֶׁר O the happiness of the man, &c.; ψ 81⁶, 141⁹, Jb 29¹⁶, La 1¹⁴; after כָּל Gn 39⁴, but we must certainly read here, with the Samaritan and LXX, כָּל-אֲשֶׁר יֵשְׁלֵנוּ as in verses 5 and 8; Ex 9⁴; verbal-clauses after כָּל 1 Ch 29³, 2 Ch 30¹⁹, 31¹⁹, Ezr 1⁵.

(d) Governed by a preposition; so verbal-clauses after אֶתְּרִי Jer 2⁸; after אֵל (= to the place where), 1 Ch 15¹², but Ex 23²⁰ before the same

verb אִשָּׁר הַמְּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר; after 3 Jer 2¹¹, 2 Ch 1⁴ (בְּהָהָה = 'בְּהָהָה' = *to the place where*); after 4 Is 65¹ לֹא שָׁאֲלוּ לִי by them *that asked not* for me . . . לֹא בָקְשִׁי them *that sought me not*; Ez 13³ that which *they have not seen*, but the text is hardly correct; after 5 על ψ 119¹³⁶, cf. § 158 b; after 6 עַם 2 Ch 16⁹.—A noun-clause follows 7 in Neh 8¹⁰. An analogous instance in Aramaic is Ezr 5¹⁴ *to one whose name was Sheshbazzar* [so in the papyri, see the Lexicon, p. 1116^a].

§ 156. Circumstantial Clauses.

1. The statement of the particular circumstances under which *a* a subject appears as performing some action, or under which an action (or an occurrence) is accomplished, is made especially (apart from relative clauses, see § 155) by means of noun-clauses connected by *Wāw* with a following subject (see further on this kind of *circumstantial clause* in § 141 e), and by verbal-clauses (see § 142 d). Very frequently, however, such statements of the particular circumstances are subordinated to the main clause by being simply attached, without *Wāw*, either as noun-clauses, sometimes extremely short (see c), or as verbal-clauses (see d-g).

Rem. Among relative clauses of this kind the commonest are the various *b* noun-clauses, which are most closely subordinated to a preceding substantive without אֲשֶׁר, e. g. Gn 16¹²; also statements of weight, Gn 24²²; of name, Jb 1¹ (also introduced by וַשְׁמוֹ Gn 24²⁹, 1 S 1¹, &c., or וַשְׁמָהּ Gn 16¹, 22²⁴, &c.); of a condition of body, Ju 1⁷, and others.—Noun-clauses which begin with *wāw* and the predicate have a somewhat more independent character than those introduced by *wāw* and the subject¹ (Gn 19¹, &c.). The former, however, are also to be regarded as circumstantial clauses, in so far as they describe a state which is simultaneous with the principal action; thus Is 3⁷ *I will not be an healer*, לֹא־הָיִיתִי אֵין וּבֵיתִי אֵין *while in my house is neither bread nor clothing*; Is 6⁶ (Am 7⁷); 2 S 13¹⁸, 16¹. Cf. also the instances in § 152 l of וַאֲיִן followed by a participle, as וַאֲיִן מַצִּיל, &c.

2. Characteristic examples of circumstantial *noun-clauses* are Gn 12⁸ *c* and pitched his tent בֵּית־אֵל מִמֶּה וְהָיָה מִמֶּה with Bethel on the west and Ai on the east; Nu 22²⁴, 2 S 18¹⁴ through the heart of Absalom, עוֹדְיָו הָיָה while he was yet alive; Jer 30⁶, Ez 9² (cf. Ct 3⁸), Na 3⁸, Zc 14⁵, 2 Ch 23¹⁰; with the predicate preceding, e. g. 1 S 26¹³, ψ 32⁸.—In Gn 41²⁹ a noun-clause serves to announce a state in the future.—We may also include here certain set phrases, as אֶל-פְּנֵים אֶל-פְּנֵים *face to face* (prop. while face was turned towards face), Gn 32³¹, Ex 33¹¹, Dt 34¹⁰,

¹ In Dt 32⁸¹ this form of sequence appears to be selected for another purpose, and indeed our enemies are judges thereof, with *wāw* emphatic; to take it as a circumstantial clause is too artificial.

&c.;¹ so also to cast oneself down, אָרְצָה אַפָּיִם the face being turned to the earth, Gn 19¹, &c. (for אָרְצָה we find אָרָץ in 1 K 1³¹, Is 49²³).²—Cf. finally the formula אִם עַל-בָּנִים אִם mother with children, Gn 32¹²; cf. Ho 10¹⁴ and § 119 aa, note 2.

Rem. On circumlocutions of this kind to express negative attributes by means of short noun-clauses (complete or incomplete), cf. § 152 u.

- d 3. As circumstantial verbal-clauses,³ we find (1) sometimes affirmative clauses (see below), but far more frequently (2) negative clauses (see f), and among these (3) a certain number of expressions which may be regarded simply as equivalent to negative adverbial ideas (see g).

Examples of (1) Is 5^{11b} woe unto them, that tarry late in the evening, וְיִלְיָאֵם הָיָה וְיִלְיָאֵם while wine inflames them; Is 1⁵, 10²⁴, 30³¹, Jer 7²⁶, 20¹⁵, ψ 4³, 5¹², 21¹³, 62⁵. The circumstantial verbal-clause is used to particularize an action which has before been expressed generally, in Gn 44¹², 48¹⁴ = crossing his hands; Dt 2²⁷, Ju 6¹⁹; antithetically, 1 K 13¹³ לֹא כַּחַשׁ לוֹ wherewith however he lied unto him. The verbal-clause seems to assign a reason in ψ 7⁷ מִשְׁפָּט צִוִּיתָ since thou hast commanded judgement; a consequence in ψ 103⁵.⁴

- e Rem. On the cases in which an imperfect in the sense of a final clause is subordinated to a verb of motion (generally קָם), see § 120 c.

- f Of (2), subordinate verbal-clauses with לֹא (in English usually rendered by *without* and the gerund, if the subject be the same as in the principal clause), e.g. Lv 1¹⁷ לֹא יִבְדֵּיל לֹא without dividing it asunder; Jb 31²⁴; לֹא with the perfect is so used in Gn 44⁴, Ex 34²⁸, 1 S 30², Jb 20²⁸ (without its being blown upon it). With a different subject, equivalent to a consecutive clause in English, Is 27⁹ לֹא-יָקֻמוּ so that they shall rise up no more.—Moreover, verbal-clauses in the same sense (*without* doing, &c.) are frequently connected by וְלֹא; cf. 1 S 20², Jb 24²², 42³; in a concessive sense, Is 33¹, ψ 44¹⁸.

- g Of (3), cf. יָדַע לֹא (prop. he knows it not) unawares, ψ 35⁸, Pr 5⁶ יְהוֹמֵל לֹא unsparingly, Is 30¹⁴ (after an infinitive absolute); Hb 1⁷, Jb 6¹⁰ (but יְהוֹמֵל לֹא Jb 16¹³, 27²²; see f at the end); לֹא כִּתְרוּ (prop. they hide not) openly, Is 3⁹ (but

¹ The expression הִתְרָאָה פָּנִים to look one another in the face (i. e. to contend in combat) 2 K 14^{8,11}, 2 Ch 25^{17,21}, is probably only a shortened form for הִתְרָאָה פָּנִים אֶל-פָּנִים.

² That אָרְצָה (אָרָץ) is really to be regarded as a virtual predicate to אַפָּיִם, and not אַפָּיִם as a *casus instrumenti*, is seen from Is 40²³, where אַפָּיִם אָרָץ precedes the verb.

³ Some examples of these have been already discussed in another connexion above, § 120 a-c.

⁴ In Gn 21¹⁴ the circumstantial verbal-clause שָׁם עַל-שִׁכְמָה is only due to a harmonizing transposition; read וְאֶת-הַיֶּלֶד שָׁם עַל שִׁי. According to the source used in cap. 21 Ishmael was still a young child; according to 17²⁵ he was about 16 or 17 years old.

Jb 15¹⁸ בְּלִי חֲשֹׁךְ; (prop. *he restrains not*) *unceasingly*, Is 14⁶; בְּלִי יָמוּט; Jb 41¹⁵ (ψ 93¹ בְּלִי-תַמוּט) and לֹא יָמוּט Is 40²⁰ (*without tottering*) *immorably*; cf. also לֹא אֶצְעֵד *without wavering*, ψ 26¹.

§ 157. Object-Clauses (*Oratio Obliqua*).

Clauses which depend on a transitive verb, especially on what are called *verba cordis*, i. e. verbs denoting any mental act, such as *to see, to hear, to know, to perceive, to believe, to remember, to forget, to say, to think, &c.*, may be subordinated to the governing verb without the help of a conjunction by simple juxtaposition (§ 120 a), or they may be co-ordinated with it either with or without *uāw copulative* (§ 120 d-h). As a rule, however, the objective clause is introduced by the conjunction כִּי *that*, less frequently by אֲשֶׁר *that*.¹

Examples:—

(a) Object-clauses without a conjunction. Besides the passages mentioned in § 120 (especially under e) there are a number of examples, in which a clause depending on a *verbum dicendi* or *sentienti* (the *oratio obliqua* of the Latin and English Grammar) is added in the form of an independent noun-clause or verbal-clause; e. g. Gn 12¹³ אֵת אֶחָתִי אֵת אֶמְרִינָא *say, I pray thee, thou art my sister*; ψ 10¹⁸, Jb 25^{3a, 14}, Neh 6⁶; Zc 8²⁵ (after שָׁמַע) ψ 9²¹ (after יָדַע); verbal-clauses, e. g. ψ 50²¹ *thou thoughtest* כְּמוֹן הָיִיתִי אֶהְיֶה *I was surely like thyself* [but read הָיִיתִי כְּמוֹן]; Gn 41¹⁵, Ju 9⁴⁸ *what ye have seen me do*; Is 48⁸, Ho 7².

(b) Object-clauses introduced by כִּי, e. g. Gn 6⁵ וַיֵּרָא יְהוָה כִּי רָבָה דַּעַת הָאָדָם *and the Lord saw that the wickedness of man was great, &c.*—Direct narration also is very frequently introduced by כִּי (analogous to the *ὅτι recitativum*; frequently, indeed, with the secondary idea of a particle of asseveration, as in Gn 26⁹, 27²⁰), e. g. Gn 21³⁰, 22^{16 f.}, 26²², 29³², 37³⁵, Jos 2²⁴, &c., even when the direct narration is not expressly indicated, Gn 4²⁵, 32³¹, 41^{51 f.}, Ex 18⁴.—On the expression of a second object by means of a clause introduced by כִּי, see § 117 h.²

(c) Object-clauses introduced by אֲשֶׁר, e. g. Est 3⁴ אֲשֶׁר-הָיָה לָהֶם *for he had told them that he was a Jew*; 1 S 18¹⁵, Ez 20²⁶, Ec 8¹²,³ even before direct narration, 1 S 15²⁰, 2 S 1⁴. Somewhat frequently אֲשֶׁר is preceded by

¹ On these clauses with כִּי and אֲשֶׁר and generally on clauses which we should render as subordinate, cf. P. Dörwald 'Zur hebr. Syntax' in *Neue Jahrb. für Philol. und Pädag.* 1890, p. 115 ff.

² Instead of a complete objective clause we sometimes find a kind of accusative and infinitive construction, especially after נָתַן (prop. *to give up*) in the sense of *to allow*, e. g. Nu 21²³ וְלֹא-נָתַן סִיחֹן אֶת-יִשְׂרָאֵל עֲבַר בְּנִבְלוֹ *and Sihon did not suffer Israel to pass through his border*; 20²¹; followed by an infinitive with ל, e. g. Gn 20⁶, 31⁷, Ex 3¹⁰.—Cf. also the analogous examples in Dt 28⁵⁶ (after נָפַח *to venture*; see § 113 d); Ju 11²⁰ (after הִיאָמִין *to trust*); 1 K 10⁴ (after שָׁאַל *to request*).

³ In Jer 28⁹ a *subject-clause* is thus introduced by אֲשֶׁר instead of the usual כִּי.

the *nota accusativi* אֲתָר (equivalent to the circumstance, the fact, that), e. g. Jos 2¹⁰, 1 S 24^{11,19}, 2 S 11²⁰, Is 38³, but in Gn 30²⁰, Dt 29¹⁵ equivalent to the way in which.

§ 158. Causal Clauses.

a A complete clause, assigning the reason for statements, demands, threats, &c., sometimes follows with the simple *wāw* copulative, e. g. ψ 60¹³ *give us help against the adversary, and (for) vain is the help of man*; Gn 6¹⁷ (וַיֵּאָמֶר), 22¹², Ex 23⁹, Jb 22¹², perhaps also ψ 7¹⁰; or even without *Wāw*, e. g. Gn 17¹⁴. As a rule, however, special conjunctions in various combinations are used to introduce causal clauses.

b The most common causal conjunctions are יָעַן Is 3¹⁶, &c., and אֲשֶׁר because, prop. on account of the fact that; both, however, may also be shortened to the simple יָעַן Nu 20¹², &c., or to כִּי because, Gn 3^{14,17}, &c., or to אֲשֶׁר Gn 30¹⁸, 31⁴⁰, 34^{13,27}, 1 S 15¹⁵, 20⁴², 26^{16,23}, 1 K 3¹⁹, 8³³, Ho 14⁴, Zc 1¹⁵; also בְּאֲשֶׁר Gn 30²³. On the other hand, the simple יָעַן is sometimes repeated for emphasis, יָעַן וַיֵּאָמֶר (something like the German *sintemal und alldieweil*) Lv 26⁴³, Ez 13¹⁰ (without וַיֵּאָמֶר 36³); also עַל-אֲשֶׁר 2 S 3³⁰, and עַל-כֵּי Dt 31¹⁷, Ju 3¹², Mal 2¹⁴ on the ground that; אֲשֶׁר עַל-דִּבְרֵי because of the circumstance that, Dt 23⁵; אֲשֶׁר עַל-כֵּל-אֲדֹת for this very cause that, Jer 3⁸. But just as the simple יָעַן is used for אֲשֶׁר יָעַן, so also the simple עַל- with the perfect stands for אֲשֶׁר עַל-אֲשֶׁר ψ 119¹³⁶, Ezr 3¹¹; cf. עַל-כֵּי Gn 31²⁰ and מִכֵּי Dt 28⁵⁵ both with the perfect, equivalent to *because . . . not*.—Cf. further אֲשֶׁר יָקַב Gn 22¹⁸, 26⁵, 2 S 12⁶, all with the perfect, and יָקַב כִּי (2 S 12¹⁰ with the perfect; Am 4¹² with the imperfect) prop. in return for the fact that; similarly again the simple יָקַב Nu 14²⁴ with the perfect, and Dt 7¹², 8²⁰ with the imperfect; finally, מֵאֲשֶׁר Is 43⁴ arising from the fact that, = *because*; יָחַת אֲשֶׁר 1 S 26²¹, &c., and יָחַת כִּי Dt 4³⁷, Pr 1²⁰ for the reason that.

c Rem. 1: The preposition עַל- (*because of, on account of*) with the infinitive (§ 114 e) is frequently used as the equivalent of a full causal clause; cf. e. g. Am 1^{3,6,13}, 2^{1,6}. Such a construction with the infinitive may, however, according to § 114 r, be continued by means of a finite verb, in which case עַל- governs the verb as a conjunction; e. g. Am 1⁹ וְזָכְרוּ . . . וְלֹא יִהְיוּ . . . because they delivered up . . . and remembered not, &c.; 1¹¹, 2⁴; without *Wāw*, Is 30¹⁴.

d 2. The choice of tense is regulated by the general principles stated in § 106 ff., viz. the perfect (cf. especially § 106 f) refers to causes already brought fully into effect, the imperfect to those which may contingently arise; cf. e. g. Dt 7¹², 8²⁰, 1 K 8³³, where the imperfect leaves the possibility still open that the persons addressed will perhaps escape the threatened punishments by avoiding disobedience.—Cf. further, § 111 h on the imperfect consecutive, and § 112 m on the perfect consecutive in the apodosis to causal clauses.

¹ Also כִּי-עַל- prop. for therefore, Gn 18⁵, 19⁸, 33¹⁰, 38²⁶, Nu 10³¹, 14⁴³, 2 S 18²⁰ *Quia*, and אֲשֶׁר עַל- Jb 34²⁷, always mean *forasmuch as*.

§ 159. Conditional Sentences.

Cf. H. Ferguson, 'The Use of the Tenses in Conditional Sentences in Hebrew' (*Journal of the Society of Bibl. Lit. and Exeg.*, Middletown, Conn., June and September, 1882).—P. Friedrich, *Die hebr. Conditionalsätze*, Königsberg, 1884 (Inaug.-Diss.).—Driver, *Use of the Tenses*, 3rd ed., p. 174 ff.

1. The great variety of construction in conditional sentences is *a* owing to the fact that it frequently depends on the subjective judgment of the speaker, whether he wishes a condition to be regarded as *capable of fulfilment* (absolutely, or at least possibly), thus including those already fulfilled, or as *incapable of fulfilment*. On this distinction depends the choice both of the conditional particle to be used (see below), and especially (as also in Greek and Latin) of the tense. The use of the latter is naturally determined according to the general principles laid down in § 106 ff.¹ In the following sketch, for the sake of clearness, conditional sentences *without* conditional particles will be first discussed (under *b*), and afterwards sentences *with* these particles (under *l*).

2. The relation between condition and consequence may be expressed, *b* as in English, by the simple juxtaposition of two clauses. At the same time, it is to be observed in general as a fundamental rule (in accordance with the original character of the two tenses), that the *imperfect*, with its equivalents (the jussive, cohortative, imperative, perfect consecutive, and participle), is used to express a condition and consequence which are regarded as being *capable of fulfilment* in present or future time, while the *perfect* represents a condition already fulfilled in the past, and its consequence as an accomplished fact. The other use of the perfect—to represent conditions regarded as *impossible*—occurs only in connexion with particles.

Examples:—

(a) *Imperfect* (cf. § 107 x) in protasis and apodosis, Jos 22¹⁸, *ψ* 104^{28 ff.} C יִקָּבְצוּ² לָהֶם יִתֵּן (if) thou givest unto them, they gather, &c.; *ψ* 139¹⁸, Pr 12¹⁷, Jb 20²⁴, Ec 1¹⁸, Neh 1⁸; with an interrogative imperfect in the apodosis, Ju 13¹²; with the jussive, Jb 10¹⁶; with the cohortative, Pr. 1²³; with the perfect, Is 26¹⁰ (yet will he not learn righteousness; the apodosis forcibly denies

¹ It may, moreover, happen that a different idea is introduced in the apodosis, from that with which the protasis started—a source of many further variations.

² On the termination יֵן cf. § 47 m. In verse 28 *b* also יִשְׁבְּעוּ is probably to be explained from its immediately preceding the greater *pause*. These terminations in verses 28–30 and *ψ* 139¹⁸ can scarcely have any connexion with the conditional sentence, although it is strange that יֵן in Nu 32²³ appears after לֹא-וְאֵם in the protasis. In Nu 16²⁹, 32²⁰ יֵן as before נ (as in Jb 31¹⁰ in the apodosis) is to be explained from the dislike of hiatus.

what the imperfect in the protasis had represented as still conceivable; cf. Ho 8¹²; with the perfect consecutive, Gn 47²⁵, Ex 33⁵; with the protasis suppressed, Jb 5⁸ (see § 107 x).

d (b) *Jussive* in protasis (cf. § 109 h, i) and apodosis, ψ 104¹⁰ $\text{וַיִּשְׁתְּהִי־לָהּ לַיְלָה}$ (if) *thou makest darkness, it is night*; imperfect in the apodosis, ψ 104^{20b}; cohortative Pr 1²³. Also in Ex 7⁹ וְיָהִי לְתַנִּין *it shall become a serpent*, is the apodosis to a suppressed protasis *if thou cast it down*; so in 2 K 5¹⁰ וַיִּשָּׁב is the apodosis to a protasis *if thou wash*, contained in what precedes.

e (c) *Cohortative* (see § 108 e) in the protasis; perfect in the apodosis, ψ 40⁶; imperfect consecutive, Jb 19¹⁸ $\text{וַיִּדְבְּרוּ־בִי אֲנָקִימָה}$ (if) *I arise, they speak against me*; on the cohortative in the apodosis, cf. § 108 f.

f (d) *Imperfect consecutive* in the protasis (§ 111 x), ψ 139¹¹ וְאָמַרְתִּי *if I say*, &c. (with a noun-clause as the apodosis); with a frequentative perfect consecutive in the apodosis, 1 S 2¹⁶.

g (e) *Perfect consecutive* in the protasis and apodosis (see the examples, § 112 kk and ll), Gn 44²² $\text{וַיַּעַב אָבִיו וַיִּסָּחֵף אֶת־אָבִיו}$ *and should he leave his father, his father would die*; 9¹⁵, 44²⁹, Ex 4¹⁴, 12¹³, 1 S 16², 19³, 2 S 13²⁸, 1 K 8³⁰; with frequentative perfects, Ex 16²¹ (referring to the past, Jer 20⁹); with imperfect in the apodosis (being separated from the *Wāw* by לֵא), Nu 23²⁰, Jb 5²⁴; introduced by an infinitive absolute, 1 K 2²⁷; an interrogative clause in the apodosis, Lv 10¹⁹; a noun-clause, ψ 37¹⁰, Jb 7²¹.

h (f) *A simple perfect* (to represent actions which are to be regarded as completed) in the protasis and apodosis, Pr 18²² $\text{כִּי־מָצָא אִשָּׁה כָּפֶזָה מָצָא טוֹב}$ *has one found a wife, he has found a good thing*; an imperfect in the apodosis, Jb 19⁴, 23¹⁰; an imperfect consecutive, Ex 20²⁵, Pr 11², Jb 3²⁵, 23^{13b}, 29¹¹; an interrogative clause, Nu 12¹⁴, Jb 7²⁰ *if I have sinned* (prop., well, now I have sinned!) *what can I do unto thee?* 21³¹, 35⁶, Am 3⁸; a noun-clause, Jb 27¹⁹.

i (g) *A participle as casus pendens* (cf. § 143 d, and the sections of the Grammar there cited, esp. § 116 w) or a complete noun-clause in the protasis; the apodosis mostly introduced by *wāw* apodosis, e.g. Pr 23²⁴ $\text{כִּי־יִלְדֵךְ הַחֶבֶן וַיִּשְׂמָח בּוֹ}$ *if one begetteth a wise child, he shall have joy of him*; with perfect frequentative in the apodosis, 1 S 2¹³, &c.; but also with a simple imperfect, e.g. Ex 21¹² (cf. § 112 n); with an interrogative imperfect, 2 K 7^{2.10}; with an interrogative perfect, Ju 6¹³.

k (h) *Infinitive with preposition* (also as the equivalent of a conditional clause) in the protasis, and a perfect consecutive in the apodosis (cf. § 112 mm), e.g. 2 S 7^{14x} $\text{וְהִקְחָתִּי וְנִקְחָתִי}$ *if he commit iniquity, I will correct him*; Ex 34^{24.1} (with imperfect, followed by perfects frequentative in the apodosis).

Rem. On the expression of condition and consequence by means of two co-ordinate imperatives, see § 110 f.

l 3. Particles used to introduce conditional sentences are אִם (for which in the later and latest Books sometimes כִּי , see below, under w) and וְלִי (1 S 14³⁰, Is 63¹⁹ וְלִי ; Ec 6⁶, Est 7⁴ אִלֵּי , from לִי) *if*, negative אִם־לֹא (לֹא־אִם) *unless*; כִּי־אִם־לֹא (לֹא־כִּי־אִם־לֹא) *unless*; כִּי־אִם־לֹא (לֹא־כִּי־אִם־לֹא) *supposing that* (Lat. *ut*), *in case that*, sometimes used almost in the same sense as אִם . With regard to the difference between אִם־לֹא and לֹא־אִם , the fundamental rule is that אִם־לֹא is used if the condition be regarded either as already fulfilled, or if it, together with its consequence, be thought of as possibly (or

¹ On וְלִי cf. Kohler in Geiger's *Zeitschr. für Wiss. und Leben*, vi (1868), p. 21 ff.

- o (d) *Perfect consecutive* (see the examples in § 112 gg), e.g. Gn 43⁹ אֶם-לֹא *if I bring him not . . . then I shall have sinned, &c.*; Ju 16¹⁷, 2 S 15³³, 2 K 7⁴. On the other hand, e.g. Gn 47⁶, Mi 5⁷, Jb 7⁴ refer to actions already completed; in Gn 38⁹ and Nu 21⁹ the perfect with *וְ* is a perfect frequentative and refers to past time.
- (e) *Imperfect consecutive* (see § 111 q), e.g. Jb 8⁴ *if thy children have sinned* (הִטְאָהוּ) . . . , וַיִּשְׁלַחֵם *he has delivered them, &c.*
- (f) *Imperative*, e.g. Gn 50⁴ וּגְ' בְּעֵינֶיכֶם דְּבַר-נָא *if now I have found grace in your eyes, speak, I pray you, &c.*; the imperative precedes in Gn 47¹⁶ and Jb 38^{4,18}.
- p (g) A (complete or incomplete) noun-clause, e.g. Jer 14¹⁸ (a vivid realization of the future) *if I have gone forth into the field (= if I go, &c.), then, behold, the slain with the sword! &c.*; Pr 24¹⁴ (apodosis with *wāw* apodosis).
- q 2. אֶם with *imperfect* in the protasis, to express what is possible in the present or future, as well as (according to § 107 b) what has continued or been repeated in the past. The apodosis takes—
- (a) The perfect, e.g. Nu 32²³ וְאֶם-לֹא תַעֲשׂוּן בְּנֵי הַנָּה חֲטָאתֶם *but if ye will not do so, behold, ye have sinned*; here the apodosis represents the time when the consequence has already taken place; so also Jb 20¹²⁻¹⁴. On the other hand, Nu 16²⁹ (as also 1 S 6⁹ and 1 K 22²⁸) is a case of a pregnant construction, *if these men die as all men die, then (it will follow from this) the Lord hath not sent me.*
- 7' (b) The imperfect, e.g. 2 K 7⁴ אֶם יִחְיֶינוּ נִחִיָּה *if they save us alive, we shall live, &c.*; Gn 13¹⁶, 18^{28,30}, 28²⁰ ff., Ex 20²⁵ (the second imperfect is equivalent to a jussive); Is 1¹⁸, 10²², Am 9²⁻⁴, ψ 50¹² (where אֶם ironically represents an impossibility as possible); Jb 8^{5 f.} (with the insertion of a second condition in the form of a noun-clause); 9^{3,20}, 14⁷; a frequentative imperfect referring to the past, Gn 31¹⁸ יֹאמַר יְאֻמֶּרָה אֶם-כֵּן *if (ever) he said thus . . . , וְיִלְדוּ then they bare . . .*; Ex 40³⁷. In Gn 42³⁷ the consequence (on תְּכִמִּית cf. § 107 s) precedes the condition.
- (c) The jussive (or optative), e.g. ψ 137⁵; cf. § 109 h.
- (d) The cohortative, e.g. Gn 13⁹, Jb 31⁷; cf. § 108 f.
- s (e) The perfect consecutive (see the examples in § 112 ff and gg), e.g. 1 S 20⁶ וְאִם-פָּקַד יִפְקְדֵנִי אָבִיךָ וְאִם-פָּקַד יִפְקְדֵנִי אָבִיךָ *if thy father miss me at all, then shalt thou say, &c.*; Gn 24⁴¹, Ju 4²⁰; with a frequentative perfect consecutive, Gn 31⁸ *if he said (as often happened) . . . , then, &c.*
- (f) The imperfect consecutive; so perhaps ψ 59¹⁶, *if וְיִלְכֶנּוּ is to be explained according to § 111 t.*
- (g) The imperative, e.g. Gn 31⁵⁰, 1 S 20²¹ (with *wāw* apodosis, but in verse 22 simply וְיִלְכֶנּוּ), 21¹⁰, Jb 33⁵.
- t (h) A noun-clause, e.g. Gn 4⁷, ψ 139⁸, Jb 8⁶, 31^{26 f.}
3. אֶם with cohortative, e.g. Gn 30³¹; cf. the passages in § 108 e.
- u 4. אֶם with infinitive, Jb 9²⁷ אֶם-אֶמְצָא *prop. if my saying is* (but probably we should read אֶמְצָאֵתִי).
- v 5. אֶם with a noun-clause, e.g. Dt 5²² (in the apodosis a perfect with *wāw* apodosis), Gn 27⁴⁶, Ju 9¹⁵ (imperative in the apodosis); 11⁹ (imperfect in the apodosis); 2 S 12⁸ (cohortative in the apodosis); Ho 12¹²; especially if the subject of the conditional clause be a personal pronoun. In an affirmative sentence this pronoun is often joined to וְ, in a negative sentence to אֵין (cf. on both, § 100 o), while the predicate (cf. § 116 g) is represented by a participle, usually expressing the future, e.g. Ju 6^{36 f.} אֶם-יִשְׁעָה מוֹשִׁיעַ

its origin is obscure. Cf. the exhaustive discussion of Delitzsch and Wetzstein on Jb 34³⁶, where this **אִם** appears to be used as a desiderative particle.—Sometimes when one case has been already discussed, another of the same character is added by means of **וְאִם** or, e.g. Ex 21¹⁶ **וְאִם נִדְרָע וְאִם** or (another possible case) *it is known that, &c., i.e. but if it be known, &c.*, LXX *ἐὰν δέ*, Vulg. *sin autem*; cf. Lv 4^{23,28}, 5¹, 25⁴⁹, 2 S 18¹³; with a following imperfect, Ez 14¹⁷.—On the hypothetical use of **אִם** (which is interchangeable with **כִּי** in other senses also) Lv 4²² (in verses 3 and 27 **אִם**), Dt 11²⁷ (verse 28 **אִם**), Jos 4²¹, see the Lexicon.

dd 2. The conditional sentence is frequently found in an abridged form, where the suppressed clauses can be easily supplied from the context; cf. Gn 13⁹, 24⁴⁹, 1 S 21¹⁶ **לֹא אֶתְּנֶה לָּךְ** and if not, i.e. and if thou wilt not give it to me, then I take it (perfect according to § 106 *n*) by force; cf. 1 S 6⁹. The use of **וְיִשׁ** alone in Ju 6¹³ is peculiar, as also **וְיִשׁ** in 2 K 10¹⁵ (where read with the LXX **וְיִשׁ וְיִהְיֶה אִם**) in the sense of *if it be so*.—In 2 S 13²⁶, 2 K 5¹⁷ **וְאִם** alone appears to be used in the sense of *if really . . . not*, in each case with a following jussive equivalent to *may there at least, &c.* (cf. § 143 *d*); but perhaps with Matthes, ZAW. 1903, p. 122 ff., following Kuipers, we should read **וְלֹא** *would that!*—In 1 S 13¹⁸, Jb 31⁵ the condition must be supplied from the preceding clause to complete the sentence introduced by **כִּי עָתִידָהּ**, in Jb 31²⁸ by **כִּי**, in 2 K 13¹⁹ by **אִם**.—The apodosis also appears sometimes in an abridged form (e.g. Gn 4²⁴, Is 43²) or is entirely suppressed, e.g. Gn 30²⁷, 38¹⁷, 50¹⁵ (see *y* above), Ex 32³², *ψ* 27¹², Jb 38⁵, where properly **וְהָיָה** must be supplied with **כִּי** as in verses 4 and 18; cf. § 167 *a*.—In *ψ* 8⁴, instead of the apodosis *I exclaim* which we should expect, the exclamation itself follows.

ee 3. The absolute certainty with which a result is to be expected is frequently emphasized by the insertion of **כִּי** Is 7⁹, 2 S 22⁷, 19⁷, Jb 11¹⁵; or **עָתִידָהּ** **כִּי** *now verily*, Nu 22²⁹, 1 S 14³⁰ after **לֵא**, Gn 31⁴², 43¹⁰ after **לִי**, Jb 8⁶ after **אִם**. On this corroborative **כִּי** cf. such passages as Gn 18²⁰, &c., and § 148 *d*. On **אִם כִּי** after an oath cf. 163 *d*.

ff 4. Sometimes the force of a hypothetical particle extends beyond the apodosis to a second conditional clause, as in the case of **אִם** Pr 9¹², Jb 10¹⁵, 16⁶, 22²³, and **כִּי** Is 43².

gg 5. In Ex 33²⁰ a negative statement takes the place of a condition with a negative consequence, *for a man doth not see me and live*, instead of *for if a man sees me, he does not live*; cf. the similar passages, Dt 22¹⁻⁴ *thou shalt not see . . . and hide thyself*, instead of *if thou seest . . . thou shalt not hide thyself*.

§ 160. Concessive Clauses.

a Besides the use of the imperative in the sense of a concession, meant either seriously (§ 110 *a*) or mockingly (§ 110 *f*), and of concessive circumstantial clauses (§ 141 *e*, § 142 *d*, and § 156 *f*), concessive clauses may be introduced—

(*a*) By a simple **אִם** *if*: thus Jb 9¹⁵ with perfect, *if (=though) I had been in the right*; Is 1¹⁸ and 10²² with imperfect in reference to a contingent event.

(*b*) By **כִּי** **אִם** *yea though*, Is 1¹⁵ with imperfect; for which we find simply **אִם** in Is 49¹⁵ with imperfect, *yea, though these may forget, yet . . .*; on the other hand, with perfect, Jer 36²⁵, *ψ* 95⁹, Neh 6¹; finally **אִם כִּי** *even if, though*, Ec 4¹⁴.

(c) By the preposition **עַל** governing a complete noun-clause, as Jb 16¹⁷ **עַל לֹא־חָמֹס בְּכַפִּי** notwithstanding that no violence is in mine hands, or a verbal-clause, Is 53⁹. On **עַל** with the infinitive in a similar sense (equivalent to in addition to the fact that=notwithstanding that), cf. § 119 aa, note 2.

§ 161. Comparative Clauses.

1. A comparison between two facts is sometimes established by *a* simply uniting them with *wāw* copulative, especially in gnomic poetry, when facts of a moral nature are compared with those of the physical world, e. g. Jb 5⁷ *man is born unto trouble, and the sons of flame fly upward*, i. e. as the sparks by nature fly upward, so man, &c.; Jb 12¹¹ (in an interrogative form; in 34³ the same comparison as a statement); 14^{11f}, Pr 17³, 26^{3,9,14}, 27²¹, &c.¹ Even without the connecting **וְ** Jb 24¹⁹ *drought and heat consume the snow waters*, **שָׁאֹל הַחַיִּים** so doth Sheol those who have sinned (cf. § 155 n); cf. Jer 17¹¹.

2. The conjunction **כַּאֲשֶׁר** (cf. § 155 g; the simple **אֲשֶׁר** occurs in the *b* same sense in Ex 10⁶, 14¹³, 34¹⁸) as, *quemadmodum*, is used as a comparative conjunction (Ob¹⁵), frequently with **כֵּן** so, corresponding to it in the apodosis, Is 31⁴, 52^{14f}. Sometimes, however, **כֵּן** (so also) occurs even after independent statements, Is 55⁹, Jer 3²⁰.—Exact coincidence of two facts is expressed in Ec 5¹⁵ by **בְּכָל־עֵצָה** **שֶׁ** in all points as.

Rem. On the use of **כֵּן** as, with single nouns or pronouns to introduce *c* comparisons, cf. 118 s; on the alleged use of **כֵּן** as a conjunction (equivalent to **כַּאֲשֶׁר**), cf. § 155 g.—It is to be further remarked that **כֵּן—כֵּן** when used in correspondence with one another, as—so (e. g. Lv 7⁷, Ju 8¹⁸, Is 24², Ho 4⁹; also so—as, Gn 18²⁵, 44¹⁸, Dt 1¹⁷, 1 K 22⁴; in Jos 14¹¹, 1 S 30²⁴ **כֵּן—כֵּן**; ψ 127⁴ and often, **כֵּן—כֵּן**, cf. Jo 2⁴), are not to be regarded as conjunctions, but as virtual substantives with a following genitive; **כֵּן כְּיָד יְהוָה** Nu 15¹⁵ properly means the like of you shall be the like of the stranger, i. e. your duty shall be (also) the stranger's duty; cf. Lv 24²².

¹ On this *wāw* *adaequationis*, and in general on these proverbial comparisons, see Delitzsch, *Das Salomonische Spruchbuch*, p. 9 f. Moreover, instead of entire clauses, the nouns alone (without predicates) are frequently grouped together, e. g. Pr 25²⁵, 26²¹, 27²¹ (called by Delitzsch, the 'emblematic Mashal'). The expressions **עִם נֶחֱשֶׁב** prop. to be counted with some one, ψ 88², and **עִם נִמְשָׁל** to be likened with some one, ψ 28¹, 143⁷, also arise from the idea of comparison implied in grouping things together. On this use of **עִם** cf. Jb 9²⁶, where *like* is equivalent to *like*.

² In spite of its form this particle has originally nothing to do with **כֵּן**, **כֵּל** all. The expression is compounded of **כֵּן** and **לְעֵצָה**, like the Aramaic **כַּלְקִיבֵל** for **כַּלְקִיבֵל**; cf. M. Lambert, *REJ.* xxx. 47.

§ 162. Disjunctive Sentences.

- a* The introduction of another possible case, excluding that which preceded, is effected by *is* or, e.g. Ex 21³⁶, equivalent to the Latin *vel*; but also equivalent to *aut* with an exclusive antithesis, 2 K 2¹⁶; so Is 27⁵ *is* = *it would then happen that*, for which elsewhere *is* *is*.
- b* In the sense of *sive—sive* we find *is—sive*, or *is—sive*, or *is—sive* (see the examples in the Lexicon), also *is—sive* Lv 5³, Nu 9¹⁴, Dt 24⁷, Is 2¹³, Jer 32²⁰, *is* 76⁷, Jb 34²⁹, perhaps also Ex 21¹⁶ (but not Pr 29⁹; cf. Delitzsch on the passage), and *is—sive* (see § 143 *e*); cf. also *is—sive* (in Gn 24⁴⁴ *is—sive*) *both—and*; but *is—sive* (in Gn 21²⁶ *is—sive*) *neither—nor*. On disjunctive questions, see § 150 *g*.

§ 163. Adversative and Exeptive Clauses.

- a* 1. After negative sentences (especially after prohibitions) the antithesis (*but*) is introduced by *is* *is*, e.g. 1 S 8¹⁹ *and they said, Nay, but we will have a king over us*; *is* 1², &c.; frequently also by *is* alone, e.g. Gn 18¹⁵, 19², or even simply connected with *is*, Gn 17⁵, *is* *is* as perfect consecutive; 42¹⁰; cf. Ex 5¹⁸.
- b* Rem. Sometimes the negation is only virtually contained in the preceding sentence, e.g. in the form of a rhetorical question (Mi 6^{9f.}) or of conditions which are to be regarded as not having been fulfilled (Jb 31¹⁸); *is* or *is* *is* in such cases becomes equivalent to *nay, rather*.
- c* 2. Exeptive clauses, depending on another sentence, are introduced by *is* *is* *except that*, and (again after negative sentences, see *a* above) *is* *is* *unless*; especially *is* *is* with the perfect (equivalent to *unless previously*) after imperfects which contain a declaration, e.g. Gn 32²⁷ *I will not let thee go, except thou hast previously blessed me*; Lv 22⁶, Is 55¹⁰, 65⁶, Am 3⁷, Ru 3¹⁸. Finally, *is* *is* *unless*, Am 3⁴ (with perfect after a rhetorical question), or simply *is* *is* Gn 43³ with a noun-clause, *except your brother be with you*; Is 10⁴ after a rhetorical question, with a verbal-clause.

¹ Very probably this use of *is* *is* arises from the original meaning *for if, surely if* (*is* in an affirmative sense); so evidently in Ex 22²² as a forcible resumption of the preceding *is*. Thus, e.g. Ju 15⁷ is simply *surely when I have been avenged of you, after that I will cease*, equivalent to, *I will not cease, until I have, &c.* When the exception follows, an ellipsis must be assumed, e.g. Ru 3¹⁸ *surely (or for) when he has finished it (then the man will rest)*. It is far less natural to assume such an ellipsis with *is* *is* *but* (before entire clauses as before single nouns); see *a* above.

Rem. The principal statement, to which אֲנִי כִי appends an exception, *d* must sometimes be supplied from the context; thus, Gn 40¹⁴ (I desire nothing else) *except that thou remember me*, equivalent to *only do thou remember*, &c. (cf. § 106 n, note 2; but it is probably better to read אֲנִי for כִּי). Cf. Mi 6⁸, where אֲנִי כִי, equivalent to *nothing but*, is used before an infinitive, and Jb 42⁸, equivalent to *only*, before a noun. Similarly when אֲנִי כִי after an oath introduces an emphatic assurance, e.g. in 2 K 5²⁰ *as the Lord liveth* (I can do nothing else) *except I run after him*, &c.; cf. 2 S 15²¹ *Keith.*, Jer 51¹⁴, Ru 3¹² *Keith.*, and even without the oath, Ju 15⁷; cf. the Rem. on c.

§ 164. Temporal Clauses.

1. The relations of time existing between two different actions or *a* events are frequently expressed without the aid of a conjunction simply by juxtaposition:—

(a) Actions or events are represented as wholly or in part *simultaneous* by connecting a noun-clause with another noun-clause or verbal-clause introduced by וְ (or וְהָיָה), e.g. Gn 7⁶ *and Noah was six hundred years old* (prop. *a son of six hundred years*), וְהַמְבּוּל הָיָה and (i.e. *when*) *the flood was*. This is especially the case when the predicate of the noun-clause (frequently introduced by עוֹד *still*) is expressed by an active participle, e.g. Jb 1¹⁸ *וְהָיָה עוֹד* 'מְדַבֵּר וְהָיָה בָּא וְג' *he was yet speaking, and there came another*, &c.; see the numerous examples in § 111 g and § 116 u. Instead of a complete noun-clause there often occurs a simple *casus pendens* after כִּלְ with a participial attribute in the sense of *whenever any one* . . . , e.g. 1 S 2¹³ *כִּלְ אִישׁ וְזָבַח וְזָבַח* 'whenever any man offered sacrifice, then came, &c.'; 2 S 2²⁵, &c.; see the examples (in which the second member is generally introduced by *wāw* apodosis) in § 116 w.

(b) Sequence is expressed by the juxtaposition b

(1) of two imperfects consecutive, e.g. Gn 24¹⁹ *וְהָיָה לְהַשְׁקִיתוֹ וְהָאִמָּר* *and when she had done giving him drink, she said*, &c.; 28⁸ f., 29³¹, 30⁵, 32²⁶, &c.; cf. § 111 d;

(2) of a noun-clause with a passive participle as predicate, and a verbal-clause attached by וְ, e.g. Gn 38²⁵; cf. § 116 v; in Gn 49²⁹ an imperative follows without וְ;

(3) of two perfects (frequently with the secondary idea of rapid succession¹ of the two actions or events in past time), e.g. Gn 19²³ *וְהָיָה לֹט בָּא וְג' . . . וְהָיָה שֶׁמֶשׁ יָצָא* *the sun was just risen . . . and (= when) Lot came*, &c., cf. 1 S 9⁵, 2 S 2²⁴; Gn 44³ f., Ju 3²⁴, 15¹⁴, 20³⁸ f.—In all these examples the subject follows immediately after the connective *Wāw*, and then the (simple) perfect. On the other hand,

(4) a perfect consecutive follows another perfect consecutive to express the contingent succession of future actions, e.g. Gn 44⁴ *וְהָיָה אִמָּרָתָא אֵלֵיהֶם*

¹ This secondary idea is implied here by the mere co-ordination of two independent verbal-clauses, just as the idea of simultaneous occurrence (according to § 116 u, note 1) is implied in the co-ordination of a noun-clause with another clause. In Gn 27³⁰ the immediate succession is especially emphasized by אֲנִי and the infinitive absolute, *Jacob was yet scarce gone out . . . then Esau his brother came*; in 1 K 9²⁴ by אֲנִי only; in ψ 48⁶ by כִּי and the addition of two more perfects without וְ.

and when thou dost overtake them (as soon as thou shalt have overtaken), thou shalt say unto them. Naturally, examples of this kind are very closely related to conditional sentences; see, therefore, the examples in § 112 *k/k* and § 159 *g*. On the connexion of an imperfect consecutive or a perfect with detached expressions of time (as equivalent to complete clauses), cf. § 111 *b*; on the imperfect consecutive after *וְהָיָה* and a statement of time, cf. § 111 *g*; on the perfect consecutive following a detached statement of time, as in Ex 16⁹, cf. § 112 *oo*.—In 1 S 29¹⁰ an imperative with *י* follows the perfect consecutive.

- c* (5) The fact that one action or event has not yet taken place on the occurrence of another, is expressed by *בְּרֵגֶם* (an adverb, not a conjunction) with the imperfect (according to § 107 *c*). The apodosis, which may consist of a subject and perfect or even of a noun-clause (Gn 24¹⁵),¹ is then connected by *י* (or *וְהָיָה*) as in the examples above, under no. 3, e.g. Gn 19⁴ (cf. Jos 2⁹) *וְנָתַבּוּ וְנָתַבּוּ וְנָתַבּוּ הָעִיר* . . . *יִשְׁכְּבוּ וְנָתַבּוּ בְּרֵגֶם* they had not yet lain down, and (= when) the men of the city . . . compassed, &c.; Gn 24²⁵.

- d* 2. Conjunctions used to introduce temporal clauses are *כִּי* (with perfect, e.g. Gn 6¹, Ju 1²³, 16¹⁶, 1 S 1¹²; with imperfect, Gn 4¹², 12¹², 24⁴¹, Ex 3²¹, Lv 21⁹, Dt 31²¹, Is 1¹², 8¹⁹) and *כַּאֲשֶׁר* when (*כִּי* with the imperfect also = *as often as*, ψ 8⁴; with perfect Jb 1⁶); less frequently *אֲמֵן*³ (joined with a perfect), e.g. Gn 38⁹, Nu 21⁹, Ju 6³, ψ 41⁷, 94¹⁸, cf. also Is 24¹³ = *quotiescunque*; also in the same sense with an imperfect, Nu 36⁴; with a perfect, equivalent to the *futurum exactum*, Is 4⁴. Other conjunctions of time are the compounds *כַּמֶּנְה* when, Gn 19¹⁵; *כַּאֲשֶׁר* when, after that; *עַד-כִּי* until (also the simple *עַד*, e.g. Gn 38¹¹, Jos 2²², 1 S 1²² [with the imperfect = *only when*, as in 2 S 10⁶]);² &c.; especially in the formula *עַד-בְּלֹתִי הַשְׂאִיר לוֹ* until there was none left remaining to him (where indeed it would be very natural to read *הַשְׂאִיר הַיִּנְיָן* the infin. constr., as elsewhere after *בְּלֹתִי*, § 114 *s*) Nu 21²⁵, Dt 3³, Jos 8²², 11⁸ (but 1 S 14¹⁹ while, as long as); *לֵא* before that, Ec 12^{1,2,6} with an imperfect, as in Pr 8²⁶ *עַד* with a perfect; *עַד-אֵם*, *עַד-אֲשֶׁר* until the time when; *אֲחֵרֵי-אֲשֶׁר* (for which in Ez 40¹ *אֲחֵרֵי-אֲשֶׁר*; Lv 25⁴³, 1 S 5⁹ simply *אֲחֵרֵי*; Lv 14⁴³, Jer 41¹⁶, Jb 42⁷ simply *אֲחֵר*) after that; *מֵאָז* (prop. since that time; the dependent clause is attached to it in the same way as the attributive clause to the demonstrative *אֲשֶׁר* § 138 *e*) since, Gn 39⁵; *בְּתֵרֶם* (and simply *בְּרֵגֶם* § 107 *c*) before; *קִדְמַת אֲשֶׁר* (for *קִדְמַת אֲשֶׁר*) before, ψ 129⁶.

- e* Rem. 1. With regard to the tenses used with the above conjunctions, the rules are practically the same as those given in § 158 *d* for causal clauses. The perfect indicates actions completed in the past or future (in the former case corresponding to the Latin pluperfect, § 106 *f*, and in the latter to the

¹ On the perfect in the protasis, which is critically doubtful, cf. § 107 *c*.

² On *אֲשֶׁר* as an original demonstrative, cf. § 138 *a*; hence *עַד-אֲשֶׁר נָשׁוּב* is properly up to that (moment)—we shall return.

³ Cf. the frequent use of *wenn* [prop. *if*] for *wann* [= *when*] in German.

Latin *futurum exactum*, § 106 o), the imperfect denotes actions occurring contingently in the future. On *בְּתָרָם*, *בְּתָרָם*, and *עַד* with the imperfect as a *tempus historicum*, cf. 107 c.

2. Clauses introduced by *עַד*, *עַד־כִּי*, or *עַד־אֲשֶׁר*, sometimes express a limit *f* which is not absolute (terminating the preceding action), but only relative, beyond which the action or state described in the principal clause still continues; thus, *עַד* with the imperfect, § 110¹; *עַד־כִּי* with the perfect, Gn 26¹³, with impf. 49¹⁰; *עַד־אֲשֶׁר* with the perfect, Gn 28¹⁵; with the imperfect, § 112².—Like the Arab. *حَتَّى*, *עַד* may even introduce a main clause; e.g. Ex 15¹⁶ *עַד־יָעֹבֵד* prop. no doubt = thus it came to this—they passed through, i.e. so they passed through.

3. The infinitive construct governed by a preposition (§ 114 d, e) is very *g* frequently used as the equivalent of a temporal clause; the infinitive with *כִּי* may usually be rendered by *when*, *as*, or *whilst*; the infinitive with *כִּי* by *when*, *as soon as* (in Pr 10²⁵ followed by a noun-clause introduced by *wāw* apodosis), or, when referring to the future, by *if*; the infinitive after *כִּי* by *since*. According to § 111 g such statements of time are generally preceded by *וַיְהִי* and the apodosis follows in the imperfect consecutive; hence in 1 S 17⁵⁵ (cf. Driver on the passage) *וַיְהִי כִּי־רָאִיתִי* with a simple perfect following, is unusual. On the continuation of these infinitival constructions by means of the perfect consecutive, cf. § 112 v, and in general, § 114 r.—With the participle, *כִּי* appears to be used as the equivalent of a conjunction in *כִּי־מָשַׁבֵּחַ* as *he drew back*, Gn 38²⁰ (unless we should read *כִּי־מָשַׁבֵּחַ* [or *כִּי־מָשַׁבֵּחַ*, cf. Gn 19¹⁵]), and in *כִּי־פָרַחַת* when it budded, 40¹⁰.

§ 165. Final Clauses.¹

1. Like most of the dependent clauses hitherto treated, the final *a* clause may also be joined by a simple *wāw* copulative to the main clause, unless the final clause is directly subordinated to the governing verb.

Examples of the connexion: (α) of a final imperfect (or jussive?) with a perfect by means of *וַי*, La 1¹⁹, see § 107 g; with an interrogative sentence, 2 S 9¹³, Jb 38²⁴; with an optative, § 51⁹; with an imperative, 1 K 11²¹; (β) of a cohortative with an imperative by *וַי*, Gn 29²¹, 1 S 15¹⁶, or a jussive, Neh 2⁵ (§ 108 d); (γ) of a jussive with an imperative by *וַי*, Ex 9¹, 2 S 16¹⁴, 1 K 5¹⁰, § 59¹⁴, 86¹⁷; with a jussive, Jb 21¹⁹, or cohortative, § 109 f, g (cf. also 2 S 24²¹ the infinitive with *וַי*, Jon 1¹¹ *כִּי־מָה* with the 1st plur. imperf., and 2 Ch 29¹⁰ *עַד־לִבְבִי*, which are equivalent to cohortatives); (δ) of an imperative with a jussive, cohortative, or interrogative sentence by *וַי*, § 110 i; (ε) of a perfect consecutive after another perfect consecutive, Lv 14³⁶; after an imperfect, § 112 m and p; similarly after a jussive, § 112 q; after an imperative, § 112 r.—On negative final clauses joined by *וַיֹּלֵא* to the imperfect (so Ex 25⁴³, 30²⁰; and 2 S 13²⁵ after *וַיֹּלֵא* with a jussive in the main clause) see the Rem. on § 109 g. In Ex 28³², 39²³ the negative final clause is simply connected by *וַיֹּלֵא*.—On the use of an historical statement after verbs of command-

¹ Cf. H. G. T. Mitchell, *Final Constructions of Biblical Hebrew*, Leipzig, 1879.

ing, where we should expect a final clause (e.g. Neh 13⁹ *then I commanded, and they cleansed*, equivalent to *that they should cleanse, and they cleansed*; in Jb 9⁷ a negative final clause is connected in this way by וְלֹא, cf. § 120 f.

For examples of the direct subordination of the final imperfect (without ו) see § 120 c.

b 2. Final conjunctions are לְמַעַן אֲשֶׁר *to the end that*; also simply לְמַעַן Gn 12¹³, 27²⁵, Ex 4⁵, ψ 51⁶, &c.; אֲשֶׁר בְּעֵבֶר prop. *for the purpose that*, Gn 27¹⁰, and simply בְּעֵבֶר Gn 27⁴, Ex 9¹⁴, 20²⁰; also the simple אֲשֶׁר¹ Dt 4^{10,40}, 6³, 32⁴⁶, Jos 3⁷, Neh 8^{14f}; negatively, לֹא אֲשֶׁר Gn 11⁷, 24³, 1 K 22¹⁶; or שֵׁי Ec 3¹⁴; also negatively, עַל־דִּבְרֹת שֵׁלֹא *for the matter (purpose) that . . . not*, Ec 7¹⁴; with imperfect, Ex 20²⁰, 2 S 14¹⁴ *that . . . not*.—Quite exceptional is the use of כִּי (if the text be right) in Dt 33¹¹ כִּי-יִקְוֹמוּן, with the imperfect, equivalent to *that . . . not* [in prose, מִקֵּוֹם].

c Rem. All the conjunctions here mentioned are naturally always used with the imperfect, see § 107 g (on the apparent exception in Jos 4²⁴, see § 74 g).—On the negative conjunctions לֹא and כִּי *that not, lest*, see § 152 f and w. On the infinitive with ל² (also לְמַעַן Gn 18¹⁹, 37²², &c.) as the equivalent of a final clause (Gn 11⁵, 28⁴, &c.), see § 114 f, h, p. On the continuation of such infinitival constructions by means of the finite verb, see § 114 r. On the negation of the final infinitive by לֹא-לֵבִי, § 114 s. On the preposition כִּי with a substantive or infinitive as the equivalent of a negative final clause (Gn 31²⁹, 1 S 15²³, &c.), see § 119 x and y.

§ 166. Consecutive Clauses.

a 1. Consecutive clauses are added by means of simple *wāw* copulative with the jussive,³ especially after negative and interrogative sentences, e.g. Nu 23¹⁹ וַיִּכְנַב וַיְקַוְּ אָדָם וַיִּתְנַחֵם *God is not a man, that he should lie, and (i. e. neither) the son of man, that he should repent*; Is 53² וְנִחְמְדֵהוּ; Ho 14¹⁰ נְבוֹן וְיִדְעֵם אֱלֹהֵה נְבוֹן *who is wise, that he may understand these things? prudent, that he may know them?* Jb 5¹² וְלֹא-*so that . . . not*; in Pr 30³ וְ is separated from the predicate by the object. In Gn 16¹⁰ a negative consecutive clause comes after a cohortative, and in Ex 10⁵ after a perfect consecutive.—On the other hand, in Jb 9^{32,33} the jussive in the sense of a consecutive clause is attached without *Wāw* to the preceding negative sentence (in

¹ In Ez 36²⁷ a final clause is introduced by אֲשֶׁר אֵת, thus at the same time taking the form of an object-clause.

² On ל as a supposed conjunction (equivalent to the Arabic *u*) 1 K 6¹⁹, see § 66 i.

³ That such examples as וַיִּכְנַב are to be regarded as jussive is probable from the analogy of Ho 14¹⁰ and Jb 9³³.

verse 32 a second jussive follows, likewise without *Wāw*, for *he is not a man, as I am, that I should answer him, that we should come together in judgement*). On the imperfect consecutive as expressing a logical consequence, see § 111 l; on the perfect consecutive as a consecutive clause after a participle, see § 112 n.

2. Conjunctions introducing consecutive clauses are again (see *b* § 157 c, note 3) וְ and וְכֵן = *so that*; especially again after interrogative sentences, according to § 107 u; cf. Nu 16¹¹, וְ with the imperfect, *that ye murmur*; but in Gn 20¹⁰ with the perfect, in reference to an action already completed. On וְכֵן with the imperfect (or jussive) equivalent to *so that*, cf. further Gn 13¹⁶, 22¹⁴; with perfect and imperfect, 1 K 3^{12f}, with the demonstrative force clearly discernible, depending on וְכֵן ; on וְכֵן = *ut non*, cf. Dt 28³⁵, 1 K 3⁸, 2 K 9³⁷.

On וְ with a substantive or infinitive as the equivalent of a consecutive clause, see § 119 y.

§ 167. *Aposiopesis, Anacoluthon, Involved Series of Sentences.*

1. *Aposiopesis* is the concealment or suppression of entire sentences *a* or clauses, which are of themselves necessary to complete the sense,¹ and therefore must be supplied from the context. This is especially frequent after conditional clauses; besides the examples already given in § 159 dd, cf. also Ex 32³² (the LXX and Samaritan supply וְכֵן); Nu 5²⁰, Ju 9¹⁶ (in verse 19, after a long parenthesis, an imperative follows as the apodosis to this conditional clause); 1 S 12^{14f}, 2 S 5⁸ (where indeed the text is probably very corrupt; cf. the addition in 1 Ch 11⁹); 2 S 23¹⁷, ψ 27¹³, 1 Ch 4¹⁰. For other examples of various kinds, see § 117 l, and especially § 147; in Aramaic, Dn 3¹⁵.—On Gn 3²², cf. § 152 w at the end.

2. *Anacoluthon* is the change from a construction which has been *b* already begun to one of a different kind. It is found especially after long parentheses, because the speaker has either lost sight of the beginning of his sentence, or for the sake of clearness purposely makes a new beginning; thus Gn 20¹³, 31⁵² and Ez 34¹⁰ (cf. § 149 at the end); Nu 14^{21ff}, 32^{20ff}, Dt 17^{2ff}, 24^{1ff}, 29^{21ff}, Ju 10¹¹ (where, after a series of intermediate sentences, the predicate *I saved you* is sup-

¹ But those cases are not to be regarded as examples of aposiopesis, in which the answer, being closely connected with the question, is given simply in the infinitive with וְ ; cf. § 147 a, note 1.

pressed; but the text can hardly be correct); perhaps also Is 66¹⁸ (cf., however, Delitzsch on the passage, which is certainly corrupt).¹ On Gn 23¹³ (¹⁵ with the imperative), see § 110 e.

c 3. We may mention as instructive examples of *involved series* of sentences Gn 24¹⁴ and ⁴²π., and Gn 28⁶π.

¹ On the other hand, from the Semitic point of view the various kinds of compound sentences are *not* to be regarded as instances of anacoluthon, e.g. Gn 17^{14,17}, nor even Gn 31⁴⁰ (cf. § 143).

THE PARADIGMS.

IN the paradigms of the verbs, those forms which are to be especially noticed by the beginner are marked throughout by an asterisk as model forms. Thus e.g. in the strong verb the 3rd *sing. fem.* קָטְלָהּ is the model for קָטְלִי, which likewise has only a vocalic affirmative, and קָטְלָתָּ is the model for קָטְלָתִי, קָטְלָתְּךָ and קָטְלָנִי, which in the same way have a toneless affirmative beginning with a consonant. On the other hand, the forms קָטְלָתֶם and קָטְלָתֶן, where the affix beginning with a consonant has the tone, stand by themselves.—In the table of the pronouns the asterisk has a different meaning; see the footnote there.—The bracketed forms (from Paradigm † onwards) are merely analogous formations not occurring in the Old Testament.

The newly added paradigm (Q) consists of forms actually found, belonging to various verbs.

A. The Personal

Nominative of the Pronoun,
or *Pronomen separatum*.

Accusative of the Pronoun,

A.

Simple form.

Sing. I. comm. אֲנִי, in pause אֲנִי;
אֲנִי, in pause אֲנִי I.

נִי; נִי; נִי me.

2. { *m.* אַתָּה (אתָּה), in pause
אַתָּה } *thou.*
{ *f.* אַתָּה (אתָּה) }

ךָ; כָּךְ, in pause כָּךְ, }
ךָ } *thee.*
ךָ; כָּךְ; כָּךְ, כָּךְ

3. { *m.* הוּא *he.*
{ *f.* הִיא *she.*

הוּא; הוּא (הוּא), הוּא; הוּא *him.*

הָא; הָא; הָא *her (eam).*

Plur. I. comm. אֲנֵנוּ (אֲנֵנוּ), in
pause אֲנֵנוּ (אֲנֵנוּ) *we.*

נֵנוּ; נֵנוּ; נֵנוּ *us.*

2. { *m.* אַתֶּם
{ *f.* אַתֶּן, אַתֶּן } *you.*

כֶּם; כֶּם }
[כֶּן; כֶּן] } *you.*

3. { *m.* הֵם, הֵם }
{ *f.* הֵנָּה } *they.*

(הֵם), הֵם; הֵם, הֵם, הֵם*; הֵם,
(הֵם), הֵם* *them (eos).*
[הֵן], הֵן; הֵן, (הֵן); [הֵן] *them (eas).*

Pronoun.¹

or *Suffixum Verbi*.

Genitive of the Pronoun, or *Suffixum Nominis*
(*Pron. possessivum*).

B.	A.	B.
With <i>Nān energicum</i> .	Attached to a sing. noun.	Attached to a noun plur. or dual.
יָּמִי; יָּמִי	יָּמִי <i>my</i> (prop. gen. <i>mei</i>).	יָּמִי <i>my</i> .
יָּמִי, (יָּמִי)	יָּמִי, יָּמִי, in } <i>thy</i> pause יָּמִי } (prop. יָּמִי, יָּמִי, (יָּמִי) } <i>tui</i> .	יָּמִי } <i>thy</i> . יָּמִי }
not found.		
(יָּמִי), יָּמִי; (יָּמִי)	יָּמִי, יָּמִי; יָּמִי (יָּמִי) <i>his</i> (<i>eius</i> and <i>suus</i>).	יָּמִי, יָּמִי, (יָּמִי *) <i>his</i> .
יָּמִי	יָּמִי; יָּמִי; יָּמִי <i>her</i> .	יָּמִי <i>her</i> .
יָּמִי? (see § 58 k)	יָּמִי; יָּמִי; (יָּמִי) <i>our</i> .	יָּמִי <i>our</i> .
these forms are not found.	יָּמִי; יָּמִי } <i>your</i> . יָּמִי; יָּמִי }	יָּמִי } <i>your</i> . יָּמִי }
	יָּמִי; יָּמִי, } <i>their</i> . יָּמִי * }	יָּמִי, יָּמִי * } <i>their</i> . יָּמִי }

¹ Forms with an asterisk are exclusively poetic, those in parentheses () are rare, those in brackets [] do not occur (cf. § 58 a, note).

		Qal.	Niph'al.	Piel.
Perf. Sing.	3. m.	קָטַל*	קָטַל*	קָטַל*
	3. f.	קָטְלָה*	קָטְלָה*	קָטְלָה*
	2. m.	קָטַלְתָּ*	קָטַלְתָּ*	קָטַלְתָּ*
	2. f.	קָטַלְתְּ*	קָטַלְתְּ*	קָטַלְתְּ*
	1. c.	קָטַלְתִּי	קָטַלְתִּי	קָטַלְתִּי
	Plur. 3. c.	קָטְלוּ	קָטְלוּ	קָטְלוּ
	2. m.	קָטַלְתֶּם*	קָטַלְתֶּם*	קָטַלְתֶּם*
	2. f.	קָטַלְתֶּן	קָטַלְתֶּן	קָטַלְתֶּן
	1. c.	קָטַלְנוּ	קָטַלְנוּ	קָטַלְנוּ
Inf.	שָׁבַב, קָטַל*		הִקָּטַל*	קָטַל*
Inf. absol.	קָטוּל*		הִקָּטַל, נִקָּטַל	קָטַל, קָטַל*
Imp. Sing.	2. m.	קָטַל*	קָטַל*	קָטַל*
	2. f.	קָטְלִי*	קָטְלִי*	קָטְלִי*
	Plur. 2. m.	קָטְלוּ	קָטְלוּ	קָטְלוּ
	2. f.	קָטְלֶנָה*	קָטְלֶנָה*	קָטְלֶנָה*
Impf. Sing.	3. m.	יִקָּטַל*	יִקָּטַל*	יִקָּטַל*
	3. f.	תִּקָּטַל	תִּקָּטַל	תִּקָּטַל
	2. m.	תִּקָּטַל	תִּקָּטַל	תִּקָּטַל
	2. f.	תִּקָּטְלִי*	תִּקָּטְלִי*	תִּקָּטְלִי*
	1. c.	אֶקָּטַל	אֶקָּטַל	אֶקָּטַל
	Plur. 3. m.	יִקָּטְלוּ	יִקָּטְלוּ	יִקָּטְלוּ
	3. f.	תִּקָּטְלֶנָה*	תִּקָּטְלֶנָה*	תִּקָּטְלֶנָה*
	2. m.	תִּקָּטְלוּ	תִּקָּטְלוּ	תִּקָּטְלוּ
	2. f.	תִּקָּטְלֶנָה	תִּקָּטְלֶנָה	תִּקָּטְלֶנָה
	1. c.	נִקָּטַל	נִקָּטַל	נִקָּטַל
Shortened Impf. (Jussive).				
Part. act.	קָטַל*	קָטַל	קָטַל	קָטַל*
pass.	קָטוּל*	קָטַל	קָטַל	קָטַל*

Verb.

<i>Pu'al.</i>	<i>Hiph'al.</i>	<i>Hoph'al.</i>	<i>Hithpa'al.</i>
קָטַל*	הִקְטִיל*	הִקְטַל*	הִתְקַטַּל*
קָטְלָה*	הִקְטִילָה*	הִקְטַלָּה*	הִתְקַטַּלָּה*
קָטְלָתָ*	הִקְטִילָתָ*	הִקְטַלָּתָ*	הִתְקַטַּלָּתָ*
קָטַלְתָּ	הִקְטַלְתָּ	הִקְטַלְתָּ	הִתְקַטַּלְתָּ
קָטַלְתִּי	הִקְטַלְתִּי	הִקְטַלְתִּי	הִתְקַטַּלְתִּי
קָטַלְוּ	הִקְטַלְוּ	הִקְטַלְוּ	הִתְקַטַּלְוּ
קָטַלְתֶּם	הִקְטַלְתֶּם	הִקְטַלְתֶּם	הִתְקַטַּלְתֶּם
קָטַלְתֶּן	הִקְטַלְתֶּן	הִקְטַלְתֶּן	הִתְקַטַּלְתֶּן
קָטַלְנוּ	הִקְטַלְנוּ	הִקְטַלְנוּ	הִתְקַטַּלְנוּ
wanting. קָטַל*	הִקְטִיל*	wanting. קָטַל*	הִתְקַטַּל*
	הִקְטִיל		הִתְקַטַּל
wanting.	הִקְטִיל*	wanting.	הִתְקַטַּל*
	הִקְטִילִי		הִתְקַטַּלִּי
	הִקְטִילוּ		הִתְקַטַּלוּ
	הִקְטִילֶנָּה*		הִתְקַטַּלֶּנָּה*
יָקַטַּל*	יִקְטִיל*	יִקְטַל*	יִתְקַטַּל*
יָקַטְלָה	יִקְטִילָה	יִקְטַלָּה	יִתְקַטַּלָּה
יָקַטְלָתָ	יִקְטִילָתָ	יִקְטַלָּתָ	יִתְקַטַּלָּתָ
יָקַטְלִי*	יִקְטִילִי	יִקְטַלִּי*	יִתְקַטַּלִּי*
יָקַטְלָה	יִקְטִילָה	יִקְטַלָּה	יִתְקַטַּלָּה
יָקַטְלוּ	יִקְטִילוּ	יִקְטַלוּ	יִתְקַטַּלוּ
יָקַטְלֶנָּה*	יִקְטִילֶנָּה*	יִקְטַלֶּנָּה*	יִתְקַטַּלֶּנָּה*
יָקַטְלוּ	יִקְטִילוּ	יִקְטַלוּ	יִתְקַטַּלוּ
יָקַטְלֶנָּה	יִקְטִילֶנָּה	יִקְטַלֶּנָּה	יִתְקַטַּלֶּנָּה
יָקַטְלוּ	יִקְטִילוּ	יִקְטַלוּ	יִתְקַטַּלוּ
	יִקְטִיל*		
	מִקְטִיל*		מִתְקַטַּל*
יִקְטִיל*		יִקְטִיל*	

C. Strong Verb

		Suffixes	1 Sing.	2 Sing. m.	2 Sing. f.	3 Sing. m.
Perf. Qal	3. m.	{ קטַלְנִי שִׁבַּחְנִי }	קטַלְךָ	קטַלְךָ	{ קטַלְהוּ קטלוּ }	
	3. f.	קטַלְתִּי	קטַלְתִּיךָ	קטַלְתִּיךָ	{ קטַלְתִּיהוּ קטַלְתִּיךָ }	
	2. m.	קטַלְתֵּנִי	—	—	{ קטַלְתֵּיהוּ קטַלְתֵּיךָ }	
	2. f.	קטַלְתִּינִי	—	—	קטַלְתִּיךָ	
	1. c.	—	קטַלְתִּיךָ	קטַלְתִּיךָ	{ קטַלְתִּיךָ קטַלְתִּיהוּ }	
	Plur. 3. c.	קטַלְנוּ	{ קטַלְדוּ אֶתְדוּ }	קטַלְדוּ	קטַלְדוּ	
	2. m.	קטַלְתֵּנִי	—	—	קטַלְתֵּיהוּ	
	1. c.	—	קטַלְנוּךָ	קטַלְנוּךָ	קטַלְנוּךָ	
	Inf. Qal		{ קטַלִּי קטַלְנִי }	{ בְּתַבְּדָךְ קטַלְךָ }	קטַלְךָ	קטלוּ
	Imp. Qal 2.		קטַלְנִי	—	—	קטַלְהוּ
(from an Imperf. in a שְׁמַעְנִי, שְׁלַחְנִי)						
Imperf. Qal	3. m.	{ יקטַלְנִי יִלְבַּשְׁנִי }	יקטַלְךָ	יִלְבַּשְׁךָ	יקטַלְךָ	{ יקטַלְהוּ יִלְבַּשְׁהוּ }
	3. m. with Nān energ.	{ יקטַלְנִי יקטַלְנִי }	יקטַלְךָ	יקטַלְךָ	—	יקטַלְנוּ
	Plur. 3. m.	יקטַלְנוּ	יקטַלְדוּ	יקטַלְדוּ	יקטַלְדוּ	{ יקטַלְדוּ יִנְאָלְדוּ }
	Perf. Pi'el		קטַלְנִי	קטַלְךָ	קטַלְךָ	קטלוּ

with Suffixes.

3 Sing. f.	1 Plur.	2 Plur. m.	2 Plur. f.	3 Plur. m.	3 Plur. f.
קָטְלָהּ	קָטְלֵנוּ	wanting.	wanting.	{ קָטְלֵם לְבָשֵׁם }	קָטְלִין
קָטְלָתָהּ	קָטְלָתֵנוּ	—	—	קָטְלָתָם	wanting.
קָטְלָתֶהּ	קָטְלָתֵנוּ	—	—	קָטְלָתָם	wanting.
קָטְלָתֶיהָ	קָטְלָתֵנוּ	—	—	קָטְלָתֵיהֶם	wanting.
קָטְלָתֶיהָ	—	קָטְלָתֵיהֶם	wanting.	קָטְלָתֵיהֶם	קָטְלָתֵיהֶם
קָטְלָהּ	קָטְלֵנוּ	wanting.	wanting.	קָטְלֵם	קָטְלִין
wanting.	קָטְלָתֵנוּ	—	—	wanting.	wanting.
קָטְלָנָהּ	—	קָטְלָנֵיהֶם	wanting.	קָטְלָנֵם	wanting.
קָטְלָהּ	קָטְלֵנוּ	{ קָטְלָתֵיהֶם קָטְלָתֵיהֶם }	wanting.	קָטְלֵם	קָטְלִין
{ קָטְלָתָהּ קָטְלָתָהּ }	קָטְלֵנוּ	—	—	קָטְלֵם	—
{ יִקְטָלָהּ יִלְבָּשָׁה }	{ יִקְטָלֵנוּ יִלְבָּשֵׁנוּ }	יִקְטָלֵיהֶם	wanting.	יִקְטָלֵם	wanting.
יִקְטָלָנָהּ	יִקְטָלֵנוּ	—	—	—	—
יִקְטָלָהּ	יִקְטָלֵנוּ	יִקְטָלֵיהֶם	wanting.	יִקְטָלֵם	wanting.

D. Verbs primae gutturalis

	Qal.	Niph'al.	Hiph'il.	Hoph'al.
<i>Perf. Sing.</i> 3. m.	עָמַד	*נָעַמַד	*הָעָמַד	*הָעָמַד
3. f.	עָמְדָה	*נָעַמְדָה	הָעָמְדָה	*הָעָמְדָה
2. m.	עָמַדְתָּ	נָעַמַדְתָּ	הָעָמַדְתָּ	הָעָמַדְתָּ
2. f.	עָמַדְתְּ	נָעַמַדְתְּ	הָעָמַדְתְּ	הָעָמַדְתְּ
1. c.	עָמַדְתִּי	נָעַמַדְתִּי	הָעָמַדְתִּי	הָעָמַדְתִּי
<i>Plur.</i> 3. c.	עָמְדוּ	נָעַמְדוּ	הָעָמְדוּ	הָעָמְדוּ
2. m.	*עָמַדְתֶּם	נָעַמַדְתֶּם	הָעָמַדְתֶּם	הָעָמַדְתֶּם
2. f.	*עָמַדְתֶּן	נָעַמַדְתֶּן	הָעָמַדְתֶּן	הָעָמַדְתֶּן
1. c.	עָמַדְנוּ	נָעַמַדְנוּ	הָעָמַדְנוּ	הָעָמַדְנוּ
<i>Inf.</i>	עָמַד*	*הָעָמַד	*הָעָמַד	
<i>Inf. absol.</i>	עָמוּר	*נָעֻמוּר, הָאָסַף	*הָעָמַד	*הָעָמַד
<i>Imp. Sing.</i> m.	עָמַד*	*חֹק	*הָעָמַד	הָעָמַד
f.	עָמְדִי	חֹמִי	הָעָמְדִי	הָעָמְדִי
<i>Plur. m.</i>	עָמְדוּ	הֹקוּ	הָעָמְדוּ	הָעָמְדוּ
f.	*עָמְדִנָּה	*חֹקִנָּה	הָעָמְדִנָּה	הָעָמְדִנָּה
<i>Impf. Sing.</i> 3. m.	*יַעֲמֹד	*יִחַן	*יַעֲמֹד	*יַעֲמֹד
3. f.	תַּעֲמֹד	תִּחַן	תַּעֲמֹד	תַּעֲמֹד
2. m.	תַּעֲמֹד	תִּחַן	תַּעֲמֹד	תַּעֲמֹד
2. f.	*תַּעֲמְדִי	*תִּחַמִּי	תַּעֲמְדִי	תַּעֲמְדִי
1. c.	*אֶעֱמֹד	אֶחַן	אֶעֱמֹד	אֶעֱמֹד
<i>Plur.</i> 3. m.	*יַעֲמְדוּ	*יִחַזְקוּ	יַעֲמְדוּ	יַעֲמְדוּ
3. f.	תַּעֲמְדִנָּה	תִּחַזְקִנָּה	תַּעֲמְדִנָּה	תַּעֲמְדִנָּה
2. m.	תַּעֲמְדוּ	תִּחַזְקוּ	תַּעֲמְדוּ	תַּעֲמְדוּ
2. f.	תַּעֲמְדִנָּה	תִּחַזְקִנָּה	תַּעֲמְדִנָּה	תַּעֲמְדִנָּה
1. c.	נַעֲמֹד	נִחַן	נַעֲמֹד	נַעֲמֹד
<i>Shortened Impf. (Jussive).</i>			יַעֲמֹד	
<i>Part. act.</i>	עָמֵד	*נָעֻמֵּד	*מַעֲמִיד	
<i>pass.</i>	עָמוּר			מַעֲמוּר

E. Verbs mediae gutturalis.

	<i>Qal.</i>	<i>Niphal.</i>	<i>Piel.</i>	<i>Pual.</i>	<i>Hithpa'al.</i>
<i>Perf. Sing.</i> 3. m.	שָׁחַט	נִשְׁחַט	בָּרַח*	בָּרַח*	הִתְבָּרַח*
3. f.	שָׁחַטָה*	נִשְׁחַטָה*	בָּרָחָה	[בָּרָחָה]	הִתְבָּרָחָה
2. m.	שָׁחַטְתָּ	נִשְׁחַטְתָּ	בָּרַחְתָּ	בָּרַחְתָּ	הִתְבָּרַחְתָּ
2. f.	שָׁחַטְתָּ	נִשְׁחַטְתָּ	בָּרַחְתָּ	בָּרַחְתָּ	הִתְבָּרַחְתָּ
1. c.	שָׁחַטְתִּי	נִשְׁחַטְתִּי	בָּרַחְתִּי	בָּרַחְתִּי	הִתְבָּרַחְתִּי
<i>Plur.</i> 3. c.	שָׁחַטוּ*	נִשְׁחַטוּ*	בָּרָחוּ	בָּרָחוּ	הִתְבָּרָחוּ
2. m.	שָׁחַטְתֶּם	נִשְׁחַטְתֶּם	בָּרַחְתֶּם	בָּרַחְתֶּם	הִתְבָּרַחְתֶּם
2. f.	שָׁחַטְתֶּן	נִשְׁחַטְתֶּן	[בָּרַחְתֶּן]	בָּרַחְתֶּן	הִתְבָּרַחְתֶּן
1. c.	שָׁחַטְנוּ	נִשְׁחַטְנוּ	בָּרַחְנוּ	בָּרַחְנוּ	הִתְבָּרַחְנוּ
<i>Inf.</i>	שָׁחַט	הִשְׁחַט	בָּרַח*	wanting.	הִתְבָּרַח*
<i>Inf. absol.</i>	שָׁחֹט	נִשְׁחֹט	בָּרַח*		
<i>Imp. Sing.</i> m.	שָׁחַט*	הִשְׁחַט	בָּרַח*		הִתְבָּרַח*
f.	שָׁחַטִי*	הִשְׁחַטִי*	בָּרַחִי*	wanting.	[הִתְבָּרַחִי]
<i>Plur.</i> m.	שָׁחַטוּ	הִשְׁחַטוּ	בָּרָחוּ		[הִתְבָּרָחוּ]
f.	שָׁחַטְנָה	הִשְׁחַטְנָה	בָּרַחְנָה*		הִתְבָּרַחְנָה
<i>Impf. Sing.</i> 3. m.	יִשְׁחַט*	יִשְׁחַט	יִבְרַח*	יִבְרַח*	יִתְבָּרַח*
3. f.	תִּשְׁחַט	תִּשְׁחַט	תִּבְרַח	תִּבְרַח	תִּתְבָּרַח
2. m.	תִּשְׁחַט	תִּשְׁחַט	תִּבְרַח	תִּבְרַח	תִּתְבָּרַח
2. f.	תִּשְׁחַטִי*	תִּשְׁחַטִי*	תִּבְרַחִי	[תִּבְרַחִי]	[תִּתְבָּרַחִי]
1. c.	אֶשְׁחַט	אֶשְׁחַט	אֶבְרַח	אֶבְרַח	אֶתְבָּרַח
<i>Plur.</i> 3. m.	יִשְׁחַטוּ	יִשְׁחַטוּ	יִבְרָחוּ	יִבְרָחוּ	יִתְבָּרָחוּ
3. f.	תִּשְׁחַטְנָה	תִּשְׁחַטְנָה	תִּבְרַחְנָה	תִּבְרַחְנָה	תִּתְבָּרַחְנָה
2. m.	תִּשְׁחַטוּ	תִּשְׁחַטוּ	תִּבְרָחוּ	תִּבְרָחוּ	תִּתְבָּרָחוּ
2. f.	תִּשְׁחַטְנָה	תִּשְׁחַטְנָה	תִּבְרַחְנָה	תִּבְרַחְנָה	תִּתְבָּרַחְנָה
1. c.	נִשְׁחַט	נִשְׁחַט	נִבְרַח	נִבְרַח	נִתְבָּרַח
<i>Impf. with Suff.</i>	יִשְׁחַטְהוּ				
<i>Part. act.</i>	שֹׁחֵט	נֹשֵׁחֵט	מְבָרַח*		מְתְבָרַח*
<i>pass.</i>	שָׁחוּט			מְבָרָח*	

	<i>Qal.</i>	<i>Niphal.</i>	<i>Piel.</i>
<i>Perf. Sing.</i> 3. <i>m.</i>	שָׁלַח	נִשְׁלַח	שִׁלַּח*
3. <i>f.</i>	שָׁלְחָה	נִשְׁלַחָה	שִׁלְחָה
2. <i>m.</i>	שָׁלַחְתָּ	נִשְׁלַחְתָּ	שִׁלַּחְתָּ
2. <i>f.</i>	שָׁלַחְתְּ*	נִשְׁלַחְתְּ*	שִׁלַּחְתְּ*
1. <i>c.</i>	שָׁלַחְתִּי	נִשְׁלַחְתִּי	שִׁלַּחְתִּי
<i>Plur.</i> 3. <i>c.</i>	שָׁלְחוּ	נִשְׁלְחוּ	שִׁלְחוּ
2. <i>m.</i>	שָׁלַחְתֶּם	נִשְׁלַחְתֶּם	שִׁלַּחְתֶּם
2. <i>f.</i>	שָׁלַחְתֶּן	נִשְׁלַחְתֶּן	שִׁלַּחְתֶּן
1. <i>c.</i>	שָׁלַחְנוּ	נִשְׁלַחְנוּ	שִׁלַּחְנוּ
<i>Inf.</i>	שָׁלַח*	הִשְׁלַח*	שִׁלַּח*
<i>Inf. absol.</i>	שֹׁלֵחַ	נִשְׁלֹחַ	שֹׁלֵחַ
<i>Imp. Sing.</i> <i>m.</i>	שְׁלַח*	הִשְׁלַח*	שִׁלַּח*
<i>f.</i>	שְׁלַחִי	הִשְׁלַחִי	שִׁלַּחִי*
<i>Plur. m.</i>	שְׁלַחוּ	הִשְׁלַחוּ	שְׁלַחוּ
<i>f.</i>	שְׁלַחְנָה*	הִשְׁלַחְנָה	שְׁלַחְנָה*
<i>Impf. Sing.</i> 3. <i>m.</i>	יִשְׁלַח*	יִשְׁלַח*	יִשְׁלַח*
3. <i>f.</i>	תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁלַח*
2. <i>m.</i>	תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁלַח
2. <i>f.</i>	תִּשְׁלַחִי	תִּשְׁלַחִי	תִּשְׁלַחִי
1. <i>c.</i>	אִשְׁלַח	אִשְׁלַח	אִשְׁלַח
<i>Plur.</i> 3. <i>m.</i>	יִשְׁלְחוּ	יִשְׁלְחוּ	יִשְׁלְחוּ
3. <i>f.</i>	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה*	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה*	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה*
2. <i>m.</i>	תִּשְׁלְחוּ	תִּשְׁלְחוּ	תִּשְׁלְחוּ
2. <i>f.</i>	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה
1. <i>c.</i>	נִשְׁלַח	נִשְׁלַח	נִשְׁלַח
<i>Shortened Impf. (Jussive).</i>			
<i>Impf. with Suff.</i>	יִשְׁלַחֲנִי		
<i>Part. act.</i>	שֹׁלֵחַ*	נִשְׁלֹחַ	מִשְׁלֵחַ*
<i>pass.</i>	שֹׁלֵחַ*		

<i>Pw'al.</i>	<i>Hiph'il.</i>	<i>Hoph'al.</i>	<i>Hithpa'el.</i>
שָׁלַח	הִשְׁלִיחַ*	הִשְׁלַח	הִשְׁתַּלַּח*
שִׁלְחָה	הִשְׁלִיחָה	הִשְׁלַחָה	הִשְׁתַּלַּחָה
שִׁלְחָתָה	הִשְׁלִיחָתָה	הִשְׁלַחָתָה	הִשְׁתַּלַּחָתָה
שִׁלְחָתָה*	הִשְׁלִיחָתָה*	הִשְׁלַחָתָה*	הִשְׁתַּלַּחָתָה*
שִׁלְחָתִי	הִשְׁלִיחָתִי	הִשְׁלַחָתִי	הִשְׁתַּלַּחָתִי
שִׁלְחָהּ	הִשְׁלִיחָהּ	הִשְׁלַחָהּ	הִשְׁתַּלַּחָהּ
שִׁלְחָתָם	הִשְׁלִיחָתָם	הִשְׁלַחָתָם	הִשְׁתַּלַּחָתָם
שִׁלְחָתָם	הִשְׁלִיחָתָם	הִשְׁלַחָתָם	הִשְׁתַּלַּחָתָם
שִׁלְחָתָם	הִשְׁלִיחָתָם	הִשְׁלַחָתָם	הִשְׁתַּלַּחָתָם
שִׁלְחָתָם	הִשְׁלִיחָתָם	הִשְׁלַחָתָם	הִשְׁתַּלַּחָתָם
	הִשְׁלִיחַ*		הִשְׁתַּלַּח*
	הִשְׁלַח*	הִשְׁלַח*	
	הִשְׁלַח		הִשְׁתַּלַּח*
	הִשְׁלִיחַ		הִשְׁתַּלַּח
wanting.	הִשְׁלִיחַ	wanting.	הִשְׁתַּלַּח
	הִשְׁלִיחַ		הִשְׁתַּלַּח
	הִשְׁלִיחַ		הִשְׁתַּלַּח
	הִשְׁלִיחַ		הִשְׁתַּלַּח
יִשְׁלַח	יִשְׁלַח*	יִשְׁלַח	יִשְׁתַּלַּח
תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁתַּלַּח
תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁתַּלַּח
הִשְׁלַח	הִשְׁלַח	הִשְׁלַח	הִשְׁתַּלַּח
אִשְׁלַח	אִשְׁלַח	אִשְׁלַח	אִשְׁתַּלַּח
יִשְׁלַח	יִשְׁלַח	יִשְׁלַח	יִשְׁתַּלַּח
הִשְׁלַח	הִשְׁלַח	הִשְׁלַח	הִשְׁתַּלַּח
תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁתַּלַּח
הִשְׁלַח	הִשְׁלַח	הִשְׁלַח	הִשְׁתַּלַּח
נִשְׁלַח	נִשְׁלַח	נִשְׁלַח	נִשְׁתַּלַּח
	יִשְׁלַח		
	מִשְׁלַח*		מִשְׁתַּלַּח*
מִשְׁלַח		מִשְׁלַח	

G. Verbs *mediae geminatae*

	<i>Qal.</i>	<i>Niph'al.</i>
<i>Perf. Sing.</i> 3. m.	*קָבַב, תָּם	*נָבַב, נָמַם
3. f.	קָבַבָּהּ, תָּמָה	*נָבַבָּהּ
2. m.	*קָבַבְתָּ	*נָבַבְתָּ
2. f.	קָבַבְתְּ	נָבַבְתְּ
1. c.	קָבַבְתִּי	נָבַבְתִּי
<i>Plur.</i> 3. c.	קָבַבוּ, תָּמוּ	נָבְּבוּ
2. m.	קָבַבְתֶּם	נָבַבְתֶּם
2. f.	קָבַבְתֶּן	נָבַבְתֶּן
1. c.	קָבַבְנוּ	נָבַבְנוּ
<i>Inf.</i>	*כָּב	*הָכַב
<i>Inf. absol.</i>	כָּבוּב	הָכֹס, הָסוּב
<i>Imp. Sing.</i> m.	*כָּב	הָכַב
f.	*כָּבִי	*הָכַבִּי
<i>Plur. m.</i>	כָּבוּ	הָכַבוּ
f.	[כָּבִינָה]	[הָכַבִּינָה]
<i>Impf. Sing.</i> 3. m.	*יָכַב (יָכַל § 67 p)	*יָכַב
3. f.	תָּכַב	תָּכַב
2. m.	תָּכַב	תָּכַב
2. f.	*תָּכַבִּי	*תָּכַבִּי
1. c.	אָכַב	אָכַב
<i>Plur.</i> 3. m.	יָכַבוּ	יָכַבוּ
3. f.	*תָּכַבִּינָה	[תָּכַבִּינָה]
2. m.	תָּכַבוּ	תָּכַבוּ
2. f.	[תָּכַבִּינָה]	[תָּכַבִּינָה]
1. c.	נָכַב	נָכַב
<i>Impf. with Wāw consec.</i>	*וַיָּכַב (pause וַיָּכַב)	
<i>Impf. with Suff.</i>	*יָכַבְנִי	
<i>Part. act.</i>	כָּבֵב	נָכַב
<i>pass.</i>	*כָּבוּב	(fem. נָכַבָּהּ)

or double v.

<i>Hiph'il.</i>	<i>Hoph'al.</i>	<i>Po'el.</i>	<i>Po'al.</i>
*הִסָּב, הִסָּב	*הוֹסָב	*סוֹבֵב	*סוֹבֵב
*הִסָּבָה	הוֹסָבָה	סוֹבֵבָה	[סוֹבֵבָה]
*הִסָּבוֹת	[הוֹסָבוֹת]	סוֹבֵבֹת	סוֹבֵבֹת
הִסָּבוֹת	הוֹסָבוֹת	סוֹבֵבֹת	סוֹבֵבֹת
הִסָּבוֹתִי	[הוֹסָבוֹתִי]	סוֹבֵבֹתִי	סוֹבֵבֹתִי
הִסָּבוּ, הִחֲלוּ	הוֹסָבוּ	סוֹבְבוּ	סוֹבְבוּ
הִסָּבוֹתָם	[הוֹסָבוֹתָם]	סוֹבֵבָתָם	סוֹבֵבָתָם
הִסָּבוֹתָן	הוֹסָבוֹתָן	סוֹבֵבָתָן	סוֹבֵבָתָן
הִסָּבוּהוּ	[הוֹסָבוּהוּ]	סוֹבְבוּהוּ	[סוֹבְבוּהוּ]
*הָסָב		סוֹבֵב	
הָסָב	הִשָּׁמָה	סוֹבֵב	[סוֹבֵב]
*הָסָב		סוֹבֵב	
הָסָבִי	wanting.	[סוֹבְבִי]	wanting.
הָסָבוּ		סוֹבְבוּ	
[הִסָּבִינָה]		סוֹבְבוּנָה	
*יָסָב, יָסָב	*יּוֹסָב, יָסָב	יְסוֹבֵב	[יְסוֹבֵב]
תָּסָב	[תּוֹסָב]	תְּסוֹבֵב	תְּסוֹבֵב
תָּסָב	תּוֹסָב	תְּסוֹבֵב	תְּסוֹבֵב
[תָּסָבִי]	*תּוֹסָבִי	[תְּסוֹבְבִי]	תְּסוֹבְבִי
אָסָב	[אּוֹסָב]	[אְסוֹבֵב]	אְסוֹבֵב
יָסָבוּ, יָסָבוּ	יּוֹסָבוּ	יְסוֹבְבוּ	יְסוֹבְבוּ
*תָּסָבִינָה	*תּוֹסָבִינָה	[תְּסוֹבְבוּנָה]	תְּסוֹבְבוּנָה
תָּסָבוּ	תּוֹסָבוּ	תְּסוֹבְבוּ	תְּסוֹבְבוּ
תָּסָבִינָה	תּוֹסָבִינָה	[תְּסוֹבְבוּנָה]	תְּסוֹבְבוּנָה
נָסָב	[נּוֹסָב]	נְסוֹבֵב	[נְסוֹבֵב]
וְיָסָב			
יָסָבִי (*יָסָבָה)		יְסוֹבְבִי	
*מָסָב		מְסוֹבֵב	
	מוֹסָב		מְסוֹבֵב

H. Verbs ו"ה.

	Qal.	Niph'al.	Hiph'il.	Hoph'al.
<i>Perf. Sing.</i> 3. m.	נָפַל [נָפַשׁ]	נָפַשׁ*	הִנָּפֵשׁ*	הִנָּפַשׁ*
3. f.		נָפְשָׁה	הִנָּפְשָׁה	הִנָּפְשָׁה
2. m.		נָפַשְׁתָּ	הִנָּפַשְׁתָּ	הִנָּפַשְׁתָּ
2. f.		נָפַשְׁתְּ	הִנָּפַשְׁתְּ	הִנָּפַשְׁתְּ
1. c.	regular.	נָפַשְׁתִּי	הִנָּפַשְׁתִּי	הִנָּפַשְׁתִּי
<i>Plur.</i> 3. c.		נָפְשׁוּ	הִנָּפְשׁוּ	הִנָּפְשׁוּ
2. m.		נָפַשְׁתֶּם	הִנָּפַשְׁתֶּם	הִנָּפַשְׁתֶּם
2. f.		נָפַשְׁתֶּן	הִנָּפַשְׁתֶּן	הִנָּפַשְׁתֶּן
1. c.		נָפַשְׁנוּ	הִנָּפַשְׁנוּ	הִנָּפַשְׁנוּ
<i>Inf.</i>	נָפֹשׁ*	נָפַל*	הִנָּפֵשׁ	הִנָּפַשׁ*
<i>Inf. absol.</i>	נָפֹשׁ	נָפַל, הִנָּפֵשׁ	הִנָּפֵשׁ*	הִנָּפַשׁ*
<i>Imp. Sing. m.</i>	נָפֵשׁ*	נָפַל*	הִנָּפֵשׁ	הִנָּפֵשׁ*
f.	נָפְשִׁי	נָפְלִי	הִנָּפְשִׁי	wanting.
<i>Plur. m.</i>	נָפְשׁוּ	נָפְלוּ	הִנָּפְשׁוּ	
f.	נָפְשֶׁנָּה	נָפְלֶנָּה	הִנָּפְשֶׁנָּה	
<i>Impf. Sing.</i> 3. m.	יִנָּפֵשׁ*	יִפֹּל*	[יִנָּפֵשׁ]	יִנָּפֵשׁ*
3. f.	תִּנָּפֵשׁ	תִּפֹּל	תִּנָּפֵשׁ	תִּנָּפֵשׁ
2. m.	תִּנָּפֵשׁ	תִּפֹּל	תִּנָּפֵשׁ	תִּנָּפֵשׁ
2. f.	תִּנָּפְשִׁי	תִּפְלִי	תִּנָּפְשִׁי	תִּנָּפְשִׁי
1. c.	נָפְשׁוּ	נָפְלוּ	נָפְשׁוּ	נָפְשׁוּ
<i>Plur.</i> 3. m.	יִנָּפְשׁוּ	יִפְלוּ	regular.	יִנָּפְשׁוּ
3. f.	תִּנָּפְשֶׁנָּה	תִּפְלֶנָּה	תִּנָּפְשֶׁנָּה	תִּנָּפְשֶׁנָּה
2. m.	תִּנָּפְשׁוּ	תִּפְלוּ	תִּנָּפְשׁוּ	תִּנָּפְשׁוּ
2. f.	תִּנָּפְשֶׁנָּה [תִּנָּפְשֶׁנָּה]	תִּפְלֶנָּה [תִּפְלֶנָּה]	[תִּנָּפְשֶׁנָּה]	[תִּנָּפְשֶׁנָּה]
1. c.	נָפֵשׁ	נָפַל	נָפֵשׁ	נָפֵשׁ
<i>Shortened Impf. (Jussive).</i>			יִנָּפֵשׁ*	
<i>Part. act.</i>	נָפֵשׁ	נָפֵשׁ*	מִנָּפֵשׁ*	
<i>pass.</i>	נָפֵשׁ			מִנָּפֵשׁ

I. Weak Verbs, פ"א.

	<i>Qal.</i>	<i>Niph'al.</i>	<i>Hiph'il.</i>	<i>Hoph'al.</i>
<i>Perf.</i>	אָבַל	נִאָבַל *	הֵאָבִיל *	הִאָבַל *

Like Verbs *primae gutturalis*.

<i>Inf.</i>	אָבַל, אֶבֶל *	הֵאָבִיל	הֵאָבִיל	הִאָבַל
<i>Inf. absol.</i>	אָבוֹל	הֵאָבִיל	wanting.	wanting.

<i>Impf. Sing. m.</i>	אָבַל *	הֵאָבִיל	הֵאָבִיל	
<i>f.</i>	אֶבֶלִי	&c.	&c.	wanting.
<i>Plur. m.</i>	אָבוֹל			
<i>f.</i>	[אֶבֶלָנָה]			

<i>Impf. Sing.</i>	3. m.	יֵאָבֵל * (in pause	יֵאָבֵל *	יֵאָבִיל *	יֵאָבַל *
	3. f.	תֵּאָבֵל (יֵאָבֵל)	&c.	&c.	&c.
	2. m.	תֵּאָבֵל			
	2. f.	תֵּאָבִילִי			
	1. c.	אָבַל *			
<i>Plur.</i>	3. m.	יֵאָבֵלוּ			
	3. f.	תֵּאָבֵלָנָה			
	2. m.	תֵּאָבֵלוּ			
	2. f.	[תֵּאָבֵלָנָה]			
	1. c.	נֵאָבַל			

<i>Impf. with</i>	<i>Wāw</i>	יֵאָבֵד *
<i>consec.</i>		יֵאָבֵד *

<i>Part. act.</i>	אָבֵל	נֹאָבֵל	מֵאָבִיל	
<i>pass.</i>	אָבוֹל			מֵאָבֵל

K. Weak Verbs,

	Qal.	Niph'al.
<i>Perf. Sing. 3. m.</i>	יָשַׁב	*נִישַׁב
3. f.		*נִישְׁבָּה
2. m.		נִישְׁבַּתְּ
2. f.		נִישְׁבַּתְּ
1. c.	regular.	נִישְׁבַּתִּי
<i>Plur. 3. c.</i>		נִישְׁבוּ
2. m.		נִישְׁבְּתֶם
2. f.		נִישְׁבְּתֶן
1. c.		נִישְׁבֵנוּ
<i>Inf.</i>	יָסַד, יָשַׁב, יָשַׁבְתָּ	*הוֹשִׁיב
<i>Inf. absol.</i>	יָשׁוּב	wanting.
<i>Imp. Sing. m.</i>	*יָשׁוּב, דַּע	*הוֹשִׁיב
f.	שָׁבִי	הוֹשִׁבִי
<i>Plur. m.</i>	שָׁבוּ	הוֹשִׁבוּ
f.	שָׁבְנָה	[הוֹשִׁבְנָה]
<i>Impf. Sing. 3. m.</i>	*יָשַׁב	*יִירָשׁ
3. f.	תֵּשַׁב	תִּירָשׁ
2. m.	תֵּשַׁב	תִּירָשׁ
2. f.	תֵּשְׁבִי	תִירָשִׁי
1. c.	אֵשַׁב	אִירָשׁ
<i>Plur. 3. m.</i>	יֵשְׁבוּ	יִירָשׁוּ
3. f.	תֵּשְׁבְנָה	[תִירָשְׁנָה]
2. m.	תֵּשְׁבוּ	תִירָשׁוּ
2. f.	[תֵּשְׁבְנָה]	[תִירָשְׁנָה]
1. c.	נֵשַׁב	נִירָשׁ
<i>Shortened Impf. (Jussive).</i>		
<i>Impf. with Wāw consec.</i>	*וַיָּשַׁב	
<i>Part. act.</i>	יֹשֵׁב	*נֹשֵׁב
<i>pass.</i>	יֹשֵׁב	

פ"י (for פ"י).

L. Verbs properly פ"י.

<i>Hiph'ul.</i>	<i>Hoph'al.</i>	<i>Qal.</i>	<i>Hiph'ul.</i> *
*הוֹשִׁיב	*הוֹשֵׁב	יָטַב	*הִיטִיב
הוֹשִׁיכָה	הוֹשִׁיכָה	regular.	הִיטִיכָה
הוֹשִׁיכָתָּה	הוֹשִׁיכָתָּה		הִיטִיכָתָּה
הוֹשִׁיכָתִּי	הוֹשִׁיכָתִּי		הִיטִיכָתִּי
הוֹשִׁיכְתִּי	הוֹשִׁיכְתִּי		הִיטִיכְתִּי
הוֹשִׁיכּוּ	הוֹשִׁיכּוּ		הִיטִיכוּ
הוֹשִׁיכֶם	הוֹשִׁיכֶם		הִיטִיכֶם
הוֹשִׁיכֻם	הוֹשִׁיכֻם		הִיטִיכֻם
הוֹשִׁיכֵם	הוֹשִׁיכֵם		הִיטִיכֵם
*הוֹשִׁיב	*הוֹשֵׁב	יָטַב	*הִיטִיב
*הוֹשִׁיב		יָטַב	*הִיטִיב
*הוֹשִׁיב	wanting.		*הִיטִיב
הוֹשִׁיבִי			הִיטִיבִי
הוֹשִׁיבוּ			הִיטִיבוּ
[הוֹשִׁיבְנָה]			[הִיטִיבְנָה]
יוֹשִׁיב	*יוֹשֵׁב	*יוֹטַב	*יוֹטִיב
תוֹשִׁיב	תוֹשֵׁב	תִּיטַב	תִּיטִיב
תוֹשִׁיבִי	תוֹשֵׁבִי	תִּיטִיבִי	תִּיטִיבִי
אֹשִׁיב	אֹשֵׁב	אִיטַב	אִיטִיב
יוֹשִׁיבוּ	יוֹשֵׁבוּ	יִיטַבוּ	יִיטִיבוּ
[תוֹשִׁיבְנָה]	תוֹשִׁיבְנָה	תִּיטִיבְנָה	[תִּיטִיבְנָה]
תוֹשִׁיבוּ	תוֹשֵׁבוּ	תִּיטִיבוּ	תִּיטִיבוּ
[תוֹשִׁיבְנָה]	[תוֹשִׁיבְנָה]	[תִּיטִיבְנָה]	[תִּיטִיבְנָה]
נֹשִׁיב	נֹשֵׁב	נִיטַב	נִיטִיב
*יוֹשֵׁב			יִיטַב
יָוֵשֵׁב		וַיִּטַּב	וַיִּטֵּב
*מוֹשִׁיב	*מוֹשֵׁב	יָטַב	מִיטִיב
		יָטַב	

		<i>Qal.</i>	<i>Niph'al.</i>	<i>Hiph'il.</i>
<i>Perf. Sing.</i>	3. m.	קָם*	נָקַם*	הָקִים*
	3. f.	קָמָה*	נָקְמָה*	הָקִימָה*
	2. m.	קָמַת*	נָקַמֹת	הָקִימוֹת*
	2. f.	קָמַת	נָקַמֹת [מַת]	הָקִימוֹת
	1. c.	קָמַתִּי	נָקַמֹתִי	הָקִימוֹתִי
<i>Plur.</i>	3. c.	קָמוּ	נָקְמוּ	הָקִימוּ
	2. m.	קָמַתֶּם	נָקַמְתֶּם	הָקִימְתֶּם
	2. f.	[קָמַתֶּן]	[נָקַמְתֶּן]	[הָקִימְתֶּן]
	1. c.	קָמֹנִי	נָקַמֹנִי	הָקִימֹנִי
<i>Inf.</i>		קֹם*	הִקֹּם*	הָקִים*
<i>Inf. absol.</i>		קֹם*	הִקֹּם, נָסֹג	הָקִם*
<i>Impf. Sing.</i>	m.	קֹם*	הִקֹּם*	הָקִם*
	f.	קֹמִי*	[הִקֹּמִי]	הָקִמִי*
<i>Plur.</i>	m.	קֹמוּ	הִקֹּמוּ	הָקִמוּ
	f.	קֹמְנָה*		[הִקֹּמְנָה]
<i>Impf. Sing.</i>	3. m.	יָקַם, יָבֹא*	יָקֹם*	יָקִים*
	3. f.	תָּקַם	תָּקֹם	תָּקִים
	2. m.	תָּקַם	תָּקֹם	תָּקִים
	2. f.	תָּקַמִּי*	[תָּקֹמִי]	תָּקִמִי*
	1. c.	אָקַם	אָקֹם	אָקִים
<i>Plur.</i>	3. m.	יָקְמוּ	יָקֹמוּ	יָקִימוּ
	3. f.	תָּקַמְיָנָה, תִּשְׁבְּנָה*		*תָּקַמְיָנָה, תָּקִימְיָנָה
	2. m.	תָּקַמוּ	תָּקֹמוּ	תָּקִימוּ
	2. f.	תָּקַמְיָנָה		[תָּקַמְיָנָה]
	1. c.	נָקַם	נָקֹם	נָקִים
<i>Shortened Impf.</i>		יָקַם*		יָקַם*
<i>Impf. with Wāw consec.</i>		וַיָּקַם (pause וַיָּקַם)		וַיָּקַם*
<i>Impf. with Suff.</i>		יָשֻׁבְנִי*		יָשֻׁבְנִי*
<i>Part. act.</i>		קָם*	נָקַם*	מָקַם*
<i>pass.</i>		קֹם*		

Verbs, ע"י.

N. Weak Verbs, ע"י.

<i>Hoph'al.</i>	<i>Pôlêl.</i>	<i>Pôlal.</i>	<i>Qal.</i>	<i>Niph'al.</i>
הוֹקֵם*	קוֹמֵם*	קוֹמֵם*	קָם*	נִבֹּן*
[הוֹקֵמָה]	קוֹמְמָה	[קוֹמְמָה]	קָמָה*	[נִבֹּנָה]
הוֹקֵמֶת	קוֹמְמֶת	קוֹמְמֶת	קָמָת*	נִבֹּנֶת
הוֹקֵמִת	[קוֹמְמִית]	[קוֹמְמִית]	קָמִית	נִבֹּנִית
[הוֹקֵמִית]	קוֹמְמִית	קוֹמְמִית	[קָמִית]	נִבֹּנִית
הוֹקֵמוּ	קוֹמְמוּ	קוֹמְמוּ	קָמוּ	
[הוֹקֵמֻם]	[קוֹמְמוֹם]	[קוֹמְמוֹם]	[קָמוֹם]	See
הוֹקֵמְתָן	קוֹמְמְתָן	קוֹמְמְתָן	קָמְתָן	Verbs ע"י.
[הוֹקֵמְנוּ]	קוֹמְמְנוּ	קוֹמְמְנוּ	קָמְנוּ	
הוֹקֵם*	קוֹמֵם		בִּין*	
			בִּין*	
קוֹמֵם			בִּין*	
[קוֹמְמִי]	wanting.		בִּינִי	
קוֹמְמוּ			בִּינֻ	
[קוֹמְמָנָה]			—	
יִקֹּם*	יִקוֹמֵם	יִקוֹמֵם	יָקַם	
תִּקֹּם	תִּקוֹמֵם	[תִּקוֹמֵם]	תָּקַם	
[תִּקֹּם]	תִּקוֹמֵם	תִּקוֹמֵם	תָּקַם	
תִּקְמוּ	[תִּקְמוּמִי]	תִּקְמוּמִי	תָּקַמְנִי	
[תִּקֹּם]	תִּקְמוּמִי	[תִּקְמוּמִי]	תָּקַמְנוּ	
יִקְמוּ	יִקְמוּמוּ	יִקְמוּמוּ	יָקַמוּ	
[תִּקְמוּנָה]	תִּקְמוּמְנָה	תִּקְמוּמְנָה	תָּקַמְנָה	
תִּקְמוּ	תִּקְמוּמוּ	[תִּקְמוּמוּ]	תָּקַמוּ	
[תִּקְמוּנָה]	תִּקְמוּמְנָה	תִּקְמוּמְנָה	תָּקַמְנוּ	
נִקֵּם	[נִקְוֵם]	[נִקְוֵם]	נִקְוֵם	
			יָגַל	
			נִגְלָל	
			יִרְבֵּנִי	
מְקוֹמֵם			בָּן	
מְקוֹמֵם*			לָנִים, שָׁב	
			שָׁם, שָׁם	

		Qal.	Niphal.	Piel.
<i>Perf. Sing.</i>	3. m.	מָצָא*	נִמְצָא*	דָּבָא מִצָּא
	3. f.	מָצְאָה	נִמְצָאָה	[מִצְאָה]
	2. m.	מָצָאתָ*	נִמְצָאתָ*	מִצְאָתָ*
	2. f.	מָצָאת	נִמְצָאת	[מִצְאת]
	1. c.	מָצָאתִי	נִמְצָאתִי	מִצְאָתִי
	3. c.	מָצָאוּ	נִמְצָאוּ	מִצְאוּ
	2. m.	מָצַאתֶם	נִמְצַאתֶם	מִצְאָתֶם
	2. f.	[מִצְאָתֶן]	[נִמְצָאתֶן]	[מִצְאָתֶן]
<i>Plur.</i>	1. c.	מָצָאנוּ	נִמְצָאנוּ	מִצְאָנוּ
<i>Inf.</i>		מִצֵּא	הִפְצֵא	מִצֵּא
<i>Inf. absol.</i>		מִצּוֹא	נִמְצָא	מִצֵּא
<i>Imp. Sing.</i>	m.	מִצֵּא*	הִפְצֵא	מִצֵּא
	f.	מִצֵּאִי	[הִפְצֵאִי]	[מִצֵּאִי]
<i>Plur. m.</i>		מִצֵּאוּ	הִפְצֵאוּ	מִצֵּאוּ
	f.	מִצֵּאְנָה*	[הִפְצֵאְנָה]	[מִצֵּאְנָה]
<i>Impf. Sing.</i>	3. m.	יִמְצָא*	יִפְצֵא*	יִמְצָא
	3. f.	תִּמְצָא	תִּפְצֵא	תִּמְצָא
	2. m.	תִּמְצָא	תִּפְצֵא	תִּמְצָא
	2. f.	תִּמְצָאִי	תִּפְצָאִי	[תִּמְצָאִי]
	1. c.	אִמְצָא	אִפְצָא	אִמְצָא
	3. m.	יִמְצָאוּ	יִפְצָאוּ	יִמְצָאוּ
	3. f.	תִּמְצָאְנָה*	תִּפְצָאְנָה*	תִּמְצָאְנָה*
	2. m.	תִּמְצָאוּ	תִּפְצָאוּ	[תִּמְצָאוּ]
<i>Plur.</i>	2. f.	תִּמְצָאְנָה	תִּפְצָאְנָה	תִּמְצָאְנָה
	1. c.	נִמְצָא	[נִפְצָא]	נִמְצָא
<i>Shortened Impf. (Jussive).</i>				
<i>Impf. with Suff.</i>		יִמְצָאֵךְ, יִמְצָאֵנִי		יִמְצָאֵנִי
<i>Part. act.</i>		מִצֵּא	נִמְצָא	מִצֵּא
<i>pass.</i>		מִצּוֹא		

Verbs, ל"א.

<i>Pu'al.</i>	<i>Hiph'il.</i>	<i>Hoph'al.</i>	<i>Hithpa'el.</i>
קרא [מִצָּא]	הִמְצִיא	[הִמְצָא]	[הִתְמַצָּא]
מִצָּאָה	הִמְצִיָּאָה	הִמְצָאָה	הִתְמַצָּאָה
מִצָּאֹת	*הִמְצִיָּאוֹת	*הִמְצָאוֹת	*הִתְמַצָּאוֹת
מִצָּאֹת	הִמְצִיָּאוֹת	הִמְצָאוֹת	[הִתְמַצָּאוֹת]
מִצָּאֹתִי	הִמְצִיָּאוֹתִי	הִמְצָאוֹתִי	הִתְמַצָּאוֹתִי
מִצָּאוּ	הִמְצִיאוּ	הִמְצָאוּ	הִתְמַצָּאוּ
מִצָּאוֹתָם	הִמְצִיאוֹתָם	הִמְצָאוֹתָם	[הִתְמַצָּאוֹתָם]
מִצָּאוֹתָן	[הִמְצִיאוֹתָן]	הִמְצָאוֹתָן	הִתְמַצָּאוֹתָן
מִצָּאוֹנִי	הִמְצִיאוֹנִי	הִמְצָאוֹנִי	הִתְמַצָּאוֹנִי
wanting.	הִמְצִיא	wanting.	הִתְמַצָּא
	הִמְצָא		wanting.
	הִמְצָא		[הִתְמַצָּא]
wanting.	הִמְצִיָּא	wanting.	הִתְמַצָּא
	הִמְצִיָּאוּ		הִתְמַצָּאוּ
	[הִמְצָאוֹנָה]		[הִתְמַצָּאוֹנָה]
יִמְצָא	יִמְצִיא	[יִמְצָא]	יִתְמַצָּא
[תִּמְצָא]	תִּמְצִיא	תִּמְצָא	תִּתְמַצָּא
תִּמְצָא	תִּמְצִיא	תִּמְצָא	תִּתְמַצָּא
תִּמְצִיאִי	תִּמְצִיאִי	תִּמְצִיאִי	[תִּתְמַצָּאִי]
אִמְצָא	אִמְצִיא	אִמְצָא	[אִתְמַצָּא]
יִמְצִאוּ	יִמְצִיאוּ	יִמְצִאוּ	יִתְמַצָּאוּ
*תִּמְצָאוֹנָה	*תִּמְצִיאוֹנָה	*תִּמְצָאוֹנָה	[תִּתְמַצָּאוֹנָה]
תִּמְצִאוּ	תִּמְצִיאוּ	תִּמְצִאוּ	תִּתְמַצָּאוּ
תִּמְצָאוֹנָה	תִּמְצִיאוֹנָה	תִּמְצָאוֹנָה	[תִּתְמַצָּאוֹנָה]
[נִמְצָא]	נִמְצִיא	נִמְצָא	[נִתְמַצָּא]
	יִמְצָא		
	יִמְצִיָּא		
	מִמְצִיא		מִתְמַצָּא
מִמְצָא		מִמְצָא	

	<i>Qal.</i>	<i>Niphal.</i>	<i>Ps'al.</i>
<i>Perf. Sing.</i> 3. m.	פָּלַח*	נִפְּלַח*	פָּלַח*
3. f.	פָּלְחָה*	נִפְּלְחָה*	פָּלְחָה*
2. m.	פָּלַחְתָּ*	נִפְּלַחְתָּ, וְ— יָתְ	פָּלַחְתָּ*
2. f.	פָּלַחְתְּ	נִפְּלַחְתְּ	פָּלַחְתְּ
1. c.	פָּלַחְתִּי	נִפְּלַחְתִּי	פָּלַחְתִּי, פָּלַחְתִּי
<i>Plur.</i> 3. c.	פָּלְחוּ*	נִפְּלְחוּ	פָּלְחוּ
2. m.	פָּלַחְתֶּם	נִפְּלַחְתֶּם	פָּלַחְתֶּם
2. f.	פָּלַחְתֶּן	נִפְּלַחְתֶּן	[פָּלַחְתֶּן]
1. c.	פָּלַחְנוּ	נִפְּלַחְנוּ	פָּלַחְנוּ
<i>Inf.</i>	פָּלֹחַ*	הִפְּלֹחַ*	פָּלֹחַ*
<i>Inf. absol.</i>	פָּלַח	נִפְּלַח, הִפְּסָה	פָּלַח, פָּלַח
<i>Imp. Sing.</i> m.	פָּלַח*	הִפְּלַח*	פָּלַח, פָּל
f.	פָּלִי*	הִפְּלִי*	פָּלִי*
<i>Plur.</i> m.	פָּלְחוּ	הִפְּלְחוּ	פָּלְחוּ
f.	פָּלְיְנָה*	[הִפְּלְיְנָה]	[פָּלְיְנָה]
<i>Impf. Sing.</i> 3. m.	יִפְּלַח*	יִפְּלַח*	יִפְּלַח*
3. f.	תִּפְּלַח	תִּפְּלַח	תִּפְּלַח
2. m.	תִּפְּלַח	תִּפְּלַח	תִּפְּלַח
2. f.	תִּפְּלִי*	[תִּפְּלִי]	תִּפְּלִי*
1. c.	אִפְּלַח	אִפְּלַח, אִפְּ	אִפְּלַח
<i>Plur.</i> 3. m.	יִפְּלְחוּ	יִפְּלְחוּ	יִפְּלְחוּ
3. f.	תִּפְּלִינָה*	תִּפְּלִינָה*	תִּפְּלִינָה*
2. m.	תִּפְּלְחוּ	תִּפְּלְחוּ	תִּפְּלְחוּ
2. f.	תִּפְּלִינָה	תִּפְּלִינָה	תִּפְּלִינָה
1. c.	נִפְּלַח	[נִפְּלַח]	נִפְּלַח
<i>Shortened Impf.</i>	יִפֵּל*	יִפֵּל*	יִפֵּל*
<i>Impf. with Suff.</i>	יִפְּלֵי, יִפְּלֵי		יִפְּלֵי, יִפְּלֵי
<i>Part. act.</i>	פָּלַח*	נִפְּלַח*	פָּלַח*
<i>pass.</i>	פָּלִי*		

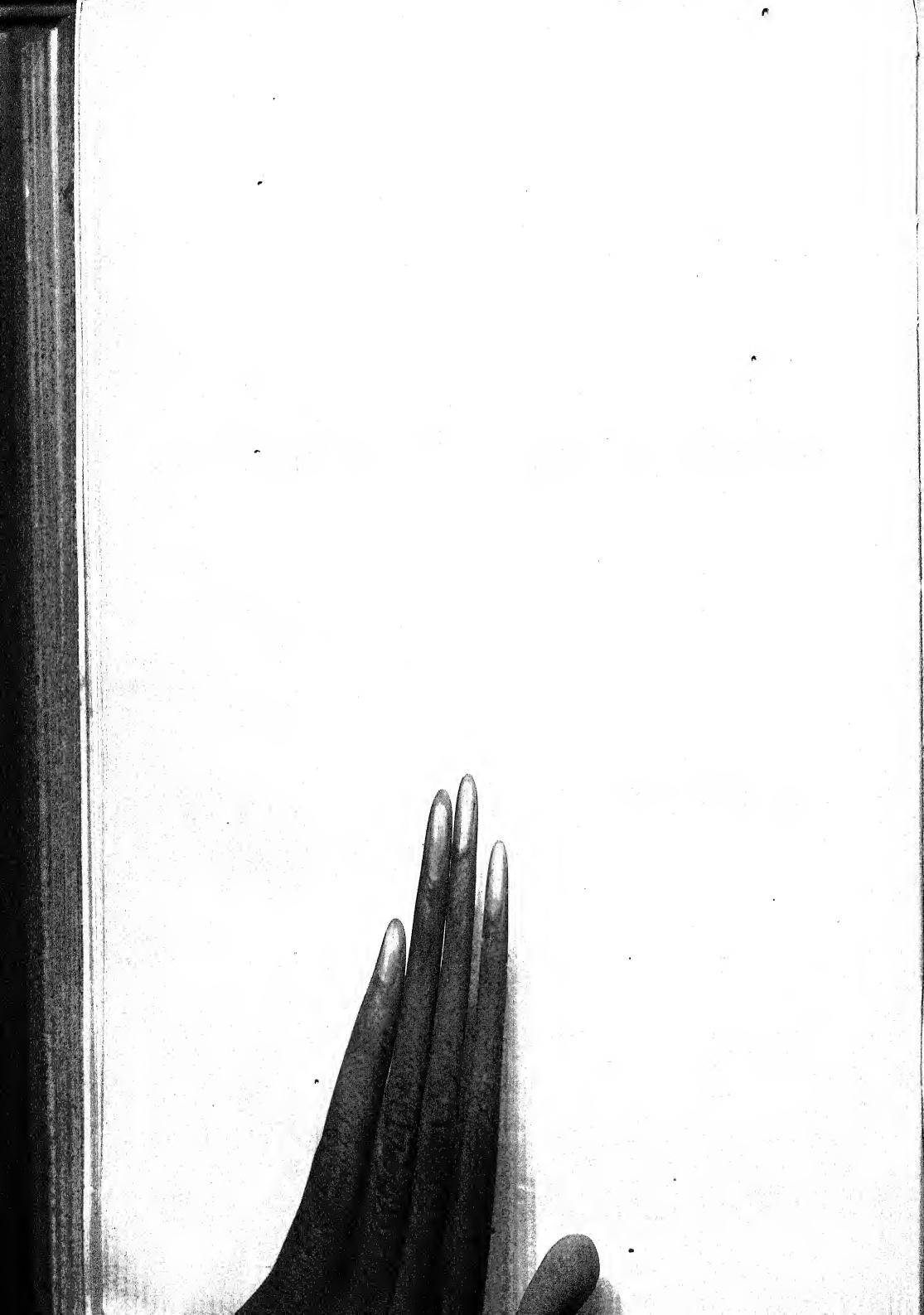
	1. Sing.	2. Sing. m.	2. Sing. f.
<i>Perf. Qal. 3. m.</i>	נָחַנִּי	רָאֵה, עָשֶׂה	
	<i>P.</i> עָשָׂנִי	<i>P.</i> קָנָה, עָנָה	
3. f.	עָשִׂתִּנִּי		
2. m.	רָאִיתִנִּי		
	<i>P.</i> עָנִיתִנִּי		
2. f.	<i>Pi.</i> רְמִיתִנִּי		
1. c.		רָאִיתִךְ	עָנִיתִךְ
<i>Plur. 3. c.</i>	עָשִׂנוּ	רָאוּךְ	<i>Pi.</i> בָּפוּךְ
1. c.		<i>Pi.</i> קִינֶהךָ	

<i>Imper. 2. m.</i>	נָחֵנִי } עֲנֵנִי }
2. f.	<i>Hiph.</i> הִרְאֵנִי
<i>Plur. 2. m.</i>	<i>Pi.</i> בָּפוּנִי

<i>Impf. 3. m.</i>	יִרְאֵנִי	יִפְדֶּךָ } יִחַתֶּךָ }
3. f.		תִּשָּׁכֶךָ
2. m.	תִּרְאֵנִי	
2. f.		
1. c.		אִרְאֶה
		אֶעֱנֶה
<i>Plur. 3. m.</i>	יַעֲשִׂנוּ	<i>Pi.</i> יִפְתָּךְ
2. m.	תִּצְאוּנִי	
1. c.		

with Suffixes.

3. Sing. m.	3. Sing. f.	1. Plur.	3. Plur. m.
עָשָׂהוּ	רָאָהּ	עָשִׂנוּ	עָשׂוּם
Pi. כָּלְתָהּ	Pi. צָוְתָהּ		Hiph. הֶעֱלֵתָם
Pi. בָּקִיתָהּ	עָשִׂיתָהּ	Pi. דְּבִיתָנוּ	עָנִיתָם
עָשִׂיתִיהָ } רָאִיתִיו }	רָאִיתִיהָ		רָעִיתִים
עָשָׂהוּ	רָאִיהָ		שָׁבוּם
Pi. קוֹיְנָהּ			
<hr/>			
		Hiph. הִרְאֵנוּ	רָעָם
תָּלְדָהּ			Hiph. הִכְבִּים
<hr/>			
יִרְאָהּ } יִלְוֶנָּה }	יִרְאָהּ } יִרְאָנָה }	Pi. יִצְוֶנוּ	יִחַצֵּם } יִעֲשִׂם }
Hiph. תִּשְׁלָהּ			
תִּעֲשֶׂנוּ	תִּעֲשֶׂהָ	Hiph. תִּתְעַנֶּנוּ	תִּתְנָם
			Pi. תִּכְסִּים
אִרְאָנוּ	אִעֲשֶׂנָּה		אִפְדָּם
אִעֲנָהּ			
Pi. יִפְתָּרָהּ	יִעֲשֶׂהָ	Pi. יִעֲנֶנוּ	
נִשְׁלָנוּ	נִעֲשֶׂנָּה		תִּצָּם



I

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¹ Cf. Driver, *Introd.*⁸, p. 466: Segal, *Mishn. Hebr.*, p. 63.

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 אֶ בּוֹלֵאִי 93 *x*
 אֶ בּוֹלֵי 8 *k*
 אֶ בּוֹלֵי 152 *t*
 אֶ בּוֹלֵעַל 81 *d*
 אֶ בּוֹלֵעִי 99 *e*
 אֶ בּוֹלֵי with infin.
 constr. 114 *s*, with an ad-
 jective 152 *t*; לְבּוֹלֵתִי that
 ... not, with infin. 114 *s*,
 with impf. 152 *x*; (אֶם)
 except, 163 *c*
 אֶ בּוֹ 23 *k*
 אֶ בּוֹ 103 *k*

בְּמִצְרַיִם 61 <i>d</i> , 74 <i>h</i> , 93 <i>q</i>	בְּתַקְוֵמִיד † 72 <i>cc</i>	דֹּשִׁי 72 <i>q</i>
בְּמַחֲי 87 <i>s</i> , 95 <i>o</i>	בָּאָה 84 ^b <i>c</i>	דָּחַ 64 <i>d</i>
בֶּן 96	בָּבָהּ 44 <i>f</i>	דָּחִיק 20 <i>sc</i>
בָּנוּ 72 <i>o</i> , 76 <i>g</i>	בָּבָהִים 124 <i>h</i>	דִּינָה 91 <i>d</i>
בָּנוֹ 90 <i>o</i>	בָּבִי 86 <i>i</i> , 87 <i>g</i>	דִּין 84 ^b <i>b</i>
בְּנֵיהֶם 23 <i>k</i>	בָּבֶל 85 <i>s</i>	דֵּל 93 <i>x</i> , 95 <i>f</i>
בְּנֵיהֶם 60 <i>h</i>	בָּרִים 93 <i>x</i>	דְּלִי 67 <i>dd</i> , 75 <i>u</i> , <i>bb</i>
בְּנֵי (Moab.) for בְּנֵי 7 <i>d</i> ¹	בְּרִיתִים 95 <i>o</i>	דְּלִי 93 <i>z</i>
בְּנֵי 73 <i>a</i>	בְּרִית 23 <i>f</i>	דְּלִיּוֹתַי 84 ^a <i>g</i>
בְּעֲרֵנִי 103 <i>d</i>	בְּרִית 84 ^a <i>r</i>	דְּלִי 67 <i>cc</i>
בְּעֲטָף 51 <i>l</i>	בְּרִי 8 <i>k</i>	דְּלִתוֹת 95 <i>f</i>
בְּעֵי 29 <i>t</i> , 75 <i>u</i>	בְּרִי 8 <i>k</i>	דְּלִתִּים 93 <i>n</i>
בְּעִיר (ψ 73 ²⁰) 53 <i>q</i>	בְּרִי 67 <i>n</i>	דֵּם 93 <i>mm</i>
בְּעֲלֵיהֶן 93 <i>m</i>	בְּרִי 65 <i>a</i>	דְּמִים 124 <i>n</i>
בְּעֵלִים 145 <i>h</i>	בְּרִי 93 <i>g</i> , <i>v</i>	דְּנָנִי 58 <i>i</i> , 59 <i>f</i>
בְּעֵרָה 80 <i>k</i>	בְּרִיתִי 85 <i>v</i>	דָּע 69 <i>m</i>
בְּעֵשֶׂר 53 <i>k</i>	בְּרִית 95 <i>r</i>	דָּעָה 69 <i>c</i> , <i>m</i> ²
בְּעֵשֶׂק 35 <i>g</i>	בְּרִית 91 <i>e</i>	דָּעָה 48 <i>l</i>
בְּעֵת מוֹלֶכֶד ? 116 <i>g</i> ¹	בְּרִית 80 <i>f</i> , <i>g</i>	דָּק 67 <i>bb</i>
בְּעֵי ? 93 <i>y</i>	בְּרִית 44 <i>f</i>	דָּרְבוֹן 85 <i>u</i>
בְּעֵעֵם 61 <i>g</i>	בְּרִית intensive 153,	דָּרְכִים 93 <i>n</i>
בְּקֶרֶב 100 <i>g</i> ³	154 <i>a</i> ¹ (<i>c</i>); בְּרִית (!) ... בְּרִית <i>ibid.</i> ;	דָּרְכָה ? 91 <i>k</i>
בְּקֶרֶם 123 <i>a</i> ¹	בְּרִית concessive 160 <i>b</i>	דָּשָׁא 80 <i>h</i>
בְּרָא (בְּרָה) 75 <i>rr</i>	בְּרִית 84 ^b <i>b</i>	דָּשָׁא 22 <i>e</i>
בְּרִיל 85 <i>s</i>	בְּרִיתִי 91 <i>n</i>	
בְּרִיָּהֶם 93 <i>n</i>	בְּרִית 90 <i>i</i>	ה with Mappiq
בְּרִית 95 <i>g</i>	בְּרִית 66 <i>c</i>	14, as a weak consonant
בְּרִית 80 <i>f</i>	בְּרִית 66 <i>c</i>	23 <i>k</i> , <i>l</i> , in verbs לִ"ה 75, as
בֵּשׁ 72 <i>c</i> ² , <i>n</i> , 78 <i>b</i>	בְּרִית 66 <i>c</i>	a mere vowel-letter 6 <i>d</i> ,
בְּשָׂגִים 67 <i>p</i>	בְּרִית 90 <i>k</i>	7 <i>b</i> , <i>c</i> , 24 <i>g</i>
בְּשָׂבִי ? 91 <i>e</i>	בְּרִיתִי 85 <i>u</i>	ה locale, origin
בֵּת 96; to per- sonify a people 122 <i>i</i>	בְּרִיתִי 9 <i>b</i>	90 <i>b</i> , use 90 <i>c-i</i> , with
בֵּית for בֵּית 7 <i>f</i>	בְּרִית 44 <i>c</i>	constr. st. before a geni-
בְּתוֹאֵל 90 <i>k</i>	בְּרִית 52 <i>o</i>	tive 90 <i>c</i> , sometimes oti-
בְּתוֹכָם 10 <i>g</i> , 91 <i>d</i>	בְּרִיתִים 93 <i>x</i>	ose 90 <i>e</i> , mere poetic
בְּתִים 9 <i>u</i> ; p. 285	בְּרִית 67 <i>n</i>	ornament 90 <i>f</i> , <i>g</i> , in place-
s.v. בֵּית	בְּרִית 100 <i>g</i> ²	names. 90 <i>g</i> ¹ , added in se-
	בְּרִית 84 ^a <i>r</i>	gholate nouns to the de-
		veloped form 90 <i>i</i> , 93 <i>i</i>
		□ (Article) punc-

tuation 35, syntax 126:
see Article in Index I

ה interrog. 100,
origin and pointing 100
i-n, uses of 150; א(א!) ... ה
150 *h*

ה (with the tone),
ending of fem. nouns 80 *c*
ה (toneless), end-
ing of the Cohortative and
Imperative 48 *c, d*; an old
case-ending 90 *a-i*

ה 3rd masc. sing.
pronominal suffix 91 *e*

ה (without Map-
piq) anomalous 3rd fem.
sing. pronom. suff. 91 *e*

הא 105 *b*

האנקה (Mi 6¹¹) 47 *b*¹

האנח 53 *g*

האנקים 35 *d*

האח 105 *a*

האיש one, 144 *d*¹

האל ביתאֵל 127 *f*¹

האנה 65 *e*

הארון 35 *o*

הבאת 74 *g*

הבאתה 74 *d*

הבאת 72 *w*

הבה 105 *b*

הביא 72 *y*, 74 *l*

הביטותה 78 *b*

הביש 72 *x*, 78 *b*

הבמת זאח (Moab.) 80 *f*¹

הברי 67 *t*

הברכה 10 *g* (end)

הברכה 16 *g*

הנה *Qere* for הנה
118 *e*²

הנה 69 *w*

הנו 75 *n*, *aa*

הנרות 93 *r*

הדוש 72 *v*

הדרך החלון 127 *f*¹

הדשנה 54 *h*

ההימיר ? 72 *e*

ההלכתי 90 *n*

ההלכה 52 *s*

הוא, היא 32 *k*; הוא with
Qere היא 17 *c*, הוא as fem.,
not an archaism 32 *l*

הוא (היה, היא) =

ipse or *idem* 135 *a*¹, demon-
strative 136, for the copula
141 *h*, resuming the sub-
ject 145 *u*³, in questions
136 *e* (end), 150 *l*

הוא 75 *hh*

הוביש 72 *x*

הורע 69 *w*

הוי 105 *a*

הוכח 65 *f*

הולכת 71

הוללות 86 *l*

הולם פֶּעַם 29 *f*

הופח ? 72 *ee*¹

הופיע ? 69 *v*

הוציא 74 *l*

הורדתנו 59 *h*

הושע 65 *f*

הוירה ? 80 *i*

הוילהה 67 *y*, 72 *ee*

הזכו 54 *d*

הזכרם 53 *l*

החבאתה 75 *oo*

החבה 75 *pp*

החדלתי 63 *k*

החי, החי 35 *f*, 27 *q*

החל 67 *t*

החלי 74 *k*, 75 *ü*

החפנים 35 *f*

החרישים 35 *f*

החרקה 90 *f*

החתנת 67 *w*

החורו 27 *q*

היא 32 *k*

היה 16 *f*, 63 *q*, 75 *s*,

with participle 116 *r*, with
ל before infin. 114 *h-k*, as
copula 141 *g-i*. Cf. היה.

היה 75 *n*

היום = one day

126 *s*

היום שלשה 134 *o*¹

היטב 113 *k*

היכל 9 *i*, 85 *c*

הילקי ? 69 *x*, 78 *b*

הימה ? 90 *f*

היצא 69 *v*

היקיץ 70 *e*

הישר 24 *f*², 70 *b*

הית 75 *m*¹

הבות (inf. abs.) 75 *ff*

הכי 150 *d*, *e*

הכין 72 *z*

הכני 75 *mm*

הכלמן 53 *p*

הכנו 72 *w*

הלא expressing

assurance 150 *e*

הלכת 69 *w*, 71

הלן 34 *f*

הלן 34 *f*

הלן 34 *f*

הלן 34 *f*

הלן inflexion of

69 *x*, use of, to express con-

tinuance 113 *u*

הלך 69 *m*²

הלכוא ? 23 *i*

- הִלְכִיתִי 44 *h*
 הִלְלוּ 10 *g*
 הִלֵּם 50 *e*
 הִלְתָּם (Moab.) 54 *l*
 הִם, הִפָּח, 32 *m*, for the
 feminine, 32 *n*
 הִפְאִיִּית 97 *g*
 הִפָּח its Dageš 20 *k*
 הִמוֹנָה 91 *e*
 הִפּוּשָׁב in close con-
 nexion 72 *bb*, 93 *pp*, cf.
 65 *d*
 הִמְיִשְׁנִי 67 *v*
 הִפְכּוּ 67 *y*
 הִפְלִיטִי 29 *o*²
 הִמְנִשָּׁה 125 *d*¹
 הִפֵּם 67 *t*
 הִמְסִיו 75 *ii*
 הִמְסִילָת (Moab.) 80 *f*¹
 הִמְעָד; 64 *h*
 הִמְעִיט 133 *e*³
 הִמְצָרְעִים 10 *g*
 הִפְרוֹת 75 *ff*
 הִפְיִשְׁחִית 126 *m*¹
 הִמְתָּה 72 *w*
 הִמְתָּם 72 *w*
 הֵן with suffixes
 100 *o*, 147 *b*, origin 105 *b*,
 = *if* 159 *w*
 הִנֵּד 76 *a*
 הִנָּה with suffixes
 100 *o*, 147 *b*, origin 105 *b*,
 with ptep. of present time
 116 *n*; more often of future
 time 116 *p*
 הִנָּה 20 *k*
 הִנֵּקָה 85 *c* (A dit.)
 הִנַּח 72 *ee*
 הִנַּחַת 64 *h*
 הִנִּית, הִנִּית 72 *ee*
- הִנִּיחוּ 72 *ee*
 הִנְנוּ 10 *g*
 הִנְנוּ 58 *k*
 הִנְנִי 10 *g*
 הִנְפָּת 72 *k*
 הִנְתָּקִי 66 *f*
 הִם 105 *a*
 הִפֵּן 72 *ee*
 הִסְוִירִים 35 *d*
 הִסִּין 72 *ee*
 הִסִּית 72 *ee*
 הִסְתָּה 72 *w*
 הִעְבְּרָת 63 *p*
 הִעְוִירִים 35 *g*
 הִעְוִיבִים 35 *g*
 הִעְוִיבָת 35 *g*
 הִעֲוָה 67 *dd*
 הִעֲלָה 63 *p*
 הִעֲלָה 63 *p*
 הִעֲרַב 113 *k*
 הִעֲרִיבִים 35 *g*
 הִעֲשֹׂו 116 *g*¹
 הִעֲשִׂוִּים 75 *v*
 הִעֲתִיר 63 *o*
 הִפִּיר 67 *v*
 הִפְפִּי 61 *a*
 הִפְלָא 75 *oo*
 הִפְצֵר 29 *q*, 53 *l*
 הִפֵּר 29 *q*, 67 *v*
 הִינָּה ? 113 *d*²
 הִיִּצִיֵּד 72 *m*
 הִקְלִיתִי 67 *w*
 הִקֵּם עַל 29 *g*
 הִקְלִיתִי 72 *w*
 הִקְשִׁיבָה 10 *g*
 הִקְרִיתָם 22 *s*
 הִרְבָּה 113 *k*
 הִרְבָּה 75 *ff*
 הִרְבָּה 75 *ff*
- הִרְבִּית ? 75 *ff*
 הִרְדִּיפָהּ 20 *k*¹, 22 *s*
 הִרָּה 27 *q*, 93 *aa*
 הִרָּו 75 *n*, *aa*
 הִרְהַק 29 *q*, 64 *h*
 הִרְהַק 64 *k*
 הִרְוִיתִי 84 *g*
 הִרִים 72 *ee*
 הִרְפוּ 67 *t*, 72 *dd*
 הִרְפִּים 35 *d*
 הִרְנִין 67 *cc*
 הִרְעוּ 67 *v*
 הִרְעִמָה 22 *s*
 הִרְרִי 90 *n*
 הִרְרִי 93 *aa*
 הִרְרִי 93 *aa*
 הִרְרִי 93 *aa*
 הִרְרָם 93 *aa*
 הִרְשִׁימוּ ? 73 *a*
 הִרְשִׁיקוּ 66 *e*
 הִרְשִׁיר 67 *v*
 הִרְעָרָה 90 *i*
 הִרְשָׁלְתִּיהוּ 64 *f*
 הִרְשָׁב 29 *q*, 72 *y*
 הִרְשָׁבַע 65 *e*
 הִרְשָׁבַעְתִּי (fem.) 59 *h*
 הִרְשָׁבַם 113 *k*
 הִרְשָׁמָה 67 *y*
 הִרְשָׁמַם 67 *cc*
 הִרְשָׁע 75 *gg*
 הִרְשָׁעִנִי 7 *f*
 הִרְשָׁפּוֹת 35 *d*
 הִרְשָׁתָהּ 75 *kk*
 הִרְשָׁו: 29 *q*, 67 *v*,
 72 *dd*
 הִרְחַבְרוּהָ 54 *k*
 הִרְוִי 68 *i*
 הִרְנִיחָם ? 64 *i*
 הִרְלָתָהּ 67 *dd*

הַתְּמַחֲמֶה? 55 *g*
 הַתְּמַחֲ 67 *v*
 הַתְּנִיחַ 75 *qg*
 הַתְּנִיחַ 75 *qg*
 הַתְּפַקֵּד 54 *l*
 הַתְּפַקֵּד 54 *l*
 הַתְּרַאָּה פְּנִים 156 *c*¹
 הַתְּרַחֲצֵתִי 64 *d*

! as a vowel-letter 5 *b*¹, 7 *b-g*, 8 *h-m*, 9 *n-s*, its changes 24, initial 26 *a*; a firm consonant in verbs 157 72 *gg*, in verbs orig. 157 75 *a, b, kk*, cf. in nouns 93 *x*

! pointing of 104 *d-g*, connecting sentences 154, = *and that*, or *and especially* 114 *p*, 154 *a*¹ (*b*), introducing predicate 143 *d*; ! introducing predicate 111 *h*, or apodosis (rare) 111 *q*, 1590 (*e*), *s(f)*. 143 *d*; ! with perf. introducing predicate or apodosis 112 *ff-oo*, 143 *d*, 1590, *s*. See also Wāw in Index I.

וְאַבְרָם 23 *d*, 68 *k*
 וְאַבְרָם: 60 *d*
 וְאַנְרֹשׁ 49 *c*
 וְאַדְנִי 23 *d*, 26 *g*, 102 *m*, 104 *d*
 וְאַזְכֶּרָה 53 *n, g*, 68 *i*
 וְאַחֵי 68 *e*
 וְאַחֲלֶלְךָ 111 *w*¹
 וְאַחֵר 64 *h*, 68 *e*
 וְאַחֲרֵי שָׁתָה 113 *e*³
 וְאַחֲשָׁבָה 49 *e*
 וְאַחֲלֶלְךָ 49 *e*

וְאַבֵּל 68 *e*
 וְאַבְלָה 49 *e*
 וְאַבְסַף 49 *c*
 וְאַל = *rather than* 133 *b*²
 וְאַלֶּף 69 *p*
 וְאַלֹהִים 102 *d*, 104 *d*
 וְאַסְחָבָה (Moab.) 7 *c*
 וְאַעֲדָה 49 *e*
 וְאַקִים 49 *e*, 72 *t*
 וְאַקְרָאָה? 48 *d*
 וְאַרַב 75 *gg*
 וְאַרְצָךְ 29 *i*¹
 וְבָטָן 104 *g*
 וְדִינָם 73 *b*
 וְדִהְיִיתִי 53 *g*
 וְדִבְרֵי 76 *h*
 וְהִלָּה 75 *ee*
 וְהוֹשִׁיבוּתִים? 72 *x*
 וְהִחַתְתִּי 67 *dd*
 וְהִטַּלְתִּי 72 *k, w*
 וְהִיָּה in prophetic style 112 *y, z*
 וְהִיָּה 28 *b*
 וְהִיָּה 28 *b*
 וְהִיטַבְתִּי 70 *e*
 וְהִיָּיתִם 63 *q*, 104 *f*
 וְהִמְטַרְתִּי (Am 4⁷) 112 *h*³
 וְהִמְתִּי 72 *w*
 וְהִמְתִּיה 72 *w*
 וְהִמְתֵּן 72 *w*
 וְהִנֵּחָה? 72 *ee*
 וְהִנֵּפֶת 72 *w*
 וְהִצִּיתִיהָ 71
 וְהִצִּירְתִּי 67 *ee*
 וְהִקְאִתוּ 76 *h*
 וְהִקְדֵּשְׁנוּ 29 *l*
 וְהִקְלַמְנוּ 72 *i*
 וְהִרְאִיתִי 53 *p*, 75 *ee*

וְהִשְׁבַּחְתֶּם 72 *i*²
 וְהִשְׁמַטְתֶּה 54 *b*
 וְהִבֵּה 16 *e*, 104 *e*
 וְהִיָּה 104 *g*
 וְהִקְרָאתָ (Ex 5¹⁶) 74 *g*
 וְהִיָּה? 76 *i*
 וְהִיָּה 76 *i*
 וְהִקְרַאתָ 72 *m*
 וְהִיָּה 67 *k*
 וְהִיָּה with *ē* for *i* 28 *b*, 63 *q*, 104 *f*, in pause sometimes 75 *n*
 וְהִנֵּחָה 67 *ee*
 וְהִלָּל 76 *d*
 וְהִמְאָר: (in Jb) 68 *e*
 וְהִמְאָרָה 68 *h*
 וְהִמְאָר 23 *b*
 וְהִמְאָל 23 *d*, 68 *e*
 וְהִמְאָל 23 *d*
 וְהִמְאָל 74 *l*
 וְהִמְאָל 75 *q*
 וְהִמְאָל 64 *g*
 וְהִמְאָל 69 *u*, 70 *e*
 וְהִמְאָל 69 *u*
 וְהִמְאָל 67 *p*
 וְהִמְאָל 7 *c*
 וְהִמְאָל 53 *n*
 וְהִמְאָל 69 *u*
 וְהִמְאָל 53 *n*
 וְהִמְאָל 102 *m*
 וְהִמְאָל 104 *f*
 וְהִמְאָל 16 *g*; as a narrative formula 111 *f-h*
 וְהִמְאָל שָׁם 29 *g*
 וְהִמְאָל 67 *y*
 וְהִמְאָל 68 *i*
 וְהִמְאָל 64 *b*
 וְהִמְאָל 74 *l*
 וְהִמְאָל 75 *r*

וְיָ? 75 r, 76 b
וְיָבֹחַ 65 e
וְיָחֹק בּוֹ 29 g
וְיָחֹטֵא 74 l
וְיָחִי 16 g
וְיָחֹלֵא 75 rr
וְיָחֹלֵי (Ho 8¹⁰)? I I I w¹
וְיָחֹלֵי 24 e
וְיָחֹלֶפֶה (Moab.) 7 c
וְיָחֹלֶקֶם? 63 n
וְיָחֹמֵי 69 f
וְיָחֹמֶנֶה 69 f
וְיָחֹן 75 r
וְיָחֹר 75 r
וְיָט 75 r
וְיָטֹמֵנִי 47 i
וְיָחֹל 69 t
וְיָיִר 76 f
וְיָיִצֵּר 71
וְיָיִשִּׁם 53 u, 73 f
וְיָיִבּוֹ 60 d
וְיָיִשִּׁם-שָׁם 58 g
וְיָיִבֵּנִי 72 cc
וְיָיִכְתִּי 67 g, y
וְיָיִלְדֵּתִי? 80 d, 94 f
וְיָלֵלֶת 24 e
וְיָלֵן 72 ee
וְיָמֹלֵאִים 60 h
וְיָיִחַ 72 ee
וְיָיִסֵּב 67 y
וְיָיִסֵּבּוֹ 67 g
וְיָיִסֵּף 67 p, 73 f
וְיָיִסְרֵנִי 59 h
וְיָעֲטָ 72 ff
וְיָעֲנוּ (Moab.) 75 b²
וְיָעֲרָ 72 t
וְיָעֲקֹבֵנִי 63 m
וְיָעֲקֹשֵׁנִי? 53 n

וְיָעֲרֹ 75 cc
וְיָעֲרָ 67 w
וְיָעֲפֵה 75 q
וְיָעֲלֶח 65 f
וְיָעֲקֵק 71
וְיָעֲקֵק 71
וְיָעֲקֵד 67 g
וְיָעֲקֵד 67 g
וְיָעֲקֵן? 71
וְיָעֲרָ 75 q
וְיָעֲרָו חֲמוּרָאִים 75 rr
וְיָעֲרֵב 68 i
וְיָעֲרֵךְ 75 q
וְיָעֲרִיבּוֹן 49 d¹
וְיָעֲרֵם 27 o, 67 o;
with accus. 121 d²
וְיָעֲרֹ 75 qq
וְיָעֲרֹ 23 f, 75 qq
וְיָעֲרֹשׁ 69 s
וְיָעֲרֹשֶׁה 69 s
וְיָעֲרֹשֶׁהָ 44 d
וְיָעֲרֹשֶׁתָּם 44 d
וְיָעֲרֹשׁ 26 p², 75 q
וְיָעֲרֹשְׁתֶּם 69 k
וְיָעֲרֹשׁוּ 60 d, 75 bb,
131 m³
וְיָעֲרֹשְׁתֶּם? 65 f
וְיָעֲרֹשׁ 69 u
וְיָעֲרֹנֶה 71
וְיָעֲרֹשֶׁת 75 q
וְיָעֲרֹשְׁתֶּחוּ 75 k
וְיָעֲרֹחַ 68 h
וְיָעֲרֹחֵי 75 bb
וְיָעֲרֹחֶהָ 55 g
וְיָעֲרֹחֵם 67 g
וְיָעֲרֹחֵשׁ בּוֹ 29 g
וְיָעֲרֹחַ 104 g
וְיָעֲרֹחַ 73 d

וְיָעֲרֹ 73 d
וְיָעֲרֹ in perfect
(rare) 44 l; in imperfect
47 m, n; less frequent with
wāw consec. 49 d¹. Cf.
וְיָעֲרֹ
וְיָעֲרֹ 64 i
וְיָעֲרֹ? 69 r, 76 f
וְיָעֲרֹ 112 tt¹
וְיָעֲרֹ 49 e²
וְיָעֲרֹ 75 h
וְיָעֲרֹ 49 e²
וְיָעֲרֹ 67 y
וְיָעֲרֹ 44 f
וְיָעֲרֹ 19 k²
וְיָעֲרֹ 75 l
וְיָעֲרֹ 28 b, 104 d
וְיָעֲרֹ 104 g
וְיָעֲרֹ 44 d
וְיָעֲרֹ 75 qq
וְיָעֲרֹ 104 g
וְיָעֲרֹ 8 k
וְיָעֲרֹ 67 ee
וְיָעֲרֹ 75 n
וְיָעֲרֹ 75 rr
וְיָעֲרֹ 44 f, 72 o
וְיָעֲרֹ (ψ 23⁶)? 69 m¹
וְיָעֲרֹ nouns ending
in 86 k, 95 t, plur. of 95 u
וְיָעֲרֹ 72 k
וְיָעֲרֹ 76 k
וְיָעֲרֹ 48 d
וְיָעֲרֹ 47 l
וְיָעֲרֹ 72 h
וְיָעֲרֹ 69 r
וְיָעֲרֹ 75 u
וְיָעֲרֹ for "וְיָעֲרֹ" 23 f,
68 k
וְיָעֲרֹ 74 l
וְיָעֲרֹ 23 f

וַתְּחַלֵּם 63 <i>m</i>	ח with dageš f.	חֵלֶב 93 <i>dd</i>
וַתַּחֲשׁ 72 <i>ff</i>	implicitum 22 <i>c</i>	חֲלֹנִי 87 <i>g</i>
וַתִּיפִי 76 <i>f</i>	חֲבִי 75 <i>qq</i>	חֲלוּתִי הִיא 67 <i>r</i>
וַתִּלְוֶשׁ ? 72 <i>t</i>	חֲבִלָּהּ 63 <i>l</i>	חֲלִילָהּ 105 <i>b</i>
וַתְּמַהֲמַה 72 <i>cc</i>	חֲבִלָּתָךְ 59 <i>g</i> ¹	חֲלָל 67 <i>cc</i>
וַתִּנְיָקֶהוּ 70 <i>e</i>	חֲבֵרָתוֹ 84 ^b <i>g</i>	חֲלֻכָּאִים ? 93 <i>æ</i>
וַתַּעֲנֶב 63 <i>m</i>	חֲנָא 95 <i>d</i>	חֶם 96
וַתַּעֲטֵם 72 <i>ff</i>	חֲנִי 93 <i>x</i>	חֲמָה 23 <i>f</i>
וַתַּעֲצֹר 65 <i>e</i>	חֲנִי 67 <i>ff</i>	חֲמֻטָל 90 <i>k</i>
וַתִּצְפֹּנָה 60 <i>d</i>	חֵד (אֶחָד) 96	חֲמוּתִי 67 <i>ee</i>
וַתִּקְרָבִי ? 60 <i>a</i> ¹	חֲדָלוּ 20 <i>i</i>	חֲמֻלָּהּ, חֲמֻלָּהּ 45 <i>b</i>
וַתֵּרָא 75 <i>p</i>	חֲדָתִים 93 <i>w</i>	חֲמִשִּׁי 98 <i>a</i>
וַתִּבְרַח 27 <i>o</i> , 67 <i>p</i>	חֲמָא 75 <i>oo</i>	חֲמִשָּׁת 94 <i>f</i>
וַתִּשְׁמֹן ? 58 <i>g</i>	חֻל תַּחֲלִיל ? 73 <i>d</i>	חֲמִשָּׁת עֶשֶׂר 97 <i>e</i>
וַתִּחַצֵּב + 71	חֻמָּתִים 95 <i>o</i>	חֲמֻשָּׁתִּי 91 <i>l</i>
וְ (Moab.) for וְהִי ?	חֲנִי 27 <i>n</i>	חֲנוּת 67 <i>r</i>
7 <i>d</i> ¹	חֲנִי 86 <i>i</i> , 87 <i>g</i>	חֲנִי 91 <i>e</i>
וְאֵת 34, use of 136	חֲנִי 84 ^a <i>r</i>	חֲנִי 118 <i>q</i>
וְהִי 34, use of 136;	חֲנִי 23 <i>k</i> ¹	חֲנִי 67 <i>a</i>
enclitic 136 <i>c</i> , <i>d</i> ; = <i>here</i>	חֲנִי (2S24 ¹¹) ? 93 <i>rr</i>	חֲנִי 20 <i>b</i> , 63 <i>l</i> ,
or <i>now</i> 136 <i>d</i> ; as a rela-	חֲנִי 84 ^a <i>o</i>	67 <i>cc</i>
tive 138 <i>g</i>	חֲנִי 84 ^a <i>o</i>	חֲסִדִּי 93 <i>m</i>
וְהָב 82	חֲנִי 45 <i>d</i>	חֲסִידָה 82
וְהִי, וְהִי 34 <i>b</i>	חֲנִי 93 <i>ee</i>	חֲצֹ 91 <i>k</i>
וְהִי demonstr. pron.	חֲטָאִים 23 <i>c</i> , 74 <i>i</i> ,	חֲצוּצָר 55 <i>e</i>
34 <i>d</i> ; relat. pron. 138 <i>g</i>	75 <i>oo</i>	חֲצוּצָה 55 <i>e</i> , 84 ^b <i>n</i>
וְהִי 73 <i>d</i>	חֲמֹ 75 <i>qq</i>	חֲצוּצָה 93 <i>bb</i>
וְיִקְוֶת 20 <i>n</i>	חֵי יְהוָה, חֵי נִפְשָׁךְ 93 <i>aa</i> ¹ ,	חֲקֹךְ 93 <i>bb</i>
וְכִי 67 <i>ee</i>	149 <i>a</i> ¹ , <i>c</i>	חֲקֹכִים 93 <i>bb</i>
וְכִמְתִּי 67 <i>aa</i>	חֵי אֲנִי 32 <i>c</i>	חֲקִי 10 <i>g</i> , 93 <i>bb</i>
וְכִמְרָה 52 <i>p</i>	חֵה what forms	חֲרָבִי 46 <i>d</i>
וְכִמְרָה ? 80 <i>g</i>	take Metheg 16 <i>f</i> , pointing	חֲרָבִי 63 <i>l</i>
וְכִמְרָה 93 <i>ee</i>	of 63 <i>g</i> , shortened forms of	חֲרָת 95 <i>g</i>
וְכִמְרָה 86 <i>g</i> ¹	in imperfect 75 <i>s</i> , perfect	חֲרָ 67 <i>ee</i>
וְכִמְרָה 63 <i>p</i> , 64 <i>c</i>	forms as if from חֵי 76 <i>i</i>	חֲרָשׁ 84 ^b <i>b</i>
וְכִמְרָה 95 ^e	חֵי צִוּן 27 <i>w</i>	חֲשׁוּפִי ? 87 <i>g</i>
וְכִמְרָה 67 <i>m</i>	חֵי 80 <i>f</i>	חֲשׁוּפִי 46 <i>d</i> , 63 <i>l</i>
וְכִמְרָה 55 <i>b</i>	חֵי 90 <i>o</i>	חֲשִׁים 72 <i>p</i>
	חֵי 23 <i>l</i> , 75 <i>aa</i> , <i>hh</i>	חֲשִׁמֶל 85 <i>s</i>
	חֲקָמוֹת 86 <i>l</i>	

טאמא 55 f	יָדָר 76 a	יוֹנְקוֹת 95 q
טָבַח 65 b	יָדָר 76 a	יֹסֵף ? 50 e
טָבַח 84 ^b b	יָדָה 76 f	יוֹצֵת 74 i
טוב 72 c, n, 78 b	יָדָו 69 u	יוֹקֵשִׁים (ptcp.) 52 s
טוֹמָפוֹ 19 o, 84 ^b o	יָדוֹר 67 cc, 76 a	יֹרֵא 69 w
טָנָא 22 e	יָדוֹן 72 r	יֹרֶה 69 r
טָרָם with impf., of past time 107 c, of present time 152 r	יָדִי ? 87 f	יוֹשְׁבֵי 90 n
	יָרְכֵם 91 k	יֹשֵׁר 53 u
	יָדָל 67 g (Addit.)	יֹשֵׁר 53 u, 73 a
	יָדָמוֹ 67 g	יֹשֵׁת 53 u, 73 a
' as a vowel- letter 5 b ¹ , 7 b-g, 8 h-m, 9 g-m, its changes 24, as initial vowel 47 b ¹ ; orig. ' reappearing in poet. forms of verbs לָהּ 75 u, v, dd, gg	יָדָמוֹ 67 g	יֹנֵחַ 65 e
	יָדָעָה 44 l	יֹנֵחַ 67 dd
	יָדָעָה 120 b ¹	יֹנֵחַ 63 g
	יָדָעָה 44 i	יֹנֵחַ 60 b, 63 m
	יָדָעָה ? 48 d	יֹנֵחַ 63 d
	יָדָב 69 o	יֹנֵחַ 63 d
	יָדָה 63 m	יֹנֵחַ 28 e ² , 75 r
	יָדָה 63 e	יֹנֵחַ 91 k, 93 l,
	יָדָה 27 w	135 r
	יָדָה 23 i, 75 s	יֹנֵחַ 47 m
	יָדָה 53 q	יֹנֵחַ 27 q
	יָדָה 17 e, its pro- nunciation with prefixes 102 m; יָדָה 125 h	יֹנֵחַ 63 g
	יָדָה 53 q	יֹנֵחַ 75 s
	יָדָה 53 q	יֹנֵחַ 75 s
	יָדָה 75 s	יֹנֵחַ ? 20 n, 60 d,
	יָדָה 9 f, 75 s	67 v
	יָדָה 67 p	יֹנֵחַ 20 i
	יָדָה ? 68 k	יֹנֵחַ 67 g
	יָדָה 90 f	יֹנֵחַ 64 h
	יָדָה 53 u	יֹנֵחַ 53 u
	יָדָה ? 55 b	יֹנֵחַ 60 b, 67 n
	יָדָה 53 u	יֹנֵחַ 67 cc
	יָדָה 53 u	יֹנֵחַ 72 r
	יָדָה 65 f	יֹנֵחַ 29 u
	יָדָה 53 u, 69 r	יֹנֵחַ 51 m
	יָדָה (ptcp.) 52 s	יֹנֵחַ 53 u, 67 y
	יֹם 96	יֹנֵחַ 66 f
	יֹמָם 100 g ¹	יֹנֵחַ 63 m
		יֹנֵחַ 20 i
		יֹנֵחַ 19 d

יִדַּע 69 <i>b</i> ¹ , <i>p</i>	יָנַח 66 <i>e</i>	יָקָדַעַם 21 <i>e</i> ¹
יִיטִיב 70 <i>d</i>	יָנִי 74 <i>k</i> , 76 <i>h</i>	יָקוּם 72 <i>r</i>
יִיטִיב 70 <i>e</i>	יָנִיחַ 72 <i>ee</i>	יָקוּם 72 <i>t</i>
יִיזִיל 70 <i>d</i>	יָנִיחַ 66 <i>f</i>	יָקוּם 72 <i>h</i>
יִיזָק 73 <i>f</i>	יָנִיחַ 75 <i>hh</i>	יָקַח 53 <i>u</i>
יִיכָר 69 <i>b</i> ¹	יָנִיחַ ? 23 <i>i</i> , 47 <i>n</i> , 75 <i>oo</i>	יָקַח 20 <i>m</i>
יִיכָר 70 <i>b</i>	יָסַב (Addit.) 67 <i>g</i>	יָקַח 47 <i>k</i>
יִכְלֶה 75 <i>qq</i>	יָסַב 72 <i>dd</i>	יָקַח-קָיָה 29 <i>g</i>
יִכְלֶהוּ 44 <i>e</i>	יָסַב 72 <i>ee</i>	יָקַח (juss.) 72 <i>t</i>
יִכְסִימוּ 75 <i>mm</i>	יָסַב 72 <i>ee</i>	יָקַח 53 <i>u</i>
יִכְסִימוּ 75 <i>dd</i>	יָסַב 67 <i>o</i>	יָקַח forms of 78 <i>b</i>
יָבַת 53 <i>u</i> , 67 <i>g</i> , <i>y</i>	יָסַב 69 <i>h</i> ¹ , 78 <i>c</i>	יָקַח 93 <i>ww</i>
יָלַבַּב 67 <i>cc</i>	יָסַב 68 <i>b</i>	יָקַח 84 <i>a</i> <i>n</i>
יָלַדְתִּיךָ 27 <i>s</i> , 44 <i>d</i>	יָסַב 52 <i>p</i>	יָקַח 75 <i>rr</i>
יָלֹד 27 <i>w</i> , 84 <i>b</i> <i>e</i>	יָסַב 61 <i>d</i>	יָקַח 60 <i>c</i>
יָלוֹנוּ 72 <i>ee</i>	יָסַב 59 <i>f</i>	יָקַח 60 <i>c</i> , 74 <i>e</i>
יָלוֹנוּ 72 <i>ee</i>	יָעֲבִירוּ 53 <i>n</i>	יָקַח 75 <i>rr</i>
יָלִין 72 <i>ee</i>	יָעֲבִירוּ 72 <i>cc</i>	יָקַח 72 <i>r</i>
יָלִין 72 <i>ee</i>	יָעֲלֶעַן 55 <i>f</i>	יָקַח 21 <i>e</i> ¹
יָלִינוּ 72 <i>ee</i>	יָעֲלֶעַן 107 <i>q</i> ¹	יָרָא 76 <i>e</i>
יָלַף 69 <i>p</i>	יָעֲלֶעַן 158 <i>b</i>	יָרָא 75 <i>hh</i>
יָלַף ? 60 <i>e</i>	יָעֲלֶעַן 72 <i>cc</i>	יָרָא 75 <i>p</i> , <i>q</i>
יָלַטְנוּ 27 <i>l</i>	יָעֲקֹב (verb) 63 <i>c</i>	יָרָא 75 <i>oo</i>
יָלַטְנוּ ? (Siloam inscr.)	יָעֲרַם 63 <i>m</i>	יָרָא 93 <i>ii</i>
יָלַטְנוּ ? 7 <i>f</i>	יָעֲשֶׂה 75 <i>hh</i>	יָרָא 74 <i>g</i>
יָמָה (Moab.) 7 <i>c</i>	יָפְגִישֶׁךָ 10 <i>g</i> , 60 <i>b</i>	יָרָא 69 <i>g</i> , 75 <i>bb</i>
יָמָה 75 <i>y</i>	יָפַח forms of 76 <i>f</i>	יָרָא ? 63 <i>n</i>
יָמִים 132 <i>h</i> ²	יָפַח 23 <i>k</i> ¹ , 84 <i>b</i> <i>n</i>	יָרָא 60 <i>d</i>
יָמִיךָ 67 <i>g</i>	יָפַח 72 <i>dd</i>	יָרָא 10 <i>h</i>
יָמִל 67 <i>g</i>	יָפַח 55 <i>e</i>	יָרָא forms of 76 <i>f</i>
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 נָאֵךְ 67 *dd*
 נָאֵךְ 51 *h*
 נָאֵךְ 93 *i*
 נָאֵךְ 93 *r*
 נָאֵךְ 86 *i*
 נָאֵךְ? 80 *f*
 נָאֵךְ 75 *x*
 נָאֵךְ 61 *a*
 נָאֵךְ forms of 78 *c*
 נָאֵךְ? 72 *n*
 נָאֵךְ 67 *cc*
 נָאֵךְ 92 *b*¹
 נָאֵךְ 20 *m*
 נָאֵךְ 92 *b*¹
 נָאֵךְ 66 *c*
 נָה 66 *c*
 נָהֵלֶת 64 *d*
 נָהֵלֶת 88 *c*, 93 *ee*
 נָהֵלֶת 69 *t*
 נָהֵלֶת 93 *ss*
 נָהֵלֶת (inf. constr.)
 72 *q*
 נָהֵלֶת 93 *ss*
 נָהֵלֶת 69 *t*
 נָהֵלֶת (inf. constr.)
 72 *q*
 נָהֵלֶת forms of 76 *c*
 נָהֵלֶת 67 *dd*
 נָהֵלֶת 93 *oo*
 נָהֵלֶת 63 *c*
 נָהֵלֶת 75 *pp*
 נָהֵלֶת forms of 78 *c*
 נָהֵלֶת 66 *c*
 נָהֵלֶת 91 *e*
 נָהֵלֶת 67 *u*
 נָהֵלֶת (from חָלָה)
 63 *c*
 נָהֵלֶת 90 *f*
 נָהֵלֶת? 80 *g*
 נָהֵלֶת 66 *f*
 נָהֵלֶת 67 *u*, *dd*
 נָהֵלֶת 32 *d*
 נָהֵלֶת 23 *f*¹
 נָהֵלֶת 67 *u*
 נָהֵלֶת 75 *x*
 נָהֵלֶת 95 *k*
 נָהֵלֶת 67 *u*
 נָהֵלֶת 63 *c*
 נָהֵלֶת forms of 76 *c*
 נָהֵלֶת 66 *c*
 נָהֵלֶת 75 *v*
 נָהֵלֶת 75 *x*
 נָהֵלֶת 93 *oo*
 נָהֵלֶת 65 *d*
 נָהֵלֶת 76 *f*
 נָהֵלֶת 121 *d*¹
 נָהֵלֶת forms of 76 *c*
 נָהֵלֶת 27 *w*
 נָהֵלֶת 93-99
 נָהֵלֶת 29 *g*
 נָהֵלֶת (imper.) 51 *o*
 נָהֵלֶת 75 *y*
 נָהֵלֶת 72 *v*
 נָהֵלֶת 72 *ee*
 נָהֵלֶת 67 *dd*
 נָהֵלֶת 93 *oo*
 נָהֵלֶת 72 *dd*
 נָהֵלֶת 67 *dd*
 נָהֵלֶת 76 *b*
 נָהֵלֶת 72 *r, v*
 נָהֵלֶת 29 *e*
 נָהֵלֶת 91 *k*
 נָהֵלֶת 60 *b*
 נָהֵלֶת 72 *ee, v*
 נָהֵלֶת 63 *c*
 נָהֵלֶת 63 *c*
 נָהֵלֶת 74 *g*
 נָהֵלֶת 75 *oo*
 נָהֵלֶת 61 *b*
 נָהֵלֶת 55 *d*
 נָהֵלֶת 67 *dd*, 78 *b*
 נָהֵלֶת 67 *dd*
 נָהֵלֶת 132 *g*, 134 *e*¹
 נָהֵלֶת forms of 78 *b*
 נָהֵלֶת 91 *e*
 נָהֵלֶת 85 *u*¹
 נָהֵלֶת 48 *i*
 נָהֵלֶת (imper.) 51 *o*
 נָהֵלֶת 72 *h*
 נָהֵלֶת 72 *dd*
 נָהֵלֶת 72 *dd*
 נָהֵלֶת 23 *i*
 נָהֵלֶת 75 *x*
 נָהֵלֶת 75 *rr*

נָרָא (Is 41 ²³ Keth.) 48 <i>g</i> ¹	כָּבוֹ 69 <i>h</i> ¹	uses of 119 <i>aa-dd</i> ; causal, with perfect 158 <i>b</i> , with infin. 158 <i>c</i> ; concessive 160 <i>c</i>
נָרַךְ 26 <i>r</i>	כָּבוֹת (from נָסַף) ? 69 <i>h</i> ¹	עָלִין 133 <i>g</i> ¹
נָרְבָא 75 <i>oo</i>	כָּפְרִים <i>a letter</i> 124 <i>b</i> ¹	עָלִיהָ Is 23 ⁷ without article 126 <i>z</i> ²
נָרְבָתָה 75 <i>qq</i>	כָּרִים 84 ^b <i>f</i>	עָלִימוֹ 103 <i>f</i> ³
נָשָׂא 66 <i>c</i> , 76 <i>b</i>	כָּרַר 67 <i>cc</i>	עָם its origin 101 <i>a</i> ; pointing, with suff. 103 <i>c</i>
נָשָׂא forms of 76 <i>b</i>	כָּתְמוֹם 60 <i>h</i>	עָמְדָה 61 <i>d</i>
נָשָׂאת 76 <i>b</i>	ע pronunciation 6 <i>e</i> ; with dageš <i>f</i> . implici- tum 22 <i>a-c</i>	עָמְדָה ? 93 <i>kk</i>
נָשָׂאת 74 <i>i</i> , 94 <i>f</i>	עָבְרִי 2 <i>b</i> , 9 <i>b</i>	עָמִי plur. apoc. ? 87 <i>f</i>
נָשָׂא 23 <i>i</i> , 75 <i>oo</i>	עָבַב 84 ^a <i>t</i>	עָמְקִים 93 <i>aa</i>
נָשָׂא 75 <i>qq</i>	עָגוּל 93 <i>kk</i>	עָנָבִי 20 <i>h</i>
נָשָׂקה 66 <i>e</i>	עָרֵיהֶם 32 <i>n</i>	עָנִי 63 <i>l</i>
נָשָׂא 75 <i>oo</i>	עָרִי 103 <i>o</i> ; with imperf. of past time 107 <i>c</i>	עָנִי 63 <i>l</i>
נָשָׂא 48 <i>g</i> ¹	עָדָה 2 <i>b</i> , 9 <i>b</i>	עָנוֹת 75 <i>aa</i>
נָשָׂא 67 <i>u</i>	עָדָה 84 ^a <i>t</i>	עָפָאִים 93 <i>z</i>
נָשָׂא 52 <i>m</i>	עָגוּל 93 <i>kk</i>	עָץ 9 <i>l</i> , 26 <i>o</i> ¹
נָשָׂתָה ? 75 <i>x</i>	עָרֵיהֶם 32 <i>n</i>	עָצְבוֹן 93 <i>uu</i>
נָשָׂתָה 75 <i>l</i>	עָדָה 103 <i>o</i> ; with imperf. of past time 107 <i>c</i>	עָצְבִי 61 <i>a</i>
נָתַח forms of 78 <i>c</i>	עָדָה 2 <i>b</i> , 9 <i>b</i>	עָקֵב 93 <i>hh</i>
נָתַן 66 <i>h</i> , <i>i</i> ; with accus. and infin. = <i>allow to</i> 157 <i>b</i> ²	עָבַב 84 ^a <i>t</i>	עָקֵב 19 <i>m</i>
נָתַן 66 <i>h</i>	עָגוּל 93 <i>kk</i>	עָרְבִיאִים 93 <i>x</i>
נָתַנִּי 44 <i>o</i>	עָרֵיהֶם 32 <i>n</i>	עָרְבִים 88 <i>c</i>
נָתַתְּ 19 <i>c</i> , 20 <i>l</i>	עָדָה 103 <i>o</i> ; with imperf. of past time 107 <i>c</i>	עָרִי 75 <i>cc</i>
נָתַתָּה 44 <i>g</i> , 66 <i>h</i>	עָדָה 2 <i>b</i> , 9 <i>b</i>	עָרוֹם 118 <i>n</i> , 146 <i>r</i> ¹
נָסַף ? 55 <i>f</i>	עָגוּל 93 <i>kk</i>	עָרוֹמִים 93 <i>pp</i>
נָסַף 67 <i>d</i> ¹	עָרֵיהֶם 32 <i>n</i>	עָרוֹת (Hb 3 ¹⁸) 75 <i>n</i>
נָסִיב 103 <i>o</i>	עָדָה 103 <i>o</i> ; with imperf. of past time 107 <i>c</i>	עָרְכָה 48 <i>i</i>
נָסִיב 50 <i>e</i>	עָגוּל 93 <i>kk</i>	עָרְכִי 48 <i>i</i>
נָסִלוֹ 10 <i>h</i> , 93 <i>q</i>	עָרֵיהֶם 32 <i>n</i>	עָרְלָה 95 <i>d</i>
נָסִיג 72 <i>p</i>	עָדָה 103 <i>o</i> ; with imperf. of past time 107 <i>c</i>	עָרְמָם 91 <i>e</i>
נָסִיגָתָה 90 <i>f</i>	עָגוּל 93 <i>kk</i>	עָשְׂבוֹת 20 <i>h</i> , 93 <i>o</i>
נָסִיגָה 72 <i>p</i>	עָרֵיהֶם 32 <i>n</i>	עָשָׂה 69 <i>m</i> ²
נָסִיגָה 91 <i>e</i>	עָדָה 103 <i>o</i> ; with imperf. of past time 107 <i>c</i>	עָשְׂהָאֵל 23 <i>k</i> ¹
נָסִיגָה 24 <i>g</i> ¹	עָגוּל 93 <i>kk</i>	עָשְׂהוּ 75 <i>n</i>
נָסִיגָה 91 <i>e</i>	עָרֵיהֶם 32 <i>n</i>	
נָסִיגָה 6 <i>k</i>	עָדָה 103 <i>o</i> ; with imperf. of past time 107 <i>c</i>	
נָסִיגָה 85 <i>t</i> , 87 <i>h</i>	עָגוּל 93 <i>kk</i>	

עָשׂוּ ptep. passive	תִּפְרָאוֹת 75 rr	אָמַם for אָמַם 9b, 23 g,
24 b, 75 v	פָּרַדְם 1 i	analogous cases 72 p
עֲשׂוֹת 75 v	פָּרִי 93 w	אָמַת 80 g
עֲשָׂה 80 l	פָּרִי 9 f	קָבַח-לִי 9 v, 67 o
עֲשָׂה אֲלֵפִים 97 g	פָּרִיץ 84 ^b f	קָבַח the נ not com-
עֲשָׂרִים 93 l, 97 f	פָּרַשׁ 84 ^b b	pensatory 20 o, for קָבַחוּ
עֲשָׂן 93 dd	פָּרָשׁוּ 56	67 o, doubtful form 100 o ²
עֲשָׂה 67 cc	פָּרָשׁוּ 93 dd	קָבַח 52 l
עֲשָׂשׁוּ 67 cc	פָּרַת 80 g	קָרְבִּית 85 u
עֲשָׂתִי 97 e ¹	פָּרַת 93 w	קָדָשִׁים 9 v, 93 r
עֲשִׂתָּהּ 95 q ¹		קָדָשִׁים 124 h
עֲתָה 90 h	אָנָּה with 3rd fem.	קָהֳלַת 145 h
עֲתִיק 84 ^b f	pl. 132 g, 145 c	קֹל = <i>hark!</i>
עַתָּה נִשְׁבַּרְתָּ 116 g ¹	אָנָּה 123 a ¹	146 b
	אָנָּה 69 m	קֹלִי constr. st. 90 n
פָּאֲרָה 23 c	אָנָּה 95 e	קִיָּה 72 s
פָּדָה צוּר 23 h ¹	אָנָּה 125 h	קִימוֹ 20 g
פָּדִיּוֹם 85 t	אָנָּה 93 w	קִימִים 72 p
פָּה 96	אָנָּה 75 qq	קִיף 1 i
פָּה 80 f	אָנָּה 133 b ²	קִרְיָה 21 c
פָּחַם (Ne 5 ¹¹)? 91 e	אָנָּה 52 p	לָקַח for לָקַח 19 i,
פָּחוֹת 96	אָנָּה 88 c	66 g
פָּיִמוֹ 91 f	אָנָּה (verb) 67 n	לָקַח for לָקַח 19 i,
פָּלָא 93 h	אָנָּה 72 s	66 g
פָּלָא 22 e	אָנָּה 86 g	קָהֳמָא 58 g, 61 g,
פָּלַג 52 n	אָנָּה 84 ^b c	66 g
פָּן with imperf.	אָנָּה 93 y	קָהֳת 66 g, 93 h
(twice perf.) 107 q and	אָנָּה 67 cc	קָהֳדָ 93 q
note ³ , 152 w (end), after	אָנָּה 10 g	קָהֳלִי 26 g
ideas of fearing 152 w	אָנָּה 30 r, 81 d ²	קָהֳלִי 19 f
פָּנָה 91 e	אָנָּה 93 gg	קָהֳלִי 93 q
פָּנוּאֵל 90 h	אָנָּה 93 gg	קָהֳלִי 52 o
פָּנִים 145 h	אָנָּה 55 d	קָהֳלִי 76 h
פָּנִימוֹ 103 f ³	אָנָּה 46 d	קָהֳלִי 76 h
פָּעַל 39 e, 41 d	אָנָּה passive ptep.	קָהֳלִי 84 ^a u
פָּעֵלוֹ 93 q	75 v	קָהֳלִי 72 m
פָּעִיּוֹת 96	אָנָּה 81 d ² , 85 w	קָהֳלִי 91 f
פָּעֻחַקוֹת 84 ^b n	אָנָּה 44 l, 72 o	קָהֳלִי 67 ee
פָּרָא 22 e		קָהֳלִי 72 g

- קְבוּרָה 85 *u*¹
 קִמָּה 44 *h*¹
 קִנָּה 20 *g*
 קִנְמוֹן 93 *uu*
 קִסְמִי 46 *d*
 קִפּוֹד 27 *w*
 קִץ (Is 18⁶) 73 *b*
 קִצָּה 91 *e*
 קִצְוִי 93 *x*
 קִצְרָכֶם 61 *d*
 קִרְאִים 75 *oo*
 קִרְאֹן 46 *f*
 קִרְאֹן 74 *h*
 קִרְאָה 74 *g*
 קִרְב 52 *n*, 64 *h*
 קִרְב 84 *n*
 קִרְבָּה 48 *i*
 קִרְחָה 80 *h*
 קִרְן 82
 קִרְנִים 88 *b*, 93 *n*
 קִשָּׁט 26 *r*, 93 *p*

 ר 6 *g*, *o*
 ר 22 *g*, *s*
 רָאָה 105 *b*
 רָאָה (N with Map-
 piq) 14 *d*, 64 *e*
 רָאוּה 75 *n*
 רָאִיזוֹת 75 *v*
 רָאִמָּה ? 72 *p*
 רָאִנִי 61 *h*, 75 *v*
 רָאִשׁ 23 *g*, 72 *p*
 רָאִשׁ 96
 רָאִשׁוֹן 27 *w*
 רָבָה adverbial ?
 132 *h*²
 רָבָה 48 *l*, 75 *cc*
 רָבּוֹ 67 *ee*
 רָבּוֹ 67 *m*
 רָבּוֹא 23 *i*

 רִבְעִים 93 *qq*
 רִבְתָּ 73 *a*
 רִבְתִּי עִם 90 *l*
 רִנֵּעַ 65 *d*
 רִנְעִי 93 *ii*
 רִד 19 *i*, 69 *g*
 רִדָּה 69 *m*²
 רִדְפִי 61 *c*
 רוֹם 72 *q*
 רָחֶם 22 *h*
 רָחֶמָה 80 *k*
 רָחֲמִים 93 *l*, 145 *h*
 רִי 24 *b*, cf. 93 *y*
 רִיבּוֹת 73 *a*
 רִיב יָרִיב 73 *d*
 רִים 23 *e*
 רִבּוֹ 67 *ee*
 רִכְסִי 93 *r*
 רִמוֹ 67 *m*
 רִמוֹ 20 *i*
 רִפְנִי ? 87 *f*
 רִנִּי 67 *ff*
 רִעְבוֹן 85 *u*
 רִעָה 64 *d*
 רִעָה 84^a *i*, 93 *ll*
 רִעָה 67 *o*, *s*
 רִעָהוּ 91 *k*
 רִעְתָּכֶם 91 *k*
 רִפְאָה 74 *h*
 רִפְאָתִי 75 *oo*
 רִפָּה 75 *pp*
 רִצְוִא 113 *s*²
 רִק 153
 רִשָּׁה (Moab.) 7 *c*

 ש pronunciation
 6 *i*, *k*
 שָׂאתָ 76 *b*, 93 *t*
 שָׂרָה, שָׂרִי 84^a *f*, 93 *ll*

 שָׂרִיד 93 *ss*
 שָׂה 96
 שָׂהֲרוֹן 86 *g*
 שֹׁמֶמָה 73 *f*
 שָׁחוּ 24 *d*, 93 *x*
 שָׁטָן without arti-
 cle 125 *f*, 126 *e*¹
 שָׁלָלוֹת 6 *k*
 שָׁלַק 66 *e*
 שָׁמַאל 23 *c*
 שָׁעִיר 82
 שָׁעַר 93 *gg*
 שָׁעֲרָה 82
 שָׂרִי (n. pr.) 80 *l*;
 in Ju 5¹⁵, 87 *g*

 ש as preforma-
 tive of noun 85 *o*
 שְׁ-, שֵׁ-, שִׁ-, שִׂ- (relative)
 36; uses of p. 485 note
 שְׁאִמִּים 72 *p*
 שְׁאִמָּךְ 23 *c*
 שְׁאִל 64 *e*
 שְׁאִלָּה (Is 7¹¹) 29 *u*
 שְׁאִלְוִנִי 64 *f*
 שְׁאִלָּךְ 64 *f*
 שְׁאִלְתִּיהוּ 64 *f*
 שְׁאִלְתִּיהוּ 44 *d*
 שְׁאִלְתֶּם 44 *d*, 64 *f*
 שְׁאִסְיָה 67 *s*
 שְׁבִיטִים 86 *g*¹
 שְׁבִיטָה ? 91 *e*
 שְׁבִיטָה ? 97 *c*
 שְׁבִרִי 61 *b*
 שְׁבִיחַ 69 *c*
 שְׁדִיד 20 *b*, 67 *cc*
 שְׁוֹא form of the
 name 10 *b*¹
 שׁוֹב infin. abs., er-

ror for יָשׁוּב 19 i, 69 g; in-
fin. constr. (once) of שׁוּב 72 q

שׁוּבִי (imper.) 72 s

שׁוּבִי 72 b

שׁוּבְתִי 75 z

שׁוּבְתִי 22 p, 64 a

שׁוּבָה 67 ee

שׁוּבָה 67 cc

שׁוּבָה 64 a

שׁוּבָה 95 h

שׁוּבָה 85 v

שׁוּבָה 93 v

שׁוּבָה 45 c

שׁוּבָה 61 c, 93 s

שׁוּבָה 65 g

שׁוּבָה 44 c

שׁוּבָה 90 n

שׁוּבָה 55 i, 85 o

שׁוּבָה 21 c

שׁוּבָה with accus.
121 d¹

שׁוּבָה subst. and
adj. 141 c²

שׁוּבָה 65 a

שׁוּבָה 52 o

שׁוּבָה 61 h, 65 d

שׁוּבָה 21 f, 28 e²

שׁוּבָה 129 h¹

שׁוּבָה 84^a g

שׁוּבָה 52 o

שׁוּבָה 93 qq

שׁוּבָה 129 h¹

שׁוּבָה 23 f

שׁוּבָה 26 o¹, 96

שׁוּבָה 90 k

שׁוּבָה (inf.) 67 r

שׁוּבָה 88 d, 96

שׁוּבָה see Additions
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שׁוּבָה 48 d

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 30 3 51 *g*
 6 26 *g*, 59 *f*
 8 85 *n*, 117 *g*, 154 *a*
 N.
 13 106 *n*
 15 114 *a*
 16 126 *y*
 18 17 *c*, 135 *m*
 19 96
 20 117 *bb*, 117 *ff*
 23 135 *m*
 27 111 *h N.*, 120 *f*,
 159 *dd*
 29 157 *c*
 31 120 *g*, 120 *h*
 32 112 *mm*
 34 109 *b*, 151 *e*
 37 117 *r*, 123 *b*
 38 10 *g*, 47 *k*, 76 *g*,
 95 *f*, 138 *c*, 145 *c*
 39 69 *f*, 145 *p*
 40 . 119 *aa N.*, 142 *f*
 41 91 *f*, 112 *ee*
 43 132 *g*
 31 2 138 *f*
 6 32 *i*
 7 67 *w*, 112 *h*
 8 145 *u*, 159 *r*, 159 *s*
 9 135 *o*
 13 127 *f*
 14 146 *g*, 146 *h*
 15 113 *r*
 19 67 *cc*
 23 118 *h*
 27 63 *c*, 111 *m*, 114 *n*
 N.
 28 75 *n*
 29 152 *i*
 30 51 *i*, 113 *p*

Genesis

31 32 59 *g*, 138 *f*
 34 111 *g*, 124 *h N.*,
 132 *h N.*
 35 106 *l*
 36 20 *d*, 37 *d*
 39 23 *f*, 74 *k*, 75 *oo*,
 75 *gg*, 90 *l*, 107 *e*
 40 67 *cc*, 76 *a*, 104 *g*,
 143 *a N.*, 167 *b N.*
 41 136 *d*
 42 106 *p*
 44 69 *x*
 45 117 *ii*
 47 1 *c*
 52 149 *c*, 167 *b*
 53 145 *i*
 32 1 103 *b*, 122 *g*
 3 136 *b*
 5 64 *h*, 68 *f*
 6 . 49 *e*, 104 *g*, 123 *b*
 7 116 *s*
 8 67 *p*, 144 *b*
 9 112 *p*, 145 *u*
 10 116 *o*
 11 106 *g*, 119 *n*, 133 *c*
 12 119 *aa N.*, 152 *w*,
 156 *c*
 13 107 *w*
 15 134 *c*
 16 28 *b*, 122 *d*, 132 *e*,
 135 *o*
 17 123 *d*
 18 9 *v*, 10 *g*, 60 *b*, 64 *f*,
 137 *b*
 19 124 *i*
 20 . 52 *n*, 61 *d*, 74 *h*
 25 51 *n*
 27 . 60 *f*, 65 *h*, 163 *c*
 30 20 *f*, 107 *h*
 31 90 *k*, 111 *e*, 156 *c*,
 157 *b*
 33 2 146 *e N.*
 3 66 *b*
 4 5 *n*
 5 37 *a*, 67 *a*, 117 *ff*,
 137 *a*
 7 146 *h*
 8 147 *a N.*
 10 . 112 *gg*, 158 *b N.*
 11 74 *g*
 13 60 *h*, 104 *g*, 122 *d*,
 126 *i*, 135 *o*
 18 118 *n*
 19 134 *g*
 34 5 112 *ss*
 7 45 *c*, 45 *g*
 8 140 *d*
 9 117 *w*
 15 72 *h*, 119 *p*
 16 44 *o*, 49 *k*

Genesis

34 19 64 *d*
 22 72 *ee*
 23 143 *a*
 24 145 *d*
 25 118 *q*, 131 *g*
 27 144 *g*
 30 128 *n*, 141 *d*
 31 107 *t*, 118 *v*
 35 1 65 *a*
 3 116 *d*
 7 . 124 *h N.*, 145 *i*
 8 126 *d*, 144 *d*
 11 145 *f*
 13 142 *g*
 14 138 *c*
 22 15 *p*, 45 *g*
 26 121 *b*
 36 7 133 *c*
 37 2 126 *x*
 3 112 *h*, 133 *b*
 4 115 *c*
 7 47 *l*, 116 *o*
 8 113 *q*, 150 *h*
 15 107 *f*, 116 *s*
 16 142 *f N.*
 17 117 *f*
 18 117 *w*
 19 128 *u*
 21 117 *ll*
 23 117 *cc*
 29 152 *l*
 30 116 *p*, 143 *a*
 32 150 *i*
 33 60 *d*, 113 *w*
 35 118 *n*
 38 5 112 *uu*
 9 . 13 *c*, 66 *i*, 112 *gg*
 11 118 *g*, 152 *w*
 17 159 *dd*
 21 126 *y*
 24 20 *m*, 97 *c*, 116 *s*,
 119 *y N.*
 25 32 *l*, 74 *i*, 116 *v*,
 142 *e*
 26 133 *b N.*
 28 144 *d*
 29 164 *g*
 39 1 142 *b*
 4 130 *d*, 155 *d*, 155 *n*
 5 145 *q*
 6 128 *x*
 8 137 *c*
 9 107 *t*, 112 *p*
 10 123 *c*
 11 35 *n*, 126 *s*
 14 . . 2 *b*, 29 *g*, 64 *g*
 16 72 *ee*
 18 114 *r*
 20 130 *c*
 22 116 *s*

Genesis

29 23 . . . 116 o, 152 l
40 4 . . . 139 h
5 . . . 129 h
7 . . . 84 f, 87 t
8 . . . 152 o
9 . . . 143 d
10 . . . 91 e, 164 g
13 . . . 72 w
14 105 b N., 106 n N.,
163 d
15 . . . 2 b
16 . . . 135 f
20 . . . 69 w, 71, 121 b
22 . . . 144 n
41 1 116 s, 119 cc, 131 d
6 . . . 116 l
8 . . . 64 b, 122 i
11 . . . 49 e
12 . . . 139 c
15 . . . 152 o, 157 a
21 . . . 91 f, 93 ss
25 . . . 116 d
26 . . . 126 x, 141 h
28 . . . 53 p
29 . . . 156 c
30 . . . 112 x
33 . . . 75 p, 75 hh
39 . . . 115 a
40 . . . 118 h
42 . . . 117 cc
43 85 h, 113 z, 129 h
49 . . . 75 f
51 . . . 52 m
57 . . . 145 e
42 1 . . . 54 f
2 . . . 109 g
4 . . . 75 rr
6 . . . 126 k
7 . . . 122 g
9 . . . 114 g
10 . . . 163 a
11 . . . 32 d, 91 f
13 133 g, 141 b, 152 m
16 . . . 110 c
18 . . . 110 f
19 . . . 134 d
23 . . . 126 r
25 93 m, 120 f, 124 l,
139 c
28 . . . 119 gg
30 . . . 124 i, 126 p
33 . . . 134 d
35 111 g, 116 u, 139 c
36 . . . 91 f, 135 p
37 . . . 159 r
43 3 . . . 113 n, 163 c
5 . . . 116 g, 159 v
6 . . . 150 i N.
7 107 k, 107 t, 113 g,
150 d

Genesis

43 9 . . . 159 o
10 . . . 106 p, 159 x
12 65 d, 72 bb, 93 pp,
131 e
14 . . . 29 u, 106 o
15 . . . 20 c, 131 q
16 . . . 65 b
17 . . . 90 c
18 . . . 116 d
21 . . . 49 e
26 . . . 14 d
27 . . . 141 c N.
28 . . . 67 g
29 . . . 67 n
33 . . . 119 gg
34 . . . 134 r, 144 n
44 1 . . . 47 m, 138 e
2 . . . 135 n N.
3 . . . 142 e, 144 c
4 138 e, 156 f, 164 b
5 . . . 119 m N.
9 . . . 112 ti, 138 f
10 . . . 153
12 . . . 156 d
16 . . . 20 d, 58 k
22 . . . 159 g
23 . . . 137 b
28 . . . 113 w
29 . . . 112 kk
31 . . . 112 oo
33 . . . 69 p, 109 b
34 . . . 152 w
45 4 . . . 138 d
7 . . . 117 n
8 . . . 119 hh
14 . . . 93 pp
23 . . . 102 g
46 2 . . . 124 e, 126 r
3 . . . 69 m
4 . . . 113 w
22 . . . 121 b
27 . . . 121 b, 132 g
30 . . . 108 b
34 . . . 127 e
47 3 . . . 145 r
6 . . . 120 e
9 . . . 128 a
11 . . . 69 v
17 . . . 93 ss
19 . . . 67 p
21 . . . 139 e N., 143 c
22 . . . 112 l
24 . . . 145 u
48 1 . . . 144 d
2 . . . 144 d N.
9 . . . 58 g, 60 d, 61 g
11 . . . 75 n, 115 b
14 . . . 141 e, 156 d
22 . . . 96, 106 m, 130 g
49 1 . . . 75 rr

Genesis

49 3 . . . 29 u
4 53 n, 124 b, 144 p,
147 c
8 . . . 135 e
10 . . . 20 h, 164 f
11 7 c, 52 l, 90 m, 91 e,
93 t, 96, 106 k,
116 x, 118 p
12 . . . 93 dd
13 . . . 95 i
15 . . . 117 b N.
17 . . . 20 h, 109 k
18 . . . 106 g
21 . . . 126 b
22 44 m, 80 g, 96,
145 k
23 . . . 67 m, 112 rr
25 . . . 117 ff, 119 c
27 29 l, 29 u, 107 g,
155 f
30 . . . 138 b N.
50 13 . . . 138 b N.
15 . . . 117 ff, 159 y
18 . . . 58 k
20 . . . 75 n
23 . . . 128 v
25 . . . 116 v
26 . . . 73 f, 144 d N.

Exodus

1 1 . . . 49 b N.
7 117 z, 121 d, 133 k
10 . . . 47 k, 75 rr, 112 y
12 . . . 107 e
14 . . . 119 o
16 . . . 67 k, 72 w, 76 i
18 . . . 47 l
19 . . . 47 l, 112 oo
20 . . . 47 l
21 . . . 135 o
22 . . . 127 b N.
2 1 . . . 117 d
2 . . . 117 h
3 20 h, 58 g, 114 m,
126 m
4 . . . 69 m, 71
6 . . . 131 m
9 . . . 69 x, 70 e, 135 m
10 . . . 111 d
15 . . . 126 r
16 . . . 75 w
17 . . . 60 d, 60 h, 135 o
20 . . . 46 f, 154 b
3 2 . . . 52 s, 119 t, 126 r
3 . . . 108 b, 126 v
8 . . . 128 x
9 . . . 117 r
10 . . . 110 i
11 . . . 107 u

Exodus

3	13	112 t
	15	133 l
	18	49 l
	19	69 x, 157 b N.
	20	63 m
	21	164 d
	22	95 k, 139 b
4	1	107 i
	2	37 c
	4	29 g, 64 c
	10	61 e, 128 t, 152 d
	12	75 ee
	13	130 d, 155 n
	14	159 g
	21	112 mm, 143 d
5	2	107 u
	5	112 cc
	7	68 h
	10	152 m
	11	138 e
	16	74 g, 116 t, 152 o
	18	163 a
	19	57 N., 135 k
	20	126 r
	21	66 i, 102 f
	23	113 v
6	3	119 t, 144 l N.
	6	112 z
	10	20 c N.
	14	124 r
	28	52 o, 130 d
7	9	109 h, 159 d
	11	131 l
	20	119 g
	27	52 s
8	1	20 m, 75 gg
	4	63 o
	10	123 e
	17	117 z
	20	107 b
	22	150 a, 159 w
9	4	130 d, 155 n
	9	117 z
	15	106 p
	16	115 e N.
	18	91 e, 127 f
	23	63 n, 69 x
	27	126 k
	30	107 c
	31	141 d
10	1	126 y
	3	51 l, 106 h
	4	65 e
	6	161 b
	7	107 c, 152 r
	8	137 a
	9	91 k, 127 e
	10	154 a N.
	11	135 p
	22	133 i

Exodus

10	28	69 v
11	6	135 o
	8	9 v
12	4	133 c, 139 c
	5	128 v
	6	88 c
	8	154 a N.
	12	124 g
	13	159 g
	14	67 n
	15	20 g, 112 mm, 116 w, 126 w
	16	146 c, 152 b
	18	134 o
	21	46 d
	23	126 l N.
	27	61 a
	31	20 g
	34	107 c
	39	117 ii
	43	119 m
	48	113 gg
	49	145 u
13	2	52 n
	3	113 bb
	7	118 k, 121 b
	8	138 h
	18	67 y
	21	53 q
14	2	93 q
	11	61 c, 152 y
	20	139 e N.
15	1	20 e, 107 c, 146 f
	2	58 k, 80 g, 117 b
	4	128 r
	5	58 g, 75 dd, 91 l
	6	90 l
	7	116 i
	8	15 c
	9	117 z, 120 g N., 154 a N.
	10	35 g
	11	20 e, 20 g
	12	107 d
	13	20 e, 64 d, 138 g
	14	47 m
	15	107 c
	16	20 e, 67 g, 90 g, 132 c, 138 g, 164 f
	17	20 h, 155 h
	20	47 l, 146 c
	21	20 e
	24	20 c
	26	113 o
16	2	72 ee
	6	112 oo
	7	32 d, 72 ee, 141 l N.
	8	72 ee
	12	88 c
	14	55 k

Exodus

16	16	118 h
	20	27 o, 67 n, 121 d
		N., 139 h N.
	21	123 c, 159 g
	22	134 e
	23	63 i, 76 d
	29	9 l, 69 p, 139 d
	32	117 cc
	33	125 b
17	1	115 f
	2	47 m
	3	72 ee, 117 e
	4	112 x
	6	49 k
	7	152 k
	12	141 d, 145 n
	14	126 s
18	4	119 i
	5	118 g
	9	75 r
	14	102 b
	18	75 n, 133 c
	20	155 d, 155 i
	21	97 h
	22	127 b
	23	49 i
	26	47 g, 112 g
	27	119 s
19	1	102 f
	3	53 n
	5	113 o
	8	135 r
	13	69 t
	15	134 o N.
	18	93 dd
	19	113 u
	23	72 w, 72 x
20	2	15 p, 138 d
	3	107 o, 132 h
	5	60 b, 129 e
	8	113 bb
	9	118 k
	15	107 o
	18	116 o
	20	135 m, 152 x
	24	127 e
	25	72 k, 117 kk
21	2	159 bb
	4	145 h, 146 e
	5	113 o
	8	61 b, 75 ee, 103 g
	12	104 g, 112 n, 116 w
	13	112 ii
	18	47 m
	20	126 r
	28	117 d, 121 b
	29	124 i
	31	29 i N.
	35	135 m
	36	159 cc

Exodus

21 37 . . . 47*f*, 123*a*
 22 1 . . . 124*n*
 3 . . . 51*k*, 113*o*
 4 . . . 53*n*
 5 . . . 117*g*
 8 . . . 138*e*
 11 . . . 113*o*
 17 . . . 94*d*
 22 . . . 113*m*, 163*c* N.
 25 . . . 135*o*
 29 . . . 60*d*
 30 . . . 131*k*
 23 4 . . . 21*h*
 8 . . . 107*g*
 9 . . . 158*a*
 16 . . . 61*a*
 21 . . . 51*n*, 67*y*
 22 . . . 113*o*
 24 . . . 60*b*
 26 . . . 94*d*
 27 . . . 117*ii* N.
 28 . . . 126*t*
 30 . . . 123*e*, 133*k*
 31 . . . 58*g*
 24 3 . . . 118*g*
 4 . . . 134*f*
 10 . . . 139*g*
 12 . . . 154*a* N.
 25 5 . . . 52*q*
 11 . . . 49*l*
 15 . . . 135*o* N.
 18 . . . 117*hh*
 28 . . . 117*hh*
 29 . . . 20*f*, 117*hh*
 31 . . . 63*h*
 33 . . . 123*d*
 35 . . . 123*d*
 40 . . . 121*c*
 26 2 . . . 134*n*
 3 . . . 123*d*, 139*e*
 19 . . . 123*d*
 33 . . . 49*h*, 53*r*, 133*i*
 27 11 . . . 134*n*
 28 9 . . . 117*d*
 10 . . . 134*c* N.
 17 . . . 131*d*
 20 . . . 117*y*
 21 . . . 139*c*
 32 . . . 165*a*
 43 . . . 165*a*
 29 1 . . . 66*g*
 2 . . . 126*m*
 12 . . . 119*w* N.
 31 . . . 128*p*
 35 . . . 103*b*
 30 4 . . . 103*g*
 20 . . . 117*y* N.
 32 . . . 73*f*
 31 4 . . . 63*i*
 13 . . . 60*f*

Exodus

31 17 . . . 51*m*
 18 . . . 124*g*
 32 1 . . . 126*aa*, 137*c*
 3 . . . 54*f*, 117*w*
 4 . . . 72*t*, 145*i*
 6 . . . 52*n*, 113*e*
 12 . . . 150*e*
 25 . . . 5*n*, 58*g*, 116*i*
 26 . . . 137*c*
 29 . . . 114*p*
 30 . . . 108*h*
 32 . . . 159*dd*, 167*a*
 33 . . . 137*c*
 34 . . . 112*oo*
 33 3 . . . 27*q*
 6 . . . 54*f*, 117*w*
 7 107*e*, 112*e*, 113*h*
 10 . . . 112*kk*
 11 . . . 156*c*
 12 . . . 75*gg*
 13 . . . 69*b* N., 91*k*
 14 . . . 150*a*
 19 . . . 67*ee*
 20 . . . 60*d*, 159*gg*
 23 . . . 124*b*
 34 1 . . . 124*q*
 10 . . . 122*q*
 13 . . . 47*m*
 19 . . . 51*g*
 24 . . . 51*l*
 34 . . . 159*k*
 36 1 . . . 103*g*
 29 . . . 112*ss*
 38 3 . . . 117*hh*
 5 . . . 95*n*
 39 17 . . . 131*d*
 18 . . . 60*h*
 23 . . . 165*a*

Leviticus

1 1 . . . 49*b* N.
 17 . . . 156*f*
 2 1 . . . 139*d*, 145*t*
 2 . . . 85*b*
 8 . . . 144*p* N.
 4 2 . . . 119*w* N., 139*d*
 23 . . . 69*w*
 5 9 . . . 75*hh*
 11 . . . 131*d*
 13 . . . 119*w* N.
 15 . . . 128*d*
 6 2 . . . 91*e*
 3 . . . 128*d*
 7 . . . 113*gg*
 8 . . . 118*g*, 135*o* N.
 9 . . . 118*g*
 13 . . . 131*c*
 7 8 . . . 117*d*
 35 . . . 53*l*, 155*l*

Leviticus

8 11 . . . 76*c*
 16 . . . 91*c*
 9 6 . . . 107*q*, 120*c*
 10 6 . . . 109*g*
 10 . . . 114*p*
 19 75*rr*, 100*k*, 59*g*
 11 7 . . . 67*g*
 23 . . . 88*f*
 35 . . . 53*u*
 42 . . . 5*n*
 43 . . . 74*k*
 44 . . . 54*k*
 13 4 . . . 91*e*
 19 . . . 131*i*
 34 . . . 127*e*
 55 . . . 54*h*
 14 34 . . . 101*a*
 43 . . . 53*l*
 46 . . . 53*l*
 55 . . . 54*h*
 15 29 . . . 53*r*
 16 8 . . . 30*n*
 17 14 . . . 145*l*
 18 7 . . . 75*hh*
 21 . . . 95*q* N.
 25 . . . 76*h*
 27 . . . 34*b* N.
 28 . . . 116*s*
 19 9 . . . 61*d*, 142*f* N.
 16 . . . 118*q*
 20 . . . 113*w*
 28 . . . 102*i*
 20 7 . . . 54*k*
 10 . . . 117*d*
 14 . . . 117*d*
 19 . . . 75*hh*
 21 4 . . . 67*t*
 9 . . . 67*l*, 164*d*
 21 . . . 142*f* N.
 23 17 . . . 14*d*
 22 . . . 61*d*
 39 . . . 61*a*
 42 . . . 126*r*
 24 5 . . . 49*l*, 117*ii*
 22 . . . 134*d*
 25 5 . . . 20*h*
 10 . . . 134*o* N.
 20 . . . 159*w*
 21 . . . 49*l*, 75*m*
 33 . . . 145*u* N.
 36 . . . 76*i*
 48 . . . 130*d*
 26 15 . . . 67*dd*
 18 . . . 52*p*
 25 . . . 49*l*
 33 . . . 52*n*
 34 . . . 67*y*, 75*m*
 37 . . . 118*s* N.
 42 . . . 128*d*, 131*r*
 43 . . . 67*y*

Leviticus

27 2 128 *d*
 23 127 *i*

Numbers

1 1 49 *b* N.
 2 124 *r*
 47 54 *l*
 2 33 54 *l*
 3 1 52 *o*, 130 *d*
 9 123 *e*
 26 117 *l*
 46 117 *m*, 134 *k*
 49 85 *t*
 4 2 113 *bb*
 23 45 *g*
 27 128 *v*
 5 2 102 *i*
 3 119 *e*
 10 117 *m*, 139 *c*
 17 128 *p*
 19 110 *i*
 20 167 *a*
 22 53 *g*, 66 *f*
 23 126 *s*
 27 112 *y*
 6 7 74 *b*, 96
 9 133 *k* N., 144 *e*
 26 109 *b*
 7 2 5 *n*
 11 123 *d*
 8 7 27 *g*, 64 *d*
 24 45 *g*
 9 20 131 *e*
 10 3 145 *c*
 4 134 *r* N.
 29 138 *b*
 35 5 *n*
 36 118 *f*
 11 4 35 *d*, 151 *a* N.
 5 106 *g*
 7 93 *h*
 10 117 *h*
 11 74 *k*
 12 69 *s*, 122 *f* N.
 15 32 *g*
 16 48 *i*
 17 119 *m*
 20 80 *h*
 25 23 *d*, 68 *f*, 72 *q*,
 120 *d* N., 126 *x*
 27 126 *r*
 29 154 *b*
 12 1 146 *g*
 2 133 *k* N.
 4 97 *i*
 6 128 *d*
 13 105 *b* N.
 14 154 *b*
 13 21 102 *f*

Numbers

13 27 118 *f*
 32 72 *l*
 14 2 106 *p*, 151 *e*
 16 69 *n*, 114 *s*
 17 5 *n*
 21 167 *b*
 24 119 *gg*
 27 72 *ee*
 31 76 *h*
 33 91 *l*
 34 123 *d*
 35 67 *g*
 40 58 *k*
 41 135 *p*
 15 15 161 *c*
 24 119 *w*
 29 143 *c*
 31 51 *k*
 35 113 *gg*
 16 13 54 *e*
 15 117 *d*
 22 100 *m*, 150 *m*
 29 121 *b*, 159 *c* N.,
 159 *q*
 17 6 72 *w*
 10 67 *t*, 72 *dd*
 17 139 *c*
 20 72 *ee*
 25 128 *v*
 27 106 *n*
 28 67 *e*, 67 *dd*, 150 *g*
 N.
 18 8 143 *e*
 26 72 *i*
 19 12 74 *b*
 20 3 65 *a*, 154 *b*
 5 59 *a*, 152 *a* N.
 18 152 *w*
 21 66 *i*
 21 1 75 *q*
 5 59 *a*
 9 117 *d*
 14 127 *f*
 15 112 *pp*
 17 63 *l*
 20 112 *ss*
 23 157 *b* N.
 24 112 *pp*
 27 54 *e*, 75 *hh*
 30 67 *g*, 69 *r*, 76 *f*
 35 164 *d*
 22 1 125 *h*
 6 20 *c*, 53 *u*, 67 *o*,
 120 *c*, 138 *e*
 12 103 *c*
 13 69 *x*, 115 *c*
 17 67 *o*
 19 109 *d*, *i*
 29 151 *e* N.
 33 103 *b*, 117 *e*

Numbers

22 38 114 *m*
 23 3 130 *d*, 137 *c*
 6 64 *c*, 67 *o*, 93 *aa*
 8 58 *g*
 10 151 *a*
 13 20 *o*, 48 *i*, 67 *o* N.,
 69 *x*, 100 *o* N.,
 152 *b*
 14 118 *f*
 15 51 *p*
 18 90 *o*, 96
 19 27 *g*, 64 *d*, 109 *i*,
 166 *a*
 20 159 *g*
 24 124 *n*
 25 10 *h*, 67 *g*
 24 1 123 *c*
 3 90 *o*, 96
 4 116 *k*
 5 148 *b*
 6 75 *x*
 7 54 *c*, 93 *z*
 10 113 *r*
 17 55 *f*
 22 29 *f*
 23 115 *k*
 24 93 *y*
 25 12 5 *n*, 128 *d*, 131 *r* N.
 26 62 54 *l*
 27 7 135 *o*
 29 39 93 *m*
 31 28 134 *d*
 32 6 150 *m*
 14 69 *h*
 17 72 *p*
 20 159 *e* N., 167 *b*
 23 47 *m*, 159 *q*
 30 68 *i*
 32 32 *d*
 42 103 *g*
 34 2 131 *f*
 7 75 *bb* N.
 14 23 *c*
 36 6 135 *o*

Deuteronomy

1 1 101 *a*
 2 118 *g*, 134 *f*
 3 134 *o*
 5 120 *g*, 120 *h*
 7 119 *s*
 13 119 *s*
 16 75 *t*, 112 *u*
 17 47 *m*, 53 *r*, 133 *c*,
 161 *c*
 18 117 *gg*
 19 118 *h*, 126 *v*
 21 69 *f*
 23 134 *f*

Deuteronomy

1 24 120 *h*
 27 115 *c*, 115 *f*
 28 124 *q*
 33 53 *q*
 34 65 *e*, 149 *b*
 40 119 *s*
 41 135 *n*
 44 67 *g*, 67 *y*, 107 *g*
 46 138 *c*
 2 9 75 *bb*, 118 *q*
 13 119 *s*
 14 134 *h*
 23 126 *w*
 24 20 *g*, 69 *f*, 75 *cc*,
 110 *h*, 120 *g*, *h*
 27 108 *c*, 123 *e*, 133 *k*,
 156 *d*
 28 49 *m*
 31 67 *w*, 69 *f*
 3 3 164 *d*
 5 128 *c*
 11 100 *i*
 13 125 *d* *N.*
 21 126 *k*
 26 69 *v*
 4 1 44 *d*, 69 *s*
 8 128 *p*
 10 115 *d*, 165 *b*
 15 52 *o*, 130 *d*
 20 74 *l*
 21 54 *k*
 26 51 *k*
 36 61 *d*
 39 72 *w*
 41 90 *c*
 5 3 135 *g*
 6 15 *p*, 138 *d*
 9 60 *b*
 12 113 *bb*
 19 120 *d* *N.*
 23 132 *h*
 24 32 *h*
 26 151 *c*
 6 3 118 *g*, 165 *b*
 7 119 *l*
 11 49 *m*, 96
 17 58 *g*
 7 5 52 *n*
 15 60 *d*
 16 72 *r*, 109 *d*
 24 53 *l*
 25 127 *e*
 8 3 44 *l*, 72 *o*
 5 61 *h*
 9 93 *aa*
 13 75 *u*
 14 116 *f*
 15 127 *i*
 16 44 *l*, 72 *o*
 19 106 *i*

Deuteronomy

9 7 138 *c*
 8 54 *k*
 18 54 *k*
 10 5 29 *g*
 17 102 *m*, 126 *v*, 133 *i*
 19 112 *aa*
 22 119 *i*
 11 2 117 *l*
 15 49 *m*
 30 150 *e*
 12 3 52 *n*
 14 61 *h*
 18 1 109 *d*
 3 60 *b*
 6 116 *f*
 9 109 *d*
 14 17 80 *k*
 15 2 113 *gg*
 7 119 *w* *N.*, 139 *d*
 14 93 *k*
 18 128 *c*, 133 *k*
 18 6 119 *g*
 13 93 *k*
 20 133 *k*
 17 2 167 *b*
 5 124 *o*
 6 144 *e*
 8 102 *h*
 14 44 *d*, 49 *m*
 17 109 *g*
 18 1 68 *c*, 131 *h*
 16 109 *d*
 20 2 61 *d*
 5 137 *c*
 8 121 *b*
 14 128 *h*
 21 3 121 *a*, 145 *q*
 4 121 *a*
 7 44 *m*, 145 *k*
 8 55 *k*
 10 135 *p*, 145 *m*
 11 49 *m*, 96, 130 *e*
 13 101 *a*
 22 1 159 *gg*
 19 17 *c*, 127 *e*
 23 131 *b*
 23 5 61 *d*, 130 *c* *N*¹
 11 20 *h*
 15 93 *ss*, 128 *p*
 25 96
 24 1 167 *b*
 4 54 *h*
 8 51 *n*
 10 23 *d*
 13 58 *i*
 25 2 96, 128 *v*
 12 67 *ee*
 13 123 *f*
 26 5 119 *i*
 12 53 *k*

Deuteronomy

27 2 72 *w*
 6 117 *hh*
 9 16 *b*
 28 24 58 *g*
 36 131 *d*
 43 23 *k*
 48 53 *l*, 145 *m*
 49 155 *d*
 52 67 *v*
 56 113 *d*, 142 *f* *N.*
 57 74 *i*
 59 91 *n*
 62 119 *i*
 66 75 *rr*
 67 151 *b*
 29 14 100 *o* *N.*
 15 157 *c*
 18 69 *h* *N.*
 21 167 *b*
 28 5 *n*
 30 4 92 *b* *N.*
 31 12 120 *e*
 16 93 *gg*
 21 164 *d*
 29 74 *g*
 32 1 2 *r*, 91 *l*, 117 *b*
 3 69 *o*
 4 126 *c*
 5 13 *c*, 152 *e*
 6 20 *g*, 75 *ll*, 100 *i*,
 152 *a* *N.*
 7 60 *f*, 87 *m*, 123 *c*
 8 53 *k*, 109 *k*
 10 58 *i*, 58 *k*
 11 52 *n*, 155 *g*
 15 20 *g*, 144 *p*, 154
N (*a*)
 17 144 *p*, 152 *a* *N.*,
 155 *e*, 155 *f*, 155 *h*
 18 75 *s*, 109 *k*
 20 108 *a*
 21 152 *a* *N.*
 22 69 *f*
 24 116 *h*, 116 *l*
 26 58 *a* *N.*, 75 *mm*
 27 139 *y*
 28 50 *e*, 93 *qq*, 124 *e*
 29 159 *x*
 30 134 *s*
 31 156 *b* *N.*
 32 20 *h*
 35 52 *o*, 145 *o*, 155 *l*
 36 29 *v*, 44 *f*, 152 *s*
 37 29 *l*, 75 *u*
 39 141 *h* *N*²
 40 93 *aa* *N.*
 41 159 *n*
 46 117 *gg*, 165 *b*
 50 110 *c*
 33 2 112 *pp*

Deuteronomy

33	3	116 s
	4	131 s
	9	19 c, 117 b N.
fr	116 i, 117 ll, 165 b	
12		44 c
16	48 d, 90 l, 90 m	
19	130 f, 133 h	
21	68 h, 76 d	
23	48 i, 69 f	
24	119 w, 126 m	
26	91 l	
27	131 s	
34	8	67 g
	9	116 f

Joshua

1	1	49 b N.
	2	131 n
	5	106 c
	7	107 p, 135 o N.
	8	91 k
12		125 d N.
2	2	63 i
	4	60 d, 135 p
	5	114 k
	6	59 g
10		117 c, 157 c
13		63 g, 96
15		126 r
16	63 c, 72 g, 74 k	
17	34 a N., 59 h	
18	59 h	
20	126 y	
3	5	54 k
	7	115 c
	9	66 c
	11	128 c
	12	134 g
	14	127 g
10		120 g
4	3	72 z
	4	134 k
	6	47 m
	7	9 v
	14	52 l
24		74 g
5	2	120 g, 124 g
	8	63 g
6	8	134 l
	9	113 u
	13	112 i, 113 i
	17	75 oo
	22	134 l
7	7	63 p, 113 x, 120 e, 154 b
	9	75 hh
15		121 b
21		127 i, 134 g
24		154 a N.

Joshua

7	25	117 ee
8	11	127 g
	25	146 c
28		20 g, 117 ii
33		127 f, 127 i
9	2	118 q
8		137 a
12	54 f, 72 m, 112 ss, 126 aa	
20		113 z
24		75 hh
10	13	107 c, 135 p, 150 e
	17	93 oo
	24	23 i, 138 i
	36	90 e
11	8	126 y
	14	53 l
12	9	2 r
13	5	127 f
	7	125 d N.
	14	145 u N.
14	1	64 d
	7	72 aa, 115 i
	8	75 ii
	11	115 k, 161 c
15	3	112 ss
	5	90 d
	12	90 f
	14	134 l
	18	16 f
19	117 x, 117 ff, 126 y	
	21	90 e
38		21 e N.
56		21 e N.
16	2	112 ss
	3	126 y
17	11	97 c, 117 l
18	12	90 i, 112 ss
	13	126 y
	20	47 f
19	11	112 ss
	13	90 i
21	11	91 k
22	3	112 ss
	9	68 i
	17	117 aa
	20	150 m
	25	130 o N.
23	5	60 a
	15	103 b
24	7	145 m
	14	75 oo
	19	124 h, 145 i

Judges

1	1	49 b N.
	2	106 m
	3	49 h
	6	93 r

Judges

1	7	116 k, 121 d, 141 i, 156 b
	12	112 ii
	15	59 h, 126 y
	19	114 l
	22	145 c
	28	113 n, 164 d
2	1	107 b
	18	112 hh
	19	112 e, 112 ee
3	23	112 tt
	24	67 v, 164 b
	25	116 d
	28	129 e
4	4	131 b
	6	150 e
	8	49 m
	18	72 s, 72 t, 126 r
	19	74 k
	20	58 g, 64 f, 110 k, 147 c, 150 n, 152 k
	21	72 p, 72 t
	24	113 h N., 113 u
5	1	2 r, 73 e, 117 b, 146 g
	4	117 z
	5	67 dd, 136 d N.
	7	20 i, 36, 44 h N.
	8	107 b, 149 e
	10	87 e, 130 a
	12	10 g, 72 s
	13	69 g
	14	93 aa
	15	10 g, 87 g, 93 bb
	17	117 bb
	21	118 g
	22	20 h, 123 e
	24	119 w
	26	47 k
	27	154 a N.
	28	64 h
	29	75 w, 128 i, 133 h
6	9	49 c, 49 e
	10	49 e
	11	127 d
	13	159 dd
	14	126 y
	16	49 l
	17	36
	18	114 g, 135 a
	19	53 n, 156 d
	20	34 f
	25	126 w, 128 c
	28	63 p
	31	73 e, 100 m
	36	116 g, 159 v
	39	109 a N.
7	3	137 c
	4	136 b
	6	93 n

Judges

7 8 131 s
 12 36
 13 112 q
 19 113 z
 20 147 c
 23 102 b
 25 124 r
 8 1 74 h, 155 d, 155 h
 2 20 m
 4 118 n
 10 37 e
 11 130 a N.
 18 126 o, 161 c
 19 63 q, 159 x
 32 125 h, 128 c
 9 8 113 o
 9 63 k, 100 n, 106 n
 10 46 d, 46 e
 15 159 v
 16 167 a
 17 119 bb
 28 137 a
 29 48 l, 76 e, 151 b,
 154 b
 39 69 p
 41 35 d
 45 117 ee
 48 157 a
 53 27 o, 67 p, 125 b
 55 145 d
 10 4 96
 11 167 b
 18 137 c
 11 5 21 b
 10 159 n N.
 18 47 m
 20 157 b N.
 25 51 i, 133 a N.
 29 118 f
 33 134 e
 34 135 o, 135 o N.
 35 119 i
 36 124 e
 39 144 b
 12 5 100 m, 112 ee
 6 2 w
 7 124 o
 13 2 125 b
 5 80 d
 6 44 d, 64 f, 127 e
 8 52 s
 12 135 m
 16 119 m
 21 75 y
 23 90 h N.
 25 61 c
 14 2 90 e
 3 135 a
 4 122 g, 135 p
 6 152 p

Judges

14 15 9 v, 69 n, 150 g
 N.
 17 134 m
 18 37 d, 90 f, 93 x,
 133 a
 15 1 119 n
 7 163 c, 163 d N.
 12 152 w
 13 113 p
 14 164 b
 16 5 66 h
 9 126 o
 10 67 dd
 11 113 o
 13 28 c N.
 14 127 g
 15 141 e
 16 10 g, 52 d, 60 d,
 164 d
 18 112 tt
 20 123 c
 25 52 n
 26 67 v
 27 126 x
 28 34 a N., 88 f, 97 b
 N.
 30 72 r
 17 2 32 h, 121 f
 3 154 N.
 18 3 142 e
 19 20 g, 150 g
 23 67 g, 67 y
 29 52 q
 30 5 n
 19 1 131 b
 2 75 t
 5 9 u, 64 c N.,
 117 ff
 6 110 h, 120 d
 8 64 c
 9 91 k
 11 19 i
 13 69 x, 73 d
 18 118 e N.
 20 29 g, 73 e
 22 54 c, 130 e
 30 112 ee, oo, 116 w
 20 2 29 f
 15 54 l, 155 d
 16 90 i N.
 31 66 f
 32 20 h
 38 75 gg
 39 118 u
 43 22 s
 44 117 m
 21 7 131 n
 9 54 l
 16 123 b
 21 145 p

1 Samuel

1 1 49 b N., 125 b,
 125 h, 156 b
 2 134 l, 145 o
 3 112 dd, 23 c
 4 112 g, 126 s
 6 20 h, 22 s, 59 g,
 117 p
 7 107 e, 123 c
 8 37 e, 102 l
 9 91 e, 113 e N.,
 141 e
 10 128 y
 11 113 o
 12 112 uu, 114 n N.,
 164 d
 13 20 g
 14 47 o
 16 128 v
 17 23 f, 95 h
 20 44 d, 64 f
 22 112 oo
 24 135 i
 27 95 h
 28 64 f
 2 1 2 r, 106 g
 3 103 g, 120 g, 124 e,
 133 k, 152 z
 4 146 a
 6 111 u, 116 x
 8 107 g, 116 x, 135 p
 9 67 g
 13 112 oo, 116 w,
 131 c, 159 t, 164 a
 14 131 h, 132 g
 15 112 oo
 16 23 e, 103 g, 106 m,
 112 l, 113 w, 159 f,
 159 dd
 18 116 k, 118 g, 121 d
 19 112 e
 20 145 u
 22 112 k
 23 126 y
 24 116 s
 25 117 x
 26 113 u
 27 113 g, 114 e, 150 e
 28 49 e, 113 z, 119 w
 29 133 b
 30 113 p, 116 g, 149 a
 31 112 x, 116 d
 33 53 g, 118 g, 145 e
 3 2 107 b, 120 b
 3 107 c, 152 r
 5 46 c, 120 g, 120 h
 7 107 c
 10 54 k, 118 u, 123 c
 11 67 g, 67 p, 116 w,
 155 d
 12 113 h

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- 3 13 112 *gg*, 130 *c N.*,
119 *p*
14 149 *c*
17 149 *d*
21 75 *y*
4 1 131 *c*, 145 *c*
3 127 *g*
5 72 *h*, 145 *c*
6 37 *f*
7 125 *e*
8 132 *h*, 136 *d*, 147 *d*
10 124 *b*, 145 *o*
12 127 *e*
15 44 *m*, 145 *k*, 145 *n*
16 126 *k*
19 69 *m*, 112 *tt*
21 152 *q*
5 3 116 *d*
7 112 *rr*
8 116 *w*
9 67 *v*, 130 *d*, 164 *d*
10 115 *c*, 145 *m*
11 117 *e*
6 4 118 *h*, 135 *r*
7 135 *o*
9 155 *d*, 155 *f*, 159 *q*
10 60 *h*, 75 *gg*
11 154 *a N.*
12 . 47 *k*, 71, 75 *n*,
113 *s*
14 127 *d*
18 126 *x*
19 119 *k*
7 9 131 *k*
10 116 *u*
11 119 *c*
12 111 *d*
14 72 *k*
16 112 *f*
17 29 *i N.*
8 11 72 *l*
12 114 *p*
19 20 *g*, 163 *a*
9 2 133 *a*
3 . 96, 117 *d*, 130 *g*
4 104 *g*, 152 *k*
7 159 *w N.*
9 107 *e*
10 120 *g*
11 116 *u*
13 35 *n*, 47 *m*
17 138 *b*
20 73 *e*, 134 *m*, 143 *c*
21 133 *g*
24 138 *i*, 138 *k*
10 3 97 *c*
4 134 *n*
5 29 *g*, 101 *a*, 109 *k*,
112 *s*
6 75 *gg*

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- 10 8 112 *v*
9 112 *uu*
11 20 *h*, 111 *g*, 116 *s*,
116 *w*, 136 *c*
12 154 *b*
13 75 *gg*
14 152 *k*
16 113 *o*
18 135 *a*
23 133 *b*
24 22 *s*, 100 *l*
25 126 *s*
27 136 *b*
11 1 125 *h*
2 135 *p*
5 107 *v*
11 111 *g*, 116 *w*
12 150 *a*
12 3 137 *b*
7 51 *p*
13 44 *d*, 64 *f*
14 167 *a*
17 114 *o*
19 107 *p*
20 135 *a*
23 126 *x*, 135 *g*
24 75 *oo*
25 29 *o*, 113 *o*
13 3 2 *b*
6 93 *w*
7 119 *gg*
8 69 *t*
11 67 *dd*
12 54 *k*
13 159 *dd*
15 93 *oo*, 132 *g*
17 118 *g*, 126 *l*, 126 *x*,
134 *l*
19 152 *w*
20 118 *e*
21 . 35 *n*, 96, 112 *dd*
22 112 *ee*
23 92 *g*
14 1 126 *s*
13 72 *m*
14 118 *s N.*
15 95 *g*
16 129 *b*
19 111 *h*, 113 *u*, 164 *d*
21 2 *b*
22 53 *n*
24 76 *d*, 112 *w*
27 72 *k*
28 72 *t*
29 126 *x*
30 106 *p*, 113 *o*, 159 *x*
33 . 23 *c*, 74 *i*, 75 *oo*
34 96
36 48 *g N.*, 67 *dd*, 109 *d*
38 66 *c*

1 Samuel

- 14 39 . 100 *o N.*, 149 *c*
43 113 *p*
44 149 *d*
45 119 *w N.*
49 47 *b*
52 112 *ll*
15 1 9 *v*
2 106 *g*
4 93 *x*
5 68 *i*
6 20 *g*, 22 *s*, 60 *f*,
68 *h*, 154 *a N.*
9 67 *t*, 75 *y*, 132 *d*,
135 *c*
13 121 *f*
14 37 *f*, 154 *b*
16 105 *a*
19 72 *ff*
20 157 *c*
23 29 *g*, 53 *l*, 111 *h*,
119 *x*
32 118 *q*
33 119 *w*
16 1 65 *h*, 127 *d*
2 114 *g*, 159 *g*
3 138 *e*
4 141 *n*, 145 *u*, 150 *a*
7 35 *g*, 132 *c*
8 125 *i*
11 133 *g*
12 128 *x*
14 112 *h*
16 . 120 *b N.*, 124 *i*
18 128 *t*, 129 *c*
20 128 *q*
23 . 112 *ee*, 112 *oo*,
126 *x*
17 5 121 *d*, 131 *q*
12 126 *x*
14 133 *g*, 134 *l*
15 113 *u*, 118 *g*
16 113 *k*
17 126 *x*, 134 *n*
20 112 *rr*
21 122 *i*
24 111 *h*
25 22 *s*, 53 *n*, 60 *g*,
100 *l*, 114 *g*, 116 *s*
26 34 *f*, 132 *h*
28 136 *c*
32 112 *p*
34 . 112 *kk*, 126 *r*,
154 *a N.*
38 112 *tt*
40 132 *c*
41 113 *u*
43 124 *o*
46 145 *e*
47 53 *g*, 145 *c*
48 112 *uu*

1 Samuel

17 50 111 *k*
 55 . . . 126 *aa*, 136 *c*,
 137 *b*
 58 . . . 126 *e*, 126 *f*
 18 1 60 *d*
 9 55 *c*
 10 . . . 54 *e*, 118 *u*
 15 157 *c*
 18 137 *a*
 19 . . . 114 *q*, 115 *e* N.
 21 134 *r*
 22 59 *c*
 23 114 *a*
 28 . . . 59 *g*, 59 *i*
 29 . . . 68 *h*, 69 *n*
 19 1 115 *a*
 2 . . . 51 *n*, 63 *c*
 3 119 *l*
 10 126 *y*
 13 . . . 124 *h*, 132 *h* N.
 17 . . . 59 *h*, 150 *e*
 22 126 *x*
 23 . . . 113 *t*, 135 *g*
 20 1 . . . 37 *d*, 116 *s*
 2 . . . 103 *g*, 156 *f*
 3 . . . 118 *x*, 149 *a* N.
 6 51 *e*, 51 *i*, 113 *n*,
 159 *s*
 8 142 *g*
 9 150 *a*
 10 . . . 150 *i*, 151 *a*
 11 118 *f*
 13 . . . 117 *l* N., 149 *d*
 16 117 *g*
 19 120 *c*
 20 127 *e*
 23 143 *a*
 26 152 *d*
 27 . . . 80 *g* N.
 31 . . . 128 *v*, 138 *c*
 33 115 *c*
 37 150 *e*
 40 72 *y*
 42 . . . 134 *d*, 135 *f*
 21 2 90 *i*, 119 *gg*, 152 *o*
 3 . . . 55 *b*, 137 *c*
 5 119 *e* N.
 6 123 *b*
 8 129 *h*
 9 150 *c* N.
 10 . . . 102 *g*, 126 *r*
 14 60 *d*, 75 *bb*, 131 *m*
 N.
 16 150 *b*
 22 2 75 *oo*
 5 119 *s*
 7 117 *n*, 124 *p*, 153
 9 90 *i*
 13 113 *e*
 15 . . . 67 *w*, 150 *b*

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23 1 93 *r*
 7 128 *a*
 10 . . . 113 *o*, 117 *n*
 11 . . . 150 *g* N., 150 *n*
 15 90 *e*
 19 150 *e*
 21 121 *f*
 22 63 *n*, 135 *b*, 144 *d*
 N.
 23 100 *o* N.
 28 22 *s*
 24 5 138 *b*
 6 117 *d*
 11 9 *v*, 112 *rr*, 144 *o*
 12 114 *r*, 154 *N*. (c)
 18 117 *ff*
 19 . . . 112 *hh* N., 117 *c*
 25 1 21 *d*
 2 67 *cc*
 5 . . . 44 *d*, 64 *f*
 7 53 *p*
 8 . . . 72 *o*, 74 *k*, 76 *g*
 10 . . . 67 *ee*, 126 *w*
 11 112 *cc*
 14 72 *ff*
 15 130 *d*
 18 . . . 24 *b*, 75 *v*, 132 *g*
 20 . . . 47 *k*, 112 *uu*
 22 149 *b*
 24 135 *g*
 25 107 *p*
 26 65 *f*, 113 *e*, 113 *gg*,
 144 *i* N., 149 *a* N.
 27 143 *d*, 145 *o*, 145 *o*
 N.
 28 119 *w* N.
 29 143 *c*
 31 114 *p*
 33 75 *gg*
 34 76 *h*, 106 *p*, 149 *d*
 26 9 . . . 112 *h*, 151 *a*
 12 . . . 87 *s*, 152 *l*
 13 156 *c*
 14 155 *m*
 16 . . . 117 *l*, 117 *m* N.
 19 72 *aa*
 20 117 *d*
 22 127 *f*
 27 9 . . . 112 *e*, 112 *dd*
 10 150 *a* N.
 28 3 . . . 106 *f*, 154 *a* N.
 7 52 *d*, 96, 128 *u*,
 130 *e*
 8 10 *h*, 46 *e*
 10 20 *h*
 13 132 *h* N. i
 15 48 *d*, 59 *f*, 75 *ll*,
 102 *l*
 24 68 *h*
 29 6 149 *c*

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29 8 . . . 49 *m*, 130 *c*
 10 144 *c*
 30 2 156 *f*
 6 144 *b*
 8 . . . 150 *a* N., 154 *a*
 13 . . . 134 *b* N.
 24 161 *c*
 26 91 *k*
 28 10 *g*
 31 2 53 *n*
 7 103 *g*
 9 124 *r*

2 Samuel

1 4 157 *c*
 6 . . . 75 *rr*, 113 *o*
 9 . . . 72 *m*, 128 *e*
 10 49 *c*, 61 *b*, 107 *b* N.
 18 150 *e*
 21 126 *m*, 130 *a*, 152 *g*
 23 . . . 44 *c*, 154 *a* N.
 24 116 *f*
 25 148 *b*
 26 75 *oo*
 2 5 121 *f*
 16 144 *d*
 20 136 *d*
 21 . . . 64 *c*, 119 *s*
 22 . . . 102 *l*, 150 *e*
 23 . . . 111 *g*, 116 *w*
 26 44 *g*
 27 159 *ee*
 32 . . . 72 *r*, 118 *g*
 3 1 . . . 113 *u*, 145 *c*
 2 129 *g*
 8 . . . 75 *aa*, 111 *e*
 10 114 *o*
 11 115 *d*
 16 113 *u*
 18 . . . 113 *dd* N.
 25 117 *h*
 27 117 *ll*
 30 117 *n*
 33 107 *t*
 34 . . . 152 *d*, 152 *e*
 39 141 *e*
 4 1 145 *p*
 2 128 *c*
 4 128 *h*
 7 141 *e*
 10 . . . 111 *h*, 114 *l* N.
 11 117 *d*
 5 2 74 *k*
 6 . . . 35 *g*, 106 *m*
 8 . . . 35 *g*, 167 *a*
 10 125 *h*
 21 146 *f*
 24 109 *k*, 112 *z*, 117 *d*
 6 1 68 *h*

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6	2	125 c
3		126 z
6		117 g
16		112 <i>uu</i>
20		75 <i>y</i> , 148 <i>b</i>
7	5	112 <i>r</i> , 150 <i>d</i>
14		112 <i>mm</i>
29		120 <i>d</i>
8	2	126 <i>m</i>
3		17 <i>b</i>
4		69 <i>v</i>
8		131 <i>e</i>
9	1	165 <i>a</i>
3		128 <i>y</i> , 152 <i>s</i>
7		131 <i>b</i>
9		145 <i>h</i> , 146 <i>a</i>
12		54 <i>k</i>
11	1	23 <i>g</i>
4		141 <i>e</i>
11		149 <i>a</i> N.
19		142 <i>f</i> N ²
20		157 <i>c</i>
24		69 <i>r</i> , 75 <i>rr</i>
25		117 <i>l</i>
27		60 <i>d</i>
12	1	72 <i>p</i>
2	126 <i>d</i> , 126 <i>x</i> , 146 <i>f</i>	
3		152 <i>p</i>
6		97 <i>h</i>
9		144 <i>n</i>
10		114 <i>g</i>
14		52 <i>o</i>
15		51 <i>m</i>
16		112 <i>f</i> , 117 <i>q</i>
17		75 <i>rr</i>
28	61 <i>f</i> , 135 <i>a</i> , 150 <i>m</i>	
	N.	
30		127 <i>e</i>
13	4	p. 457 N ¹
5		75 <i>cc</i>
8		72 <i>t</i>
12		75 <i>hh</i> , 107 <i>g</i>
14		117 <i>u</i>
15		117 <i>q</i>
17		64 <i>c</i>
18	47 <i>l</i> , 112 <i>tt</i> N., 156 <i>b</i>	
19		113 <i>t</i>
20	84 <i>a</i> <i>s</i> , 118 <i>p</i> , 154 <i>a</i> N	
23		131 <i>d</i>
25		152 <i>g</i> , 165 <i>a</i>
26		159 <i>dd</i>
28		72 <i>w</i> , 159 <i>g</i>
31		116 <i>k</i>
32		73 <i>f</i>
39		131 <i>g</i> , 144 <i>o</i>
14	2	75 <i>m</i> , 136 <i>d</i>
3		76 <i>g</i>
4		126 <i>e</i>
6		60 <i>d</i>

2 Samuel

14	7	73 <i>b</i>
10		116 <i>w</i>
11		75 <i>ff</i> , 119 <i>w</i> N.
13		92 <i>b</i> , 115 <i>i</i>
19		47 <i>b</i> N., 70 <i>c</i>
21		106 <i>m</i>
26		118 <i>h</i> , 134 <i>g</i>
30		71
31		102 <i>l</i>
15	2	111 <i>g</i> , 127 <i>b</i> N.
4		112 <i>p</i> , 151 <i>a</i>
5		10 <i>g</i> N ^s
7		10 <i>g</i>
12		113 <i>u</i>
16		117 <i>d</i>
20		150 <i>a</i>
21	93 <i>aa</i> N., 130 <i>c</i> , 163 <i>d</i>	
23		117 <i>t</i>
25		117 <i>e</i>
27		72 <i>s</i>
32		116 <i>k</i> , 121 <i>d</i>
33		49 <i>l</i> , 75 <i>w</i>
34		67 <i>dd</i> , 143 <i>d</i>
37		93 <i>ll</i>
16	1	134 <i>n</i>
5		112 <i>tt</i> , 113 <i>t</i>
7		128 <i>t</i>
13		93 <i>gg</i> , 112 <i>f</i>
17	5	135 <i>f</i>
8		117 <i>h</i>
9		144 <i>e</i>
10		67 <i>t</i>
11		106 <i>i</i>
12		109 <i>d</i> , 122 <i>l</i>
13		106 <i>o</i>
15		135 <i>a</i>
16		121 <i>a</i>
17		112 <i>h</i> , 126 <i>r</i>
22		96, 130 <i>g</i>
23		51 <i>m</i>
26		118 <i>g</i>
18	3	63 <i>i</i> , 97 <i>g</i>
11	114 <i>l</i> , 119 <i>aa</i> , 154 <i>b</i> , 159 <i>w</i> N.	
12		137 <i>c</i> , 154 <i>b</i>
13		159 <i>cc</i>
14		108 <i>c</i> , 156 <i>c</i>
16		22 <i>s</i>
18		117 <i>d</i>
19		119 <i>ff</i>
22		74 <i>i</i>
23		110 <i>b</i>
29		114 <i>f</i> , 150 <i>a</i>
33		133 <i>i</i> N.
19	1	135 <i>f</i> , 151 <i>b</i>
6		70 <i>c</i> , 128 <i>a</i>
13		112 <i>i</i>
14		68 <i>h</i>
18		97 <i>e</i> , 112 <i>tt</i>

2 Samuel

19	19	53 <i>q</i>
20		115 <i>g</i>
25		52 <i>l</i> , 127 <i>f</i>
27		122 <i>f</i>
30		106 <i>i</i>
43		76 <i>b</i>
44		67 <i>w</i>
20	1	147 <i>c</i>
5		68 <i>i</i>
8		142 <i>e</i>
9		68 <i>h</i> , 141 <i>c</i>
11		137 <i>c</i>
12		112 <i>oo</i> , 116 <i>e</i>
13		69 <i>w</i>
14		125 <i>h</i>
18		113 <i>w</i>
19		130 <i>f</i> N.
20		149 <i>a</i> , 149 <i>e</i>
21		53 <i>s</i> , 155 <i>e</i>
23		16 <i>b</i> , 127 <i>f</i>
21	2	74 <i>h</i>
3		110 <i>i</i>
4		120 <i>c</i>
9		118 <i>i</i>
11		121 <i>a</i>
12		75 <i>rr</i>
15		72 <i>t</i>
20		35 <i>n</i>
22		121 <i>b</i>
22	1	2 <i>s</i> , 53 <i>l</i> , 130 <i>d</i>
24		49 <i>e</i>
27		67 <i>l</i>
33		35 <i>d</i> , 131 <i>r</i>
37		103 <i>d</i>
38		108 <i>e</i>
40		68 <i>k</i>
41		19 <i>i</i> , 116 <i>w</i>
44		87 <i>f</i>
23	1	2 <i>s</i> , 29 <i>g</i>
3		116 <i>w</i>
4		152 <i>u</i>
5		135 <i>m</i> , 150 <i>a</i> N.
6		91 <i>f</i> , 143 <i>a</i>
7		113 <i>w</i>
8		47 <i>b</i> , 87 <i>f</i>
11		127 <i>e</i>
13		134 <i>k</i>
17		167 <i>a</i>
19		150 <i>d</i>
24	3	145 <i>n</i> , 154 <i>b</i>
6		90 <i>i</i>
11		93 <i>rr</i>
13		145 <i>h</i>
16		142 <i>f</i>
21		165 <i>a</i>
22		93 <i>pp</i>
23		106 <i>m</i>
24		75 <i>n</i> , 113 <i>p</i>

1 Kings

1 1 . . . 49 *b*, 67 *g*
 2 . . . 131 *b*, 144 *f*
 5 . . . 116 *o*
 6 . . . 119 *w N*.
 12 . . . 117 *p*
 14 . . . 116 *u*
 15 . . . 80 *d*, 90 *c*
 20 . . . 135 *g*
 21 . . . 146 *d*
 24 . . . 150 *a*, 150 *b*
 26 . . . 135 *g*
 27 . . . 150 *f*
 31 . . . 156 *c*
 40 . . . 117 *g*, 145 *c*
 41 . . . 146 *a*
 47 . . . 70 *e*
 52 . . . 119 *w N*.
 2 2 . . . 116 *p*
 3 . . . 95 *u*, 114 *o*
 6 . . . 109 *d*
 7 . . . 116 *h*
 17 . . . 131 *g*
 18 . . . 135 *a*
 21 . . . 121 *b*
 22 . . . 110 *a*, 154 *b*
 23 . . . 149 *d*
 26 75 *z*, 93 *ss*, 118 *f*,
 128 *t*
 30 . . . 75 *u*
 31 . . . 128 *w*
 36 . . . 80 *i*, 90 *i*
 40 . . . 90 *i*
 42 . . . 72 *aa*
 43 . . . 128 *h*
 3 4 . . . 107 *b*
 7 . . . 114 *c*
 8 . . . 166 *b*
 11 . . . 112 *tt*
 12 . . . 166 *b*
 15 . . . 71
 16 . . . 107 *c*
 18 . . . 128 *f*, 135 *r*
 26 . . . 46 *e*
 4 5 . . . 93 *ll*
 7 . . . 112 *l*
 12 . . . 90 *i*
 13 . . . 128 *c*
 14 . . . 90 *d*
 5 1 . . . 144 *i*
 3 . . . 131 *c*
 7 . . . 112 *dd*
 9 . . . 131 *e*
 12 . . . 134 *g*
 17 . . . 117 *h*
 20 . . . 68 *c*
 25 . . . 23 *f*, 107 *e*
 29 . . . 131 *b*
 6 1 . . . 134 *h*, 134 *o*
 6 . . . 63 *i*
 7 . . . 131 *c*

1 Kings

6 16 . . . 117 *d*
 19 . . . 66 *i*
 7 6 . . . 92 *g*
 7 . . . 118 *p*, 126 *w*
 8 . . . 118 *g*
 14 . . . 41 *o*, 131 *b*
 15 . . . 117 *hh*
 27 . . . 134 *l*
 28 . . . 20 *m*
 37 . . . 91 *f*
 8 1 . . . 107 *c*, 109 *k*
 5 . . . 119 *z*, 145 *c*
 12 . . . 138 *e*
 13 . . . 118 *k*
 29 . . . 91 *k*
 30 . . . 119 *g*, 159 *g*
 31 . . . 145 *o*
 32 . . . 118 *g*
 33 . . . 158 *d*
 44 . . . 75 *w*
 46 . . . 49 *m*
 48 . . . 44 *i*
 64 . . . 133 *c*
 9 3 . . . 75 *w*
 8 . . . 67 *g*
 11 . . . 75 *oo*
 17 . . . 126 *y*
 25 . . . 112 *dd*, 113 *z*
 26 . . . 122 *t*
 10 9 . . . 115 *d*
 11 . . . 35 *m*
 12 . . . 117 *ii*
 21 . . . 152 *y N*.
 22 . . . 74 *i*
 23 . . . 119 *u*
 24 . . . 164 *b N*.
 27 . . . 126 *p*
 29 . . . 75 *t*
 11 1 . . . 10 *h*
 3 . . . 145 *o*, 145 *p*
 5 . . . 122 *f*
 8 . . . 131 *h N*.
 9 . . . 138 *k*
 12 . . . 135 *p*
 15 . . . 52 *f*
 16 . . . 53 *l*
 19 . . . 54 *k*
 21 . . . 165 *a*
 25 . . . 117 *m N*.
 30 . . . 117 *ii*
 31 . . . 134 *l*
 33 . . . 87 *e*
 34 . . . 117 *ii*
 39 . . . 23 *d*
 41 . . . 150 *e*
 12 2 . . . 138 *d*
 6 . . . 64 *b*, 117 *gg*
 8 . . . 116 *g*, 118 *g*
 10 . . . 93 *q*
 12 . . . 74 *k*

1 Kings

12 15 . . . 115 *a*
 28 . . . 133 *c*
 31 . . . 117 *d*
 32 21 *d*, 65 *e*, 122 *pp*
 13 3 . . . 112 *tt*
 7 . . . 10 *h*
 11 . . . 125 *b*
 12 . . . 155 *d*
 14 . . . 126 *r*
 18 . . . 156 *d*
 30 . . . 147 *d*
 33 . . . 109 *f*, 109 *g*
 14 2 . . . 32 *h*
 3 . . . 65 *g*
 5 . . . 94 *d*, 112 *z*
 6 . . . 118 *p*, 121 *d N*¹
 10 . . . 64 *d*
 12 . . . 72 *r N*.
 13 . . . 129 *g*
 14 . . . 136 *d N*.
 15 . . . 91 *n*
 16 . . . 23 *c*
 17 . . . 116 *u*
 19 . . . 129 *d*, 150 *e*
 21 . . . 10 *g*
 24 . . . 127 *g*
 15 13 . . . 119 *x*
 23 . . . 118 *q*
 25 . . . 134 *p*
 16 2 . . . 74 *l*
 10 . . . 134 *o*
 24 . . . 29 *f*, 88 *b*
 25 . . . 67 *x*
 31 . . . 150 *d*
 17 1 . . . 93 *pp*
 3 . . . 119 *s*
 9 . . . 90 *i*
 11 . . . 66 *g*
 13 . . . 75 *m*
 14 . . . 66 *i*, 75 *rr*
 15 . . . 32 *l*
 16 . . . 146 *a*
 18 5 . . . 119 *w N*.
 10 . . . 107 *e*
 27 . . . 53 *g*, 67 *y*
 32 . . . 117 *ii*, 117 *kk*
 43 . . . 152 *p*
 44 . . . 58 *g*
 19 4 . . . 157 *c*
 9 . . . 126 *r*
 11 . . . 132 *d*
 15 . . . 26 *h*, 90 *c*, 90 *i*
 19 . . . 134 *o*
 20 . . . 20 *m*
 21 . . . 131 *m*
 20 14 . . . 137 *b*
 20 . . . 145 *c*
 21 . . . 112 *tt*
 22 . . . 54 *k*
 25 . . . 103 *b*

1 Kings

20	27	54 l
33		53 n
35	75 mm	128 v
39		51 k
40		116 g N.
21		34 c
8		124 b N.
10		104 g
11	116 g	118 g
12		112 qq
13		119 c
15		69 f
19	74 k	135 f
21		74 k, 74 l
25		72 w
22	3	150 e
4		161 c
7		108 b
10		121 d
12		110 f
15		150 c
16		102 k, 134 r
23		126 y
25		75 pp
27		131 c
28	135 r, 144 p	159 g
30	104 g	113 dd N.
35		71
49		44 m

2 Kings

1	1	49 b
2		126 y
3		152 y
7		37 f
9		97 i
10		154 b
11		120 d
2	1	10 h, 114 q
9		107 c
10	52 s, 114 n	N.
16	93 u, 107 g	N ³
20		72 aa
21		75 oo
22		75 qq
24		122 e
3	3	135 p
4	2 d, 112 h	131 k
8		155 d
15		112 uu
16		113 bb, 123 e
23		113 v
24		75 ff
25		112 e
27		107 k
4	1	125 b
3	91 l, 133 c	N.
8		126 s
13		114 k, 117 r

2 Kings

4	14	154 b
16		32 h, 116 p
23		90 n
24		66 c
25		34 f
27		63 e
31		29 k
41		69 f
43		113 ee
5	2	118 q
3		151 e
9		129 d
10	110 i, 113 bb	159 d
11		112 p
12		107 t
13	110 f, 142 f	159 cc
17		104 g, 159 dd
18		75 kk
20		112 gg, 163 d
22		136 d
23	72 t, 88 b	131 d
26		150 a N ¹
6	5	117 m N.
8		91 n
9		51 n
10		134 r
11		36
19	34 b N ³	52 n
22		p. 457 N ¹
27		109 h, 150 g
29		74 l
32		22 s, 100 l
7	1	131 d
4		112 ff
8		47 i
10		135 p N ¹
13		127 f
18		10 h
8	1	32 h
6	53 m, 72 y	91 e
8		126 y
16		52 l
17		134 e
21		50 e
9	2	72 w, 76 h
4		127 g
17		80 f
18	32 n, 103 o	119 b
19		150 a N ¹
27		147 c
31		144 p
33		76 c
35		119 m
37		75 m
10	1	124 b N., 127 f
6		131 h N.
15		159 cc
21		102 h
23		152 w
29		93 o

2 Kings

11	1	112 pp
2		116 e
4	75 gg, 75 q	97 g
5		116 h
12		74 l
13		87 e
15		113 cc, 119 e
12	9	72 h, 66 g, 93 h
12		112 pp N ³
13	6	74 k
17		69 r, 76 f
19		114 k, 159 dd
21		111 g
14	7	21 e, 112 tt
8		156 o
14	93 oo, 112 pp	112 tt,
		124 q
15	16	76 c, 127 i
29		80 k
16	4	65 e
7		72 p
14		127 h
17		127 h
18		80 k
17	4	118 u
6		134 p
11		53 p
15		103 l
29		124 r
18	1	134 p
4		112 tt
17		128 w N.
20		44 i
26		2 a
28		2 a
29		74 l
30		121 b N.
36		112 tt
19	2	131 h N.
4		132 h
14		124 b N.
21		72 l
25		23 f, 75 qq
20	1	49 a
19		126 x, 141 n
21	11	74 l
12		67 g
13		113 h N.
15		112 tt
26		144 d N.
22	1	134 e
13		138 b
20		61 h, 124 c
23	3	127 c
4	75 v, 112 pp	112 pp
		N.
8		112 pp N.
10		112 pp, 114 s
12		112 rr, 127 f
14		112 pp N.

2 Kings

23 15 67 v
 17 127 f, 127 g
 20 117 d
 35 139 c
 24 7 144 b
 14 97 g, 112 tt
 25 9 117 d
 15 123 e
 16 126 z, 134 l
 17 134 e
 18 131 b
 19 127 f
 28 122 g
 29 75 rr

Isaiah

1 2 126 e
 3 124 i
 4 128 l, x, 147 d
 5 37 e, 127 c, 137 b,
 156 d
 6 67 m, 126 m, 144 b,
 152 o
 7 116 l, 116 n, 118 x,
 143 a
 9 106 p, 118 x, 159 x
 11 106 g, 107 f, 117 z
 12 . 51 l, 106 g, 164 d
 14 66 b, 76 b, 102 h,
 114 c, 119 aa
 15 60 f, 61 e, 117 z,
 124 n, 145 n
 16 54 d, 128 r
 17 113 d, 117 u
 18 126 o, 160 a
 19 120 e
 20 52 e, 121 c
 21 90 l, 95 h, 107 b,
 148 b
 22 126 m
 23 107 g, 124 f
 24 51 p
 25 118 w, 124 l
 26 118 s N., 135 m
 27 116 i
 28 147 c
 29 144 p
 30 . 91 d, 116 i, 152 o
 31 93 g
 2 1 154 a N.
 2 116 r
 4 91 n
 6 44 g
 7 117 z
 8 145 m
 9 109 e, 117 g
 11 112 s, 146 a
 17 145 o
 18 15 f

Isaiah

2 20 63 i, 84^b n, 135 n,
 145 m
 22 116 e, 119 s
 3 1 116 p, 122 v
 3 116 k
 6 103 g, 118 g
 7 117 g, 117 ii, 156 b
 8 53 g, 122 i
 9 135 i, 156 g
 12 124 k, 145 l
 13 115 b
 14 128 h, 154 b
 15 37 c
 16 52 n, 75 v, 111 r,
 112 m n, 113 u, 135 o
 17 . 91 c, 91 f, 142 f
 22 35 f
 24 131 b
 4 4 106 o, 107 l, 113 e,
 159 n N.
 5 1 87 f N., 108 b,
 128 v
 2 114 m, 117 ee
 3 110 a
 4 75 z, 114 k, 150 m
 5 112 u, 113 d, 113 f,
 114 k N., 116 d,
 116 p
 6 117 z, 117 ii, 119 y
 8 112 w, 116 x, 144 p,
 147 d
 9 149 e, 152 y
 10 93 m
 11 112 m, 120 c, 130 a,
 156 d
 12 93 ss, 106 l, 141 d
 13 106 n, 128 t
 14 20 f, 112 s
 15 111 w
 17 118 t, 142 f
 19 48 d, 108 d
 23 116 x, 145 m
 24 114 r, 115 k
 25 136 b
 26 133 k N., 145 m
 28 20 h, 117 z
 29 152 l
 30 136 b
 6 1 111 b
 2 88 f, 119 cc, 134 g
 3 112 k, 133 k, 139 e
 N., 141 l
 4 107 b, 107 d, 117 z
 5 106 n, 128 y, 147 d
 6 94 b, 155 h, 156 b
 7 112 x
 8 61 g, 117 c, 124 g
 N., 137 b
 9 75 n, 113 r
 10 67 v, 136 b

Isaiah

6 11 106 o, 121 d, 144 d,
 152 y
 12 67 k
 13 52 p, 112 mm,
 114 k N., 120 d
 7 2 72 g, 122 i
 3 95 s
 4 113 bb
 6 122 i
 7 122 g, 144 b
 8 119 y
 9 148 d, 159 ee
 11 29 u
 13 114 a, 133 c
 14 74 g, 112 t, 113 h,
 126 r, 135 a N.,
 135 c
 15 113 f
 17 49 a
 18 124 e
 20 126 x
 23 134 u
 25 118 l, 144 h
 8 1 . 29 l, 52 s, 119 u
 2 49 e, 96
 4 144 d
 6 2 d N., 130 a
 7 154 b
 8 145 o
 9 110 f
 11 45 d, 59 h
 12 47 m, 117 r
 16 67 n
 17 75 z
 19 164 d
 20 145 m
 21 54 k, 118 n
 23 . 67 v, 90 f, 128 h
 9 1 106 n, 130 a, 132 g
 2 103 g, 130 a
 3 10 h, 20 h, 67 w,
 93 g, 118 u, 135 n
 4 112 mm, 124 n,
 143 d, 146 e
 5 93 k, 144 d
 6 5 n, 152 u
 8 127 c, 145 c
 11 127 c
 12 116 f
 18 145 o
 10 1 10 g, 93 bb
 2 114 r
 4 163 c
 5 152 a
 9 21 d
 10 133 e
 12 47 b, 127 a
 13 23 d, 75 z, 107 b N.
 14 118 w, 126 o, 132 e
 15 115 i, 124 k, 150 h

Isaiah

- 10 16 69f
 17 93v
 18 67cc
 22 117z
 24 . 58i, 119o, 156d
 3e . . 132b, 144m
 32 . . 114k, 119o
 33 23t
 11 2 128a
 7 122e
 8 142f
 9 106u, 114c, 115d,
 116f N., 117n,
 126z
 10 119gg
 12 20m
 14 93hh
 12 1 109k
 2 80g
 5 116e
 6 122s
 13 3 135n
 4 . . 146b, 147c
 6 118x
 8 . . 47m, 119gg
 18 52n
 19 115d
 20 68k
 22 145o
 14 2 54f, 57N, 117w
 3 22s, 102b, 115g,
 121b, 121f
 4 . 49k, 49m, 148b
 6 . . 117g, 130a
 9 145t
 11 . . . 93ss, 145o
 14 87s
 17 . . 116x, 117o
 19 . 29f, 126p, 130a
 23 . . . 55f, 113e
 24 . . 144b, 149b
 27 . . 116g, 126k
 30 . . 72w, 133h
 31 . . 72v, 113bb
 15 2 70d, 96
 5 72cc
 7 155h
 8 119hh
 16 2 126p
 4 145d
 6 122v
 7 70d
 8 . . 75m, 145u
 9 75dd
 10 72bb, 121a, b, 144e
 17 1 . . . 119x, 121b
 4 128r
 5 122n
 6 118u, 131n N1,
 134s

Isaiah

- 17 8 . 35f, 154a N.(b)
 10 . . 20m N., 47k
 11 72n
 12 . . . 47m, 75u
 18 1 124e
 2 . . . 52s, 103m
 3 66b
 4 10h
 5 29g, 67v, 72dd,
 142f, 145g
 6 73b
 19 1 72l
 3 67dd
 4 . . 124i, 132h
 6 . 53g, 53p, 124e
 9 86i
 10 128y
 11 133h
 12 109f
 13 142f
 17 . 80h, 95d, 143b
 18 2a
 22 113s
 20 1 115k
 2 . . . 113i, 118n
 4 . . . 87g, 118o
 21 1 114o
 2 . 44o, 72s, 121b
 7 . . 93dd, 117g
 8 118r
 9 136d
 11 . 90f, 93w, 116t
 12 29t, 75u, 75rr,
 76d
 14 76d
 17 127a, 128a,
 146a
 22 1 . . . 91e, 150l
 2 75v, 91e, 117z,
 126e, 128x, 152d
 3 119w
 5 . . 128a, 133l
 7 128r
 10 20m
 11 . . 95o, 124k
 13 75n, 113d, 113f,
 113dd
 14 107c, 112ss, 149b,
 149e
 16 . . 90m, 144p
 17 113r
 18 118r
 19 144p
 24 . . 128w, 133h
 23 1 . . 110k, 119y
 4 152z
 5 . . 118u, 128h
 7 . . . 126z N.
 8 93pp
 11 . . . 20o, 53g

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- 23 12 . 35b, 46e, 118f,
 130e, 132b
 13 . . . 136d N.
 15 . 44f, 116p, 118t
 17 . . . 72l, 91e
 24 2 . 35g, 116s, 127i
 3 67t
 10 119x
 12 121d
 16 117q
 19 . . 67o, 113w
 22 117q
 25 6 . . 75dd, 93ss
 7 72p
 10 72v
 26 4 . . . 119i N.
 9 144m
 10 159c
 11 47m
 16 . . 44l, 72o
 18 124e
 19 . . 95h, 122s
 20 75qq
 27 3 60a
 4 10h, 65b, 71,
 117x, 151b
 5 162a
 8 55f
 9 156f
 11 . 70a N., 124e
 18 152x
 28 1 . . 124e, 128c
 2 125c
 3 47k
 4 91e, 128w, 135n,
 144e
 6 . . 90i, 119hh
 7 . . . 72l, 118g
 8 127c
 9 130a
 10 . . 102h, 147c
 11 116b
 12 . 23i, 114m N.
 16 71, 119i, 130f
 N., 155f
 17 . . 29u, 142f
 18 145o
 20 133c
 21 . . 118t, 132b
 24 144e
 26 112rr
 27 152z
 28 112m, 113w N.
 150a
 29 1 19c, 66f, 69h N.,
 130d
 4 120g
 5 . 126p, 133k N.
 6 . . 84s, 144b
 7 . 75qq, 116i, 118t

Isaiah

29 8 116 s
 9 55 g, 72 l
 13 115 d, 127 a, 142 d
 14 . 50 e, 113 w, 155 f
 15 53 q, 112 n
 16 147 c, 150 f
 19 128 l, 132 c, 133 h
 23 131 o
 30 1 69 h N.
 2 63 i, 72 q
 5 78 b
 6 135 p
 8 61 f, 135 p
 11 102 b
 12 61 d, 111 v, 114 d,
 114 r
 13 116 d
 14 . 63 i, 113 i, 156 g
 18 67 ce, 130 a
 19 . 58 g, 67 n, 75 l
 20 131 c, 145 n
 21 56
 22 135 n, 145 m
 23 93 ss
 24 52 s
 25 74 i
 26 114 r, 134 r
 28 72 z
 31 156 d
 33 32 l
 31 2 141 f
 3 75 u
 5 67 p, 113 t
 6 . 138 f N., 144 p
 8 125 c, 152 a
 32 1 143 e
 7 154 a N.
 9 44 o
 11 . 48 i, 67 o, 110 k
 12 116 s, 144 i
 13 128 c
 17 113 c
 18 124 e
 33 1 20 h, 53 q, 53 u,
 67 v, 120 b, 156 f
 3 67 dd
 4 85 h
 5 116 s
 6 130 b
 7 75 u
 9 29 q, 145 t
 10 54 c, 133 l
 12 20 i
 14 84^a s, 117 bb
 15 117 r N., 119 z,
 124 e
 16 124 b
 20 152 t
 34 4 67 t, 126 o
 5 52 k

Isaiah

34 6 54 h
 10 102 i
 11 21 c, 80 g
 13 117 z
 17 59 g
 35 1 47 n
 2 117 g, 130 b
 4 65 f
 7 135 p
 9 84^b f, 132 c
 36 2 128 w N.
 8 127 f
 9 119 s, 119 u
 11 2 a
 14 74 l
 16 110 f, 127 f
 17 114 r
 37 3 69 m, 152 k
 11 150 a
 14 124 b N.
 17 10 g
 19 113 f, 113 z
 22 130 e
 24 128 r
 25 124 e
 26 75 qg, 114 k, 117 ii
 28 114 c
 29 112 nn
 30 113 z, 113 ee, 126 b
 38 3 16 f N., 157 c
 5 50 e, 113 bb, 155 f
 9 114 r
 10 108 g, 121 d
 14 . 48 i N., 61 f N.
 15 55 g
 16 75 mm, 103 g, 135 p
 17 119 ff
 18 116 h, 152 z
 20 86 i, 114 i
 39 1 124 b N.
 2 15 e N., 126 x
 40 1 107 f
 3 146 b
 4 93 v
 6 112 qg, 127 c
 9 119 s
 10 119 i
 11 93 x
 14 124 e
 18 15 c, 75 dd
 19 119 hh
 20 155 f, 156 g
 22 126 b
 25 150 m
 26 124 e
 29 152 v
 30 69 g
 31 8 k
 41 1 119 gg
 2 35 n N., 75 gg, 155 n

Isaiah

41 3 118 q
 4 135 a N.
 5 75 u
 7 29 f
 8 138 d
 10 75 bb
 12 135 n
 15 96
 17 20 i
 23 48 g N., 75 l, 75 v,
 109 d
 24 155 n
 25 23 d, 76 d
 28 . 109 h, cf. 159 d
 42 4 67 q
 5 . 65 d, 93 ss, 124 k
 6 . 107 b N., 109 k
 13 126 p
 18 35 g, 126 e, 126 f
 20 75 n, 144 p
 21 120 c
 22 29 q, 72 y, 119 hh,
 124 q
 24 113 d, 114 m N.,
 138 g
 25 131 k
 43 1 . 61 h, 74 e, 91 d
 2 159 dd, 159 ff
 6 122 v
 8 . 53 m, 69 v, 74 l
 9 . 51 o, 106 n N²
 10 135 a N.
 25 141 h
 44 3 71
 9 5 n
 13 64 i
 15 . . 66 e, 103 f N.
 16 67 ce
 19 150 a
 21 20 f, 57 N., 117 x
 24 65 d
 28 53 n, 114 p
 45 1 67 p
 2 70 b
 4 . 111 b N., 131 g
 9 152 u
 10 47 o
 14 10 g
 46 5 75 dd
 47 1 120 c
 2 46 d, 63 l
 5 . 100 g N², 118 o
 7 94 g
 8 90 l, 144 p
 10 59 g, 61 h, 75 v,
 116 f
 12 138 f
 14 28 b, 67 ce
 48 8 52 k, 157 a
 9 119 hh

Isaiah

48 II 67 *t*
 14 119 *hh*
 17 61 *h*, 93 *qq*
 18 111 *z*, 151 *e*
 49 6 67 *t*, 115 *a*, 142 *f*
 *N*²
 7 111 *q*
 11 145 *u*
 13 126 *o*
 15 160 *b*
 18 32 *c*
 19 67 *dd*
 21 72 *p*
 23 122 *f* *N*, 156 *c*
 26 135 *l*
 50 2 133 *c*, 150 *m*, 152 *y*
 8 15 *c*, 20 *f*
 9 136 *c*
 10 137 *c*
 11 20 *n*
 51 1 155 *k*
 2 107 *b* *N*.
 3 146 *e*
 9 72 *s*, 118 *u*, 124 *q*
 10 93 *pp*, 138 *k*
 12 61 *h*, 111 *m*
 13 52 *k*
 15 65 *d*
 17 128 *q*
 19 47 *b*, 122 *q*
 21 50 *f*, 130 *b*
 52 1 120 *c*
 5 55 *b*
 7 75 *z*, 106 *g*
 8 117 *a* *N*², 146 *b*
 11 67 *t*
 12 61 *h*
 14 93 *q*
 53 1 151 *a*
 2 166 *a*
 3 96, 128 *q*
 4 116 *l*, 117 *ii*
 5 121 *a*, 128 *q*
 8 103 *f* *N*.
 9 160 *c*
 10 74 *k*, 75 *ii*
 11 117 *n*, 120 *h*, 132 *b*
 54 1 67 *f*, 144 *p*, 155 *f*
 4 91 *l*
 5 124 *k*, 124 *k* *N*.
 6 58 *g*
 10 103 *b*
 11 152 *a* *N*.
 12 21 *d*
 14 54 *c*, 119 *c*
 15 137 *c*, 159 *w*
 55 2 152 *a* *N*.
 3 93 *m*
 9 161 *b*
 56 3 138 *k*

Isaiah

56 4 138 *f*
 5 112 *mm*
 8 20 *m*
 9 29 *t*
 12 29 *t*
 57 4 93 *m*
 5 67 *u*
 6 20 *h*
 8 47 *k*
 17 113 *h*
 20 113 *d*
 58 3 19 *c*, 20 *h*, 150 *m*
 9 115 *b*
 13 119 *hh*
 59 3 51 *h*
 5 73 *d*, 80 *i*
 9 93 *r*
 10 152 *v*
 12 67 *k*
 13 52 *e*, 75 *n*, 113 *d*
 14 72 *ee*
 21 143 *a*
 60 3 107 *b* *N*.
 4 51 *m*, 122 *v*
 7 60 *e*
 9 58 *g*
 14 118 *q*, 125 *h*
 61 1 84 *b* *n*
 7 119 *hh*
 62 2 16 *f*
 9 20 *m*, 52 *p*
 12 152 *a* *N*.
 63 3 53 *p*, 76 *c*
 11 128 *c*
 16 60 *d*
 19 151 *e*, 155 *m*
 64 3 75 *hh*
 6 72 *cc*
 65 1 51 *c*, 155 *n*
 2 126 *z*
 5 117 *z*
 11 35 *g*
 14 70 *d*
 17 29 *i* *N*., 51 *m*
 18 110 *c*
 20 75 *oo*
 24 107 *c*
 66 13 155 *d*
 15 119 *i*
 18 167 *b*

Jeremiah

1 10 45 *g*
 13 90 *e*
 2 2 49 *k*
 8 155 *n*
 11 72 *e*, 155 *n*
 12 46 *d*
 15 44 *m*

Jeremiah

2 16 117 *u*
 17 116 *g* *N*.
 19 60 *a*
 20 44 *h* *N*.
 21 126 *z*
 24 60 *e*, 122 *d*
 27 59 *h*, 69 *s*
 31 85 *h*
 33 44 *h*
 35 114 *d*
 36 68 *h*
 3 1 113 *ee*, 159 *w*
 5 47 *k*, 66 *f*, 69 *r*
 6 75 *ii*, 132 *b*
 7 84 *a* *k*
 8 91 *l*
 9 112 *ss*
 15 113 *h*
 22 75 *pp*, 75 *rr*
 4 1 143 *d*
 2 10 *g*
 5 120 *h*
 7 20 *h*, 93 *t*
 11 67 *v*
 13 67 *ee*
 18 75 *n*
 19 44 *h*, 108 *g*, 133 *l*
 N.
 30 145 *t*
 5 6 20 *b*, 67 *cc*
 7 65 *b*
 13 52 *o*, 138 *i*
 22 58 *i*, 58 *k*, 60 *e*
 26 67 *p*
 6 5 10 *g*
 8 51 *c*, 152 *a* *N*.
 10 108 *g*
 17 112 *dd*
 20 126 *x*
 28 133 *i*
 29 67 *u*
 7 4 133 *l* *N*.
 9 112 *o*, 113 *ee*
 19 57 *N*², 135 *k*
 8 4 150 *m*
 5 128 *c*
 11 75 *qq*, 133 *l*
 13 72 *aa*, 113 *w*
 14 67 *dd*
 19 100 *m*, 102 *m*
 9 1 108 *f*, 151 *b*
 2 53 *n*, 119 *u*
 3 63 *c*
 4 53 *q*, 113 *d*
 11 109 *i*
 12 114 *r*
 17 74 *k*
 23 113 *d*, 113 *g*, 144 *e*
 10 3 145 *u* *N*²
 4 109 *g*

Jeremiah

10 5 23 ⁱ, 47 n, 75 oo,
113 ^b
11 I c
17 46 d, 90 m
18 67 ee
19 63 c, 126 y
22 146 b
23 72 z
11 7 113 k
15 53 n, 90 g, 91 e
16 84 ^a a
19 45 g
12 4 145 k
5 55 h
9 68 i
13 10 52 s
14 127 e
16 144 c
17 69 p
19 75 m, 118 q
20 145 m
21 64 a
14 1 138 e N.
16 103 g
18 155 h, 159 p
15 10 61 h, 91 c N.
18 50 f, 102 l
16 16 73 b, 132 b
17 2 28 a, 45 g
7 93 oo
11 161 a
17 75 hh
18 53 m, 72 y, 74 l
18 7 45 g
16 119 q
23 75 ii
19 5 144 b
11 75 qq
15 74 k
20 9 21 d, 112 kk, 132 d
15 59 f
17 111 l, 122 n N.
21 1 115 t
13 66 f
22 14 87 g
15 10 g, 55 h, 142 g
16 144 p
19 113 h
20 10 h, 46 d
22 22 s
23 23 f N., 80 d, 90 n
24 58 i
26 72 k
28 10 g
29 133 l N.
23 6 20 d, 60 c, 74 e
9 126 p
14 113 h N², 152 x
32 52 s
33 117 m N.

Jeremiah

23 37 58 g, 75 ll
39 23 l
24 7 115 c
25 3 53 k
15 131 k
26 127 g
27 76 h
34 91 l
36 24 e
26 5 113 k
6 8 k, 37 b
9 75 qq
27 16 90 e
18 72 o, 76 g
20 53 q
29 1 53 p
8 53 o
17 132 e
23 64 e
25 124 b N.
30 11 113 n
16 67 s
26 134 m
31 1 75 hh
2 113 dd
3 117 x
8 119 q
15 145 m
18 51 c
21 44 h, 126 y
22 47 o
28 45 g
32 63 o, 138 b N.
33 60 a
38 17 b
40 127 g
32 4 51 k
10 126 s
12 127 h
14 124 b N.
35 74 k
33 20 128 d, 131 r
22 116 g
34 9 132 d
36 33 117 l
37 3 53 q
11 112 uu
12 53 q
15 112 tt
16 87 i
38 4 75 rr
6 127 f
9 111 l
11 8 k
12 93 x
14 126 w
16 17 b
23 144 i
26 115 a
28 112 qq

Jeremiah

39 7 53 q, 72 z
12 22 s
14 115 c
40 3 112 qq
4 35 d
5 72 s
16 75 hh
41 6 113 u
12 119 g
42 2 75 ff
6 17 a, 32 d
10 19 i
16 112 y
44 7 114 o
8 8 k
18 67 c
19 53 k, 58 g, 144 u
21 52 o
23 74 g
25 72 k, 146 g
46 1 138 e N.
5 117 q
8 68 i
16 126 w
20 84 ^b n
47 4 45 g, 67 cc
48 2 67 t
11 72 dd
15 145 u
31 70 d
32 127 f
36 80 g
44 131 n N¹
45 119 w
49 3 54 b
8 46 a N²
10 75 pp
11 47 k, 60 a N.
12 141 h
16 90 l, 147 c
25 80 g
28 20 b, 67 cc
30 20 g
36 20 m
37 67 aa
50 5 51 o
11 80 h
34 53 l, 73 d
51 3 17 b, 152 h N.
9 75 qq
13 90 n
14 163 d
29 111 w N.
33 53 l
56 20 h, 52 k
58 20 i
59 134 p
52 12 155 d
20 128 d

Ezekiel

1	6	87 t, 88 f
11		91 l
14		113 s N.
20		123 d N ²
2	3	126 x
19		19 h
3	3	49 e
15	67 cc, 154 a	N. (b)
4	9	87 e
12		58 k, 95 e
5	11	72 r, 109 d
12		52 n, 75 hh
13		54 c
16		109 d
6	3	93 v
6		67 p N., 67 dd
8		91 l
9		72 dd
10		119 ti
11		128 c
12		91 e
14		133 l
7	7	127 g
14		72 z, 113 s N.
24		93 oo
8	2	90 f
3		75 qq
16		75 kk
9	2	116 k
3		116 k, 121 d N ¹
7		112 ti
8		64 i
11		116 k
10	3	131 n, 131 n N ²
15		72 dd
17		72 q, 72 dd
11	3	150 a N ¹
13		150 a N ¹
24		90 c
13	2	93 oo
3		152 x, 155 n
11		35 m
18		87 f, 103 f N ²
19		72 k, 93 r
20		32 i, 91 l
14	3	51 k, 51 p
14		112 ll
22		117 l, 126 w
16	4	22 s, 52 q, 53 s,
		64 e, 71
5		71
6		123 d N ²
10		49 c
27		131 r
31		91 l
32		117 d
33		20 l, 64 c
34		121 a
45		96
47		103 m

Ezekiel

18	50	47 l
51		96
52	52 p, 91 n, 95 p, 96	
53		91 e, 91 f
54		103 b
55		72 k
57		72 p
59		44 i
17	5	19 i, 66 g
7		52 d
9	45 e, 93 m, 150 a	
		N ¹
15		29 i, 93 rr
19		67 v
21		117 m
18	6	131 c
7		131 r
10		119 w N., 139 d
14		103 l
28		75 t
29		143 u
32		139 d
19	1	124 e
2		80 h
12		53 u
20	9	67 t
16		117 m
22		112 tt
37		23 f
38		145 u
41		119 i
21	12	67 t
15		75 n
18		64 d
21		73 a
22		124 o
29		53 l
31		113 bb N ³
32		133 l
33		45 c, 68 i
35		72 y
22	4	47 k
20		66 f
23	5	63 m
20		48 d
28		91 e, 138 e
32		47 k
42		21 c
44		96
45		103 b
47		103 b
48		55 k, 91 f
49		74 k, 76 b, 144 a
24	11	67 q
19		75 m
26		53 e, 54 k
25	3	67 u
4		91 e
6		23 c, 74 e
15		117 q

Ezekiel

26	2	67 t
10		130 b
14		47 k
15		51 l
17		52 s, 138 k
21		10 g
27	3	90 m
7		121 b
19		20 i
31		80 h
32		23 k
34		116 g N.
35		117 q
28	4	32 g
16		23 d, 68 k, 75 q,
		111 w N.
17		75 n
23		55 d
24		72 p
29	3	117 x, 124 e
7		127 c
30	9	93 y
12		124 e
16		73 d
31	3	67 v
5		44 f
7		76 f
16		128 a N ¹
32	12	51 n
19		46 a N ²
30		20 m, 72 n
32		53 s
33	17	143 a N ³
26		44 k
34	2	57 N ⁴
8		57 N ⁴
10		57 N ⁴ , 149 c, 167 b
21		103 b
31		32 i
35	6	10 h
9		72 k
10		117 m
12		84 b e
36	3	67 r, 75 y, 113 g
5		91 e
11		70 e
12		69 s
25		34 f
32		152 d
37	2	112 pp
7		60 a N.
8		9 u, 29 i
11		116 t, 119 s
16		66 g, 119 u
17		52 n, 64 h
19		117 m N.
38	21	49 l
23		54 k
39	2	55 f
9		66 e

Ezekiel

39	26	75 qq
40	3	74 l
	4	74 d
	5	134 n
	16	91 l
	17	121 d
	19	80 k
	27	134 g
	28	126 w
	31	93 ss
	43	20 m
	45	136 d N.
	48	92 g
41	7	67 dd
	15	91 l
	18	121 d
	20	5 n
	22	141 b
	25	131 n N ¹
42	5	68 h, 131 n
43	7	117 m
	17	103 o
	27	75 rr
44	3	117 m
	8	58 g
	9	93 hh, 143 e
	12	112 e N.
45	2	65 d
	12	97 e
	16	127 g
46	6	132 g N.
	9	93 q
	17	72 o
	19	127 f
	22	53 q, 53 s
	23	121 d
	24	124 r
47	3	128 n
	4	131 e
	7	91 e
	8	75 oo
	15	127 f and N.
	17	117 m
48	14	72 dd

Hosea

1	2	52 o, 130 d
	6	120 c, 152 a N.
	7	119 o
2	1	130 c
	3	96
	5	72 w
	6	52 n
	11	120 e
	14	91 e
	21	133 l
	25	152 a N.
3	1	125 c
	2	20 h

Hosea

3	5	2 v N.
4	2	113 f
	3	119 i
	8	145 m
	14	155 f
	15	145 m
	16	150 a
	18	55 e
5	2	64 a
	3	135 a
	8	147 c
	15	60 e
6	1	109 k
	2	119 y N., 134 s
	3	155 g
	4	120 g
	6	119 w, 133 b
	9	23 l, 75 aa, 93 s
	10	114 l
7	2	157 a
	4	80 k
	5	93 ss
	6	91 c
	12	24 f, 70 b
	14	70 d
	16	34 b N.
8	3	60 d
	4	67 v
	7	90 f
	9	119 s
	10	20 g, 111 w N.
9	6	130 a
	9	120 g
	11	69 m
	12	159 m
	15	109 d
10	4	75 n
	6	121 w
	10	60 a, 71
	11	90 l
	14	9 b, 23 g, 53 u, 72 p, 156 c
	15	133 i
11	1	68 f
	3	19 t, 55 h, 66 g
	4	68 c
	7	75 rr
12	1	124 h
	5	58 k
	11	112 dd
	14	118 q
13	2	91 e, 128 l
	3	120 g
	8	122 e
	10	150 l
	14	93 q
	15	75 rr
14	1	84 a, 145 u
	3	128 e
	4	68 f

Hosea

14	5	118 g
	10	69 b, 166 a N.

Joel

1	2	100 n, 126 e, 150 g
	4	49 m
	5	126 e
	6	152 v
	7	113 n
	8	63 l, 116 k
	12	102 b
	15	147 d
	17	20 h
	18	148 a
	20	145 k
2	2	109 d
	4	72 u, 126 p
	6	23 d
	13	152 g
	16	128 y
	17	150 e
	21	46 e
	22	144 a
	24	93 r
	26	114 o
4	1	125 k
	3	69 u
	4	133 k
	11	51 o, 64 h
	14	123 e, 147 c
	18	117 z
	21	49 k, 75 z

Amos

1	3	134 s, 158 c
	5	145 c
	8	145 e
	9	114 r, 158 c
	11	58 g, 112 t, 114 r
2	6	61 b
	7	126 b
	9	53 n
	10	69 x
	12	51 n
	16	118 n
3	4	163 c
	5	113 q
	7	163 c
	8	159 h
	9	124 e
	11	67 t, 154 a N.
	12	88 f, 126 r
	13	125 h
4	1	135 o, 144 a
	2	75 oo, 112 x
	3	44 k
	4	113 z
	7	112 h N., 144 c

Amos

4	8	134 s
9		126 n
10		154 a N.
11		115 d
13	29 e N.,	116 g N.
5	2	128 k
3		117 z, 129 g
4		110 f
5		122 h
7		126 b
8		111 u, 117 ii
11		61 e
14		109 k, 152 g
15		67 cc
18		152 d
19		112 m, 126 r
21	20 h,	106 g, 154 a N.
26		112 x, 112 rr
6 ^c	1	112 n
2		125 h, 126 y
6	63 c,	93 k, 119 m N.
10	114 l,	145 m, 152 s
12		123 a N., 144 d
13		152 a N.
14		125 c
7	1	86 i, 147 b
2		112 uu
4		112 tt
7		156 b
14		128 v
15		119 b
8	4	53 q
8		125 e
9		49 l
10		128 h, 135 p
13		54 k, 146 g
9	1	61 g, 144 e
3		112 p
7		150 e
8	53 k,	113 n, 113 v
11		116 d, 118 u
13		54 k

Obadiah

3		90 l, 93 x
10		128 h
11	9 v,	61 f, 69 u
13		47 k

Jonah

1	3	116 d, 122 t, 135 p
5		57 m
6		120 b
7		150 k
9		2 b
10		117 q
11		113 u, 165 a

Jonah

1	14	16 f
15		61 c
2		122 s
4		117 r
3	5	133 g
4	1	117 q
2		16 f, 114 n N.
6		117 q
9		113 k
10		96, 128 v
11	20 m,	97 b, 150 a

Micah

1	1	145 m
2	109 k,	135 r, 144 p
5		23 c, 137 a
7		52 l, 67 y, 117 ii
8		69 b N., 118 n
10		113 v
11	122 s,	131 c, 145 m
13		110 k
15		70 k
2	3	118 q
4	67 u,	144 d, 148 b
6		72 dd, 145 o
7		100 n, 118 n
8		72 p, 116 h
12		72 k, 127 i
3	1	114 l, 150 e
4		109 k
6		119 w, 144 c
12		87 e, 121 d
4	3	91 n, 145 c
6	68 h,	84 ^a s, 122 s
8		68 f
9		117 q
10		10 k, 76 g, 145 n
11		119 dd
12		90 i
13		44 h, 72 q, 117 ii
14		119 o
5	1	135 g, 142 g
2		106 o, 155 l
4	72 i,	128 l, 134 s
6	1	138 e
3		53 p, 75 ee, 163 b
5		117 gg
8		163 d
9		146 b
10		47 b, 118 g
11		47 b
13		115 c
7	1	93 p
2	117 ff,	119 t, 152 k
3		135 f
4		133 e, 133 g
8		122 s
10	75 p,	75 w, 75 hh
		145 n

Micah

7	11	126 x
12		126 aa
14		90 m
17		116 h
18		148 c
19		129 g

Nahum

1	2	5 h, 128 u
3		75 hh, 143 a
4		69 u
5		126 k
12		67 t
2	4	52 q
5		55 g, 93 ss
8		63 p, 91 c
9		130 d N.
11		67 t, 133 l
14		91 l
3	5	53 p
7		52 q, 67 cc
8		70 e, 133 b
9		91 e
10		69 u
11		145 p
15		110 a, 110 k
17		20 h

Habakkuk

1	5	116 s
6		13 c, 155 e
8		67 ee
11		138 h
14		152 u
15		63 p
16		103 g
17		114 k, 156 g
2	1	37 b
3		72 dd
6		147 c
10		116 s, 118 p
12		112 n
14	90 n,	116 f N., 155 g
15		90 m, 113 z
17		20 n, 60 d, 67 v
19		100 g N., 152 p
3	2	75 mm
6		67 k, 67 ee
8		131 r
9		117 q
10		91 l
13	22 s,	75 aa, 75 n, 113 h
15		144 m
17		95 f, 145 u
19		86 i

Zephaniah

- 1 2 . 72 *aa*, 113 *w* N.
 14 52 *s*
 2 2 152 *y*
 7 135 *p*
 9 8 *k*
 15 152 *s*
 3 1 75 *rr*
 7 120 *g*
 11 135 *n*
 16 145 *p*
 18 69 *t*
 20 91 *l*

Haggai

- 1 1 129 *f*
 4 126 *z*, 131 *h* N.,
 135 *g*
 6 113 *z*
 9 37 *f*
 2 5 44 *o*, 117 *l*
 7 145 *e*
 12 159 *w*
 17 72 *v*, 117 *m* N.,
 152 *n*

Zechariah

- 1 2 117 *q*
 8 132 *d*
 13 131 *c*
 14 117 *q*
 17 72 *k*
 2 8 118 *r*
 10 154 *b*
 11 29 *o* N.
 17 72 *v*, 72 *ee*
 3 1 61 *b*, 115 *c*
 4 113 *z*
 7 53 *o*
 8 126 *e*
 9 . 88 *f*, 97 *c*, 122 *n*
 4 2 91 *e*, 97 *c*
 7 126 *x*
 10 72 *dd*, 126 *w*, 127 *h*
 12 10 *g*, 145 *m*
 5 2 134 *n*
 3 75 *mm*
 4 73 *d*, 80 *i*
 7 74 *i*
 9 74 *k*
 10 32 *n*
 11 . 23 *k*, 72 *ee*, 103 *g*
 6 7 54 *k*
 10 49 *l*
 12 155 *e*
 7 1 134 *p*
 5 59 *a*, 113 *z*, 117 *x*,
 135 *e*, 136 *d* N.
 7 117 *l*

Zechariah

- 7 10 139 *c*
 14 52 *n*
 8 2 117 *q*
 5 132 *d*
 6 150 *a*
 17 117 *l*
 23 157 *a*
 9 5 75 *p*, 75 *hh*
 9 72 *s*, 124 *o*, 154 *a*
 N.
 11 . . . 135 *f*, 152 *u*
 12 116 *s*
 10 2 124 *h*
 5 72 *p*
 6 72 *x*
 11 2 126 *w*
 5 19 *k*
 7 96, 130 *g*, 132 *c*,
 133 *h*
 10 67 *w*
 17 90 *l*
 12 10 138 *e* N¹
 12 123 *d*
 13 7 . 72 *s*, 110 *k*, 144 *a*
 14 4 . . . 93 *v*, 128 *w* N.
 10 72 *p*
 12 67 *dd*

Malachi

- 1 2 68 *f*
 6 32 *c*
 10 151 *a*, 153
 13 37 *c*, 147 *c*
 14 80 *d* N.
 2 5 67 *u*
 14 95 *k*
 15 144 *p*
 16 116 *s*, 155 *n*
 3 1 150 *g*
 2 126 *k*
 9 67 *u*, 144 *p*
 14 100 *g*
 20 44 *d*

Psalms

- 1 2 119 *dd*, 163 *a*
 3 16 *g*, 107 *g*, 119 *cc*
 6 68 *c*
 2 1 106 *l*
 2 126 *h*
 3 91 *l*, 108 *b*
 4 126 *h*
 6 135 *a*, 135 *n*, 154 *b*
 7 44 *d*, 69 *s*
 10 126 *h*, 154 *b*
 12 . . . 118 *g* N., 130 *a*
 3 1 129 *c*
 2 67 *ee*

Psalms

- 3 3 90 *g*, 152 *n* N.
 5 144 *m*
 6 49 *e*
 8 72 *s*, 117 *ll*
 4 1 124 *f*
 3 . 37 *e*, 47 *m*, 156 *d*
 4 154 *b*
 7 76 *b*
 8 . . . 133 *e* N., 155 *l*
 5 4 118 *i*
 5 . . . 116 *f*, 117 *bb*
 7 . . . 128 *a*, 128 *t*
 8 107 *s*
 9 24 *f*, 70 *b*
 10 122 *g*, 124 *e*, 145 *m*,
 152 *o*
 11 29 *e*
 12 . . . 116 *g*, 156 *d*
 13 117 *ee*
 6 2 152 *h*
 4 147 *c*
 6 152 *o*
 7 106 *g*
 10 142 *f*
 7 3 152 *l*
 4 159 *m*
 5 49 *e*
 6 63 *n*
 7 72 *s*, 119 *gg*, 156 *d*
 10 124 *g*, 132 *h*, 158 *a*
 12 127 *b*
 13 120 *g*
 16 155 *h*
 17 10 *h*
 8 2 66 *h*
 3 128 *a*
 4 159 *dd*
 5 107 *v*, 111 *m*, 150 *h*
 6 117 *cc*
 9 1 5 *h*
 2 13 *c*
 7 135 *f*
 11 106 *k*
 14 20 *b*, 63 *l*
 15 91 *l*
 16 138 *g*
 19 152 *z*
 21 157 *a*
 10 1 5 *h*
 5 141 *c*
 9 91 *e*
 10 . . . 93 *x*, 154 *N*.
 11 106 *g*
 12 66 *c*, 76 *b*
 11 1 118 *r*, 129 *c*, 148 *b*
 2 47 *m*
 4 . . . 145 *u*, 155 *e*
 6 109 *k*
 7 103 *f*
 12 2 123 *b*

Psalms

12	3	117 t, 123 f
	4	122 g
	7	10 g, 97 h
	8	126 y
	9	54 k
13	4	117 r N.
	5	44 e, 59 i, 152 z
14	1	154 a N.
	3	152 o
	5	117 p
	7	151 b
	8	118 n
15	2	48 i, 61 f N.
16	2	44 i, 152 t
	3	130 d, 143 e
	4	93 m, 145 p, 155 f
	5	50 e
	6	80 g, 122 q
	8	116 s
	9	111 r
	10	114 m
	11	122 q, 124 e
17	3	59 h
	4	143 e
	5	113 gg
	9	138 g
	10	91 f
	12	126 p
	13	144 m
18	1	2 s, 53 l, 130 d, 154 a N.
	3	93 pp, 155 i
	4	116 e, 132 b
	7	10 g N ³ , 107 b
	10	69 p
	12	109 k
	17	117 g
	18	126 z
	22	119 ff
	26	93 h, 93 s
	28	132 f
	30	67 q, 119 o
	31	126 c, 140 d, 143 a
	33	116 f, 116 z, 117 cc
	35	145 k
	38	107 c
	40	116 i
	41	117 ii N.
	49	116 i
19	3	20 f
	4	49 k
	5	135 p
	6	122 o
	8	114 i
	10	126 b, 141 c
	11	116 e
	14	67 p
20	3	135 m
	4	48 d
21	2	109 k, 126 h, 148 b

Psalms

21	4	117 ff
	7	117 ii, 124 e
	13	117 ii N., 156 d
22	2	59 h
	3	152 d
	4	117 bb
	6	112 h
	7	116 l
	8	119 g
	9	144 p
	14	118 r
	15	67 t
	16	121 c, 122 n
	18	107 s
	22	23 f, 119 ff
	29	116 s
	32	116 e
23	2	124 e, 128 p
	4	107 x, 159 bb
	5	126 m, 141 c, 141 d
	6	69 m N.
24	1	129 c, 130 a
	2	107 b, 124 e
	4	128 y
	10	136 c
25	1	5 h
	10	141 c
	11	112 nn
	14	114 i
26	2	48 i
	3	112 qq
	4	128 t
	7	53 q
	10	20 f
	12	93 qq
27	7	144 m
	13	5 n, 159 dd, 167 a
28	1	119 ff
	7	53 q
	9	10 g
29	1	124 g, 128 v
	4	141 c N ²
	10	111 r
30	2	60 f
	4	69 m
	8	90 n, 93 aa
31	2	108 c
	21	93 r
32	1	75 qq, 116 k
	2	155 i
	6	143 e, 153
	8	107 g, 138 g, 156 c
	9	114 a, 114 k, 114 s
33	5	116 s
	7	118 w
	8	145 e
	10	67 v
	12	155 h
	15	126 b
34	1	5 h

Psalms

34	2	21 d
	6	109 e
	9	155 f
	12	60 f, 126 o
35	1	73 d
	8	156 g
	10	9 u
	14	93 hh
	16	113 h
	19	131 g N.
36	6	35 n
	8	75 u
	9	75 u
	13	64 d
37	1	5 h, 35 b, 75 bb
	5	67 n
	9	20 f
	14	45 g
	15	20 h
	16	129 b
	20	29 o, 75 m
	23	121 f
	24	159 bb
	31	145 k
38	11	55 e
	13	124 e
	21	61 c
39	13	10 h
	14	75 gg
40	2	75 aa
	5	93 oo
	6	108 f
	15	29 o N.
	18	29 q
41	3	109 e
	5	74 h
	6	111 t
	8	54 f
42	2	122 f, 155 g
	4	115 e N.
	5	117 x
	10	68 g, 102 l
43	1	72 s
	2	102 l
	3	124 b
44	3	144 m
	6	119 o
	18	156 f
	20	119 g
	23	128 q
	26	67 k
	27	72 s
45	1	124 e
	3	55 e
	5	131 c, 154 a N.
	6	15 o, 29 o N.
	7	128 d
	8	117 ee
	9	87 f, 141 d
	10	20 h N ²

Psalms

45 12 75 *bb*, 109 *h*, 124 *i*
 16 76 *g*
 18 53 *g*, 123 *c*
 46 3 115 *g*
 4 132 *h* N.
 5 124 *b*, 132 *c*
 7 119 *g*
 48 6 164 *b* N.
 11 93 *g*, 93 *x*
 15 126 *aa*
 49 6 102 *l*
 7 126 *b*
 8 113 *v*
 14 155 *e*
 15 10 *g*, 67 *ee*, 114 *k*
 N.
 50 3 109 *e*, 144 *c*
 4 115 *b*
 10 90 *n*
 12 159 *m*, 159 *r*
 17 142 *d*
 21 112 *cc*, 113 *x*, 157 *a*
 22 116 *b*
 23 58 *i*
 51 4 75 *gg*, 120 *g*
 5 142 *f*
 7 64 *h*
 9 165 *a*
 10 155 *h*
 14 117 *ff*
 18 108 *f*
 19 128 *h*
 52 5 119 *w*
 15 58 *i*
 53 6 91 *e*, 116 *i*
 54 6 119 *i*
 55 3 108 *g*
 10 52 *n*
 16 74 *k*
 18 108 *g*
 19 119 *gg*
 22 10 *g*
 23 117 *x*
 56 4 155 *l*
 57 2 75 *u*
 5 117 *bb*, 144 *m*
 58 2 52 *n*
 5 63 *n*
 9 69 *x*, 96, 118 *r*
 59 6 125 *h*, 128 *x*, 131 *s*
 8 151 *a*
 16 159 *s*
 60 4 75 *pp*
 5 131 *c*
 13 80 *g*, 158 *a*
 61 1 80 *f*
 8 75 *cc*
 62 4 52 *q*
 5 145 *m*
 8 13 *c*

Psalms

63 2 132 *d*
 4 60 *e*
 6 117 *t*
 64 5 69 *r*
 7 67 *e*
 8 117 *ff*
 9 130 *a*
 65 6 92 *g*
 10 53 *n*, 60 *g*
 11 117 *y*
 66 6 108 *g*
 13 119 *n*
 17 144 *m*
 68 3 19 *c*, 51 *k*, 67 *t*
 5 119 *i* N³, 122 *t*
 7 117 *bb*, 124 *e*
 9 136 *d* N.
 17 131 *c*
 18 21 *c*, 97 *h*
 19 20 *f*, 117 *bb*
 22 128 *c*
 23 75 *u*
 24 10 *g*, 103 *m*
 34 119 *q*
 69 4 118 *p*
 5 131 *q* N.
 9 48 *i*
 10 95 *b* N.
 11 144 *l* N³
 24 64 *h*
 33 69 *s*
 71 1 108 *c*
 7 131 *r*
 23 44 *o*
 72 2 107 *n*
 13 72 *r*
 14 69 *f*
 17 10 *g*
 20 52 *q*
 73 2 75 *u*
 7 145 *o*
 9 63 *n*, 69 *x*
 14 123 *c*
 16 49 *e*, 108 *e*
 17 108 *h*
 20 53 *g*, 119 *y* N.
 27 119 *ff*
 28 73 *d*
 74 7 119 *gg*
 8 76 *f*
 10 64 *e*
 19 80 *f*
 75 4 116 *w*, 146 *g*
 76 6 54 *a* N²
 11 124 *e*
 77 2 63 *o*
 4 75 *l*, 75 *u*
 10 67 *r*
 11 67 *r*
 16 20 *g*, 125 *c*

Psalms

77 18 55 *b*, 93 *bb*
 20 20 *h*
 78 6 107 *k*
 15 132 *h* N.
 16 74 *l*
 21 66 *e*
 44 75 *u*, 124 *e*
 54 138 *g*
 80 8 131 *s*
 11 52 *q*, 121 *d*
 14 5 *n*, 56
 15 125 *h*
 19 72 *t*
 81 9 109 *b*
 11 116 *f*
 83 12 131 *o*
 19 144 *l* N²
 84 9 125 *h*
 86 2 9 *v*, 48 *i* N., 61 *f* N.
 9 117 *n*
 87 3 121 *d* N¹, 145 *u*
 5 123 *c*
 88 5 152 *u*
 6 116 *h*
 17 55 *d*
 89 7 124 *g*, 128 *v*
 10 76 *b*
 40 64 *e*
 48 135 *f*
 51 132 *b*
 52 20 *h*
 90 2 107 *c*, 152 *r*
 3 109 *k*, 111 *t*
 4 118 *r*
 5 155 *g*
 6 112 *m*
 8 73 *d*
 10 49 *e*
 13 147 *c*
 15 87 *n*, 130 *d*
 91 4 67 *p*, 109 *k*
 6 67 *q*, 118 *i*
 9 117 *ii*
 11 20 *c*
 12 60 *e*
 92 12 132 *b*
 93 5 75 *x*
 94 1 53 *m*, 69 *v*
 9 93 *gg*
 12 20 *g*
 20 60 *b*, 63 *m*
 99 6 74 *i*, 75 *oo*, 119 *i*
 100 3 103 *g*
 101 5 55 *b*, 64 *i*, 90 *m*
 102 4 67 *u*
 9 116 *i*
 14 67 *cc*
 19 106 *e*
 28 67 *g*, 135 *a* N¹
 103 1 10 *g*

Psalms

103	3	91 e, 91 l
	4	58 g
	5	145 k, 156 d
	9	117 g
104	1	106 g
	3	20 m N ² , 35 b, 126 b
	8	138 g
	11	90 n
	12	93 z
	18	20 m, 126 x
	20	109 h, 159 d
	21	114 p
	25	136 d
	26	138 g
	28	47 m, 159 c
105	12	118 x
	28	53 n
	43	78 l
107	23	5 n, 17 e
	43	93 m
108	7	144 m
109	2	117 t
	3	57 N ²
	10	64 e
	13	75 y
110	1	164 f
	2	110 c
	3	141 c
	4	90 l
111	1	5 h
112	1	5 h
	8	164 f
	9	120 g
113	5	90 m
	7	90 m
	8	90 n
	9	90 n
114	1	128 a N ²
	8	90 m, 90 n
115	7	143 d, 147 e
116	1	90 n
	4	16 f
	6	53 g
	7	72 s, 91 l
	12	91 l
	15	90 f
118	5	20 g, 59 f, 119 g
	7	119 i
	10	60 d
	13	113 p
	14	80 g
	18	20 g, 59 f
	23	74 g
	25	53 m
	26	59 e
119	1	5 n, 75 oo
	18	75 cc
	28	91 n
	117	75 l

Psalms

119	128	130 f N.
	136	155 n
	137	145 r
120	1	90 g, 127 e
	5	117 bb
	6	119 s
	7	141 c N ²
121	1	127 e
	3	107 p, 109 e
	5	124 k
122	6	75 u
123	1	90 m
	4	119 s, 127 g
124	4	90 f
125	1	155 g
126	6	113 p, 113 u
127	1	118 i
	2	23 l, 80 h, 114 n
128	3	75 v, 96
	5	110 i
131	1	72 l
132	1	52 r
	3	128 m
	4	80 g
	12	34 b, 91 n, 138 g
133	2	126 x
135	7	53 o
136	1	2 r
	3	102 m
	6	65 d
137	1	124 e
	3	117 gg
	5	159 m
	6	58 g
	7	75 cc, 116 d
138	2	16 f
	6	69 b N., 69 p
139	1	59 h
	2	73 a N.
	5	91 e
	8	66 e, 159 m
	11	103 d, 111 x, 159 f
	12	133 b N ²
	14	75 gg, 118 p
	18	159 c N.
	20	23 i, 68 h, 75 oo
	21	72 cc
	22	117 g, 128 r
140	4	91 l
	10	75 mm
	13	44 i
141	3	20 h, 48 i
	4	96
	5	74 k
	8	75 bb
	10	145 m
142	5	113 bb
143	6	106 g
144	2	87 f
	14	122 e

Psalms

145	1	5 h
	7	132 b
	13	123 c
147	1	52 p
	2	20 m
149	2	124 k

Proverbs

1	9	91 n
	10	68 h, 75 hh
	16	145 u
	19	29 f
	20	47 k, 48 d, 86 l
	21	75 v
	22	63 m, 93 t N.
	23	159 d
	28	60 e
2	8	114 i N.
	10	145 u
	11	58 i
	14	128 w
	19	116 i
	22	144 g
3	3	110 f
	8	22 s
	12	16 b
	25	109 e
	26	119 i
4	4	75 n
	8	60 f, 67 l
	13	20 h
	21	72 ee
	25	70 b
5	2	145 u
	4	96
	6	72 l
	13	75 ee
	16	150 a
	17	152 o
	22	60 e, 131 m N.
6	24	114 i N., 128 w
7	2	75 n
	5	114 i N.
	7	108 h
	8	91 e
	11	94 d
	13	67 dd, 68 e
	26	116 l
8	3	47 k
	4	96
	12	117 bb
	13	122 v
	17	68 f
	22	59 f
	25	107 c, 152 r
	26	124 l
	27	67 r
	28	93 v
	30	122 f

Proverbs

8 32 . . . 130*d*, 155*n*
 9 1 86*l*
 5 119*m*
 9 109*h*
 10 124*h*
 12 159*f*
 13 . 137*c*, 152*u* N.
 18 116*l*
 10 4 . 23*g*, 72*p*, 117*t*
 26 124*k*
 31 117*z*
 11 3 67*n*
 14 123*b*
 15 67*t*
 21 22*s*
 25 69*w*
 12 1 16*f*
 10 145*h*
 17 159*c*
 18 75*q*
 19 108*h*
 28 152*g*
 13 4 131*n*
 6 142*f*
 10 153
 21 117*c*
 23 23*g*
 24 117*f*
 14 1 . 86*l*, 145*k* N.
 2 116*k*
 3 47*g*
 7 152*u* N.
 10 22*s*
 13 131*n* N.
 14 72*p*
 20 121*f*
 30 124*d*
 34 72*bb*
 35 114*i* N.
 15 1 20*c*, 22*s*
 5 63*n*
 20 107*f*
 16 3 124*e*
 4 127*i*
 11 128*a* N.
 30 141*i* N.
 33 121*b*
 17 4 68*i*
 10 66*f*
 12 113*cc*, 133*b* N.,
 152*g*
 15 154*a* N. (c)
 21 114*i* N.
 26 153
 18 6 145*u*
 16 92*g*
 22 159*h*
 24 47*b*
 19 7 9*u*
 8 114*i*

Proverbs

19 25 63*n*, 144*h*
 20 2 128*h*
 9 107*t*
 10 123*f*
 13 110*h*
 16 63*l*
 22 22*s*
 25 114*i*
 21 6 128*c*
 12 125*c*
 22 21 10*k*, 124*k*, 131*c*
 23 1 73*a*, 73*d*
 7 152*t*
 22 138*g*
 24 159*i*
 29 131*q*
 35 120*c*
 24 1 5*h*
 4 29*o*
 14 48*l*
 17 51*l*
 22 151*a*
 31 117*z*
 25 2 53*k*
 3 29*i* N.
 5 126*n*
 9 75*bb*
 11 93*r*
 12 161*a* N.
 13 124*k*
 16 76*h*, 91*d*
 17 69*v*
 19 52*s*, 67*s*, 92*g*
 23 72*bb*
 26 53*s*
 27 113*b*
 28 7 75*u*
 8 67*cc*
 17 155*e*
 23 145*u*
 28 122*n*
 27 6 63*c*
 7 143*a*
 9 146*e*
 15 75*x*
 24 150*g* N.
 25 20*h*
 28 6 88*e* N.
 22 10*h*
 29 6 67*q*
 30 1 96
 3 124*h*, 166*a*
 6 10*h*, 69*v*
 13 72*l*
 14 114*i* N.
 17 . 10*g* N., 20*h* N.
 18 134*s*
 24 133*g*
 28 144*h*
 30 152*b*

Proverbs

80 31 35*m*
 31 1 128*h*
 2 37*f*
 3 53*g*, 87*e*
 4 75*n*
 10 2*r*, 5*h*
 30 54*g*

Job

1 1 155*e*, 156*b*
 3 123*a*
 4 97*c*, 112*dd*
 5 107*e*, 112*f*, 118*h*
 104*d*
 6 119*cc*, 126*s*, 128*v*
 7 107*h*
 12 136*d*
 14 116*r*, 119*cc*, 122*c*,
 135*o*, 141*i*, 145*c*
 15 . 49*e*, 122*i*, 135*o*
 16 116*u*, 104*a*
 18 116*u*
 19 122*g*
 21 . 23*f*, 74*k*, 118*n*
 2 1 128*v*
 3 111*l*
 9 110*f*, 150*b*
 10 150*a*, 153
 3 2 68*e*
 3 29*e*, 68*d*, 107*k*,
 155*f*, 155*i*
 4 141*c* N.
 6 75*r*
 8 114*m*
 9 . 109*a* N., 152*k*
 11 152*z*
 13 . . 106*p*, 159*dd*
 15 155*e*
 17 106*l*
 19 135*a* N.
 20 128*y*
 24 145*p*
 25 75*u*
 4 2 . 28*b*, 87*e*, 150*m*
 3 107*e*, 132*f*
 5 111*t*, 144*b*
 6 143*d*
 7 136*c*
 17 107*f*, 133*b* N.,
 150*h*
 19 144*g*
 20 . . 29*l*, 67*g*, 67*y*
 21 150*m*
 5 1 61*h*, 91*d*
 2 117*n*
 3 135*a*
 5 119*e*
 7 . . 128*v*, 161*a*
 8 107*x*

Job		Job		Job	
5	10	9	29	15	6
12	10	31	107 n	7	145 u
13	10	32	126 r	10	121 d
14	10	33	116 s, 152 d, 166 a	11	131 q
16	10	34	109 i, 152 d	13	133 c
18	10	1	60 d	15	125 c
19	10	7	72 dd	16	67 ee
22	10	8	119 aa N.	17	116 e
24	10	15	111 e	17	75 bb, 138 h, 143 d
27	10	16	159 ff	20	146 a
2	10	17	109 h, 120 g	21	118 f
5	10	18	154 a N.	22	75 v
7	10	19	107 n	23	147 c
8	10	21	17 n	26	128 r
9	10	22	107 c	18	150 g
10	10	22	90 g, 152 a N.	4	103 l, 108 f, 119 q
12	10	11	128 t	5	60 f
13	10	3	111 t	6	63 f, 108 e, 159 ff
16	10	5	151 b	7	53 p, 75 ee, 144 p
17	10	6	110 i, 134 r N.	8	120 c
19	10	9	91 e	9	118 q, 119 q
20	10	11	128 t	10	54 k, 119 g
21	10	12	51 g, 131 c N.	12	112 tt
22	10	15	119 w, 159 ee	13	95 h
25	10	17	48 d, 108 e, 133 e	14	126 p
26	10	20	144 c	16	44 m, 55 e
28	10	12	103 m	17	152 a N., 160 a
2	10	3	152 d	19	124 b
3	10	4	111 u	22	69 x, 75 u, 145 u
4	10	6	29 t, 75 u, 124 e	1	124 c
6	10	7	145 k	2	20 h, 73 e, 75 ff
11	10	11	135 i, 161 a	4	72 cc
12	10	12	141 d	5	75 w
14	10	14	159 w	7	75 p
15	10	15	15 c	9	10 h
17	10	17	116 s, 116 x, 118 o	10	120 e, 135 r
23	10	23	117 n	13	124 b
24	10	24	128 a, 152 u	16	47 k
13	10	3	53 k, 113 d	18	130 a
7	10	7	150 h	2	75 q
9	10	9	53 k	3	51 n, 139 f
13	10	13	119 ff, 137 c	4	67 dd, 135 n
15	10	15	153	7	54 k
16	10	16	152 e	8	109 k
17	10	17	113 r	12	144 g
21	10	21	29 g, 60 d, 64 h	18	130 d
25	10	25	117 c	21	21 d, 60 e, 75 gg
26	10	26	124 e	19	75 oo
27	10	27	54 f, 93 r	3	53 n, 120 c
28	10	28	144 p, 155 h	7	63 h N., 159 w
14	10	1	116 l	10	69 p, x
2	10	2	111 s	15	60 a
3	10	3	150 b, 153	17	67 ee
4	10	4	151 b	18	159 e
6	10	6	109 f, 156 g	19	138 h
9	10	9	65 e, 112 m	23	53 u, 67 y, 126 s
10	10	10	111 t	151 d	
11	10	11	161 a	24	51 m
19	10	19	145 k	25	118 n
22	10	22	153	26	119 w, 144 g
15	10	15	113 h, 119 hh	28	117 n
3	10	3			

Job

20 4 150 e
9 122 l
10 72 k
12 159 q
17 109 e, 130 e
19 154 a N.
22 74 h, 118 e
23 103 f N.
24 159 c
26 . 68 f, 145 u, 156 f
29 131 c, 135 m
21 4 100 n, 135 f, 143 a,
150 g
5 67 v
7 117 z
9 . 119 w, 141 c N³
11 52 n
13 20 i, 66 f
16 20 f, 106 n N²
17 150 h
21 37 d, 146 a
22 142 d
23 139 g
25 119 m
27 155 k
29 44 d, 64 f
32 124 c
22 2 103 f N³
3 67 y
7 152 e
9 121 b
12 20 i, 117 h, 141 c,
158 a
16 121 d, 149 a
18 106 n N.
20 91 f, 149 e
21 48 d, 110 f, 135 p
23 159 ff
29 23 f
30 152 q
23 2 119 aa
3 120 e
6 100 l
9 109 k
11 76 c
12 143 d
13 119 i
16 67 v
24 1 75 m, 121 f
5 118 r, 145 m
7 118 o
10 118 o, 152 u
14 109 k, 118 x, 120 c
19 161 a
21 70 d
22 87 e, 156 f
23 91 l
24 . 51 m, 67 m, 67 y
25 . 150 l N., 152 a
25 2 116 z

Job

25 3 91 d
5 67 ee
28 2 152 a N., 152 u,
152 v
4 117 gg
5 119 c
7 116 s
9 56
14 119 m
27 3 128 e
5 149 a
6 119 w N.
7 118 x
12 117 q
19 . 68 h, 120 d N.
23 103 f N.
28 1 155 h
2 121 d, 127 ii
4 126 b
5 118 w
6 124 l
11 119 x
12 119 ff
17 152 z
25 114 r
27 60 d
29 2 118 u, 130 d, 151 b
3 67 p, 118 h, 131 o
6 23 f
8 120 g N.
10 44 c, 146 a
12 152 u, 155 n
15 141 d
16 130 d, 155 n
21 . 20 i, 24 e, 67 g
23 118 w
25 10 g, 126 p
30 3 126 b, 133 l
6 114 k, 133 h
10 106 g
13 152 u, 155 n
14 75 u
15 121 b
19 59 f, 75 u
20 72 bb
26 49 e, 108 e
28 118 n, 120 c
31 1 148 a
5 72 ff
7 23 c, 108 f
9 159 m
10 87 e
11 32 h, 131 s
12 155 f
15 58 k, 72 cc
18 117 x, 126 p, 163 b
22 91 e
26 67 p, 111 q, 118 n,
118 q
27 75 q

Job

31 28 159 dd
29 112 e
31 151 b
34 156 f
35 151 b
32 6 68 e, 69 m
7 146 a
11 68 i
12 103 o
17 63 f
18 23 f, 74 k
22 120 c
33 4 16 h, 75 mm
5 48 i, 54 k
21 14 d, 64 e
25 56
30 51 l, 72 v
32 61 d
34 13 90 f
18 113 ee N.
22 115 g
36 159 cc
35 10 124 k
11 68 k
15 152 k
36 2 65 e
7 111 b N.
18 145 u
32 122 o
36 143 d
37 5 118 p
6 75 hh
12 90 f
14 117 w
16 124 e
18 150 b
24 59 i
38 2 136 c
3 126 p
5 159 dd
6 137 b
7 67 n, 128 v
12 119 w N.
13 5 n, 114 r
14 118 w, 134 r
16 150 h
18 122 q, 150 b
19 155 k
21 107 c, 146 a
24 165 a
26 152 u, 155 e
27 133 l
28 150 g
30 118 w
32 145 m
39 1 64 d
2 91 f, 150 b
3 135 o
9 22 s
13 150 f

Job

39	15	. . . . .	135 p
	17	. . . . .	119 m
	24	. . . . .	75 oo
	25	. . . . .	53 n
	30	. . . . .	55 f
40	2	. . . . .	113 ee, 113 gg
	5	. . . . .	134 r, 134 s
	8	. . . . .	150 g
	19	. . . . .	116 g N., 127 l
	22	. . . . .	67 n
	23	. . . . .	159 w
	24	. . . . .	66 f
	25	. . . . .	150 a N ¹
	30	. . . . .	150 b
	32	. . . . .	69 v
41	1	. . . . .	93 ss, 150 a N ¹
	2	. . . . .	72 cc
	4	. . . . .	103 g, 124 e
	7	. . . . .	118 r
	12	. . . . .	154 a N.
	15	. . . . .	156 g
	17	. . . . .	76 b
	20	. . . . .	128 v
	22	. . . . .	133 h
	25	. . . . .	24 b, 75 v, 126 b
	26	. . . . .	16 f, 117 a N ⁴
42	2	. . . . .	44 i
	3	. . . . .	133 d, 156 f
	5	. . . . .	75 mm
	7	. . . . .	164 d
	8	. . . . .	163 d
	10	. . . . .	91 k
	13	. . . . .	97 c
	15	. . . . .	135 o, 145 o
	16	. . . . .	75 t

Canticle

1	1	. . . . .	133 i
	6	. . . . .	60 a, 75 x
	7	. . . . .	36, 75 v
	8	. . . . .	20 h
	10	. . . . .	75 x, 141 c
	15	. . . . .	141 d
2	7	. . . . .	144 a
	12	. . . . .	85 u N.
	13	. . . . .	141 d
	14	. . . . .	69 v, 93 ss
	17	. . . . .	119 s
3	7	. . . . .	131 n
	8	. . . . .	50 f
	11	. . . . .	75 n
5	5	. . . . .	135 b
	8	. . . . .	137 b N.
	9	. . . . .	59 h
	16	. . . . .	85 g N., 141 c
6	8	. . . . .	32 n
	11	. . . . .	67 dd
7	1	. . . . .	137 b N.
	2	. . . . .	93 x

Canticle

7	10	. . . . .	126 x, 133 h
8	2	. . . . .	87 f, 131 e N.
	4	. . . . .	137 b N.
	5	. . . . .	59 g N.
	6	. . . . .	93 m
	10	. . . . .	74 i
	14	. . . . .	119 s

Ruth

1	1	. . . . .	49 b N.
	8	. . . . .	135 o, 144 a
	9	. . . . .	46 f, 74 h, 74 k,
		. . . . .	110 i
	12	. . . . .	106 p, 107 x
	13	. . . . .	51 m, 103 f N.,
		. . . . .	152 g
	14	. . . . .	76 b
	16	. . . . .	138 e
	19	. . . . .	91 f
	20	. . . . .	46 f, 80 h
	21	. . . . .	118 n
	22	. . . . .	32 n, 138 k
2	2	. . . . .	10 h, 64 i
	3	. . . . .	129 d
	6	. . . . .	138 k
	8	. . . . .	47 g, 47 o
	9	. . . . .	75 gg, 112 kk
	14	. . . . .	53 n, 66 c, 69 v,
		. . . . .	103 g
	15	. . . . .	35 k
	16	. . . . .	67 o
	20	. . . . .	121 f
	21	. . . . .	47 o, 122 g
3	2	. . . . .	91 f, 141 c
	3	. . . . .	44 h, 104 g
	4	. . . . .	47 o, 109 k, 112 z
	6	. . . . .	59 g
	12	. . . . .	163 d
	14	. . . . .	107 c
	15	. . . . .	64 c, 69 o, 134 n
	18	. . . . .	163 c and N.
4	1	. . . . .	69 p, 72 t
	3	. . . . .	129 h, 138 k
	4	. . . . .	29 i N., 152 o
	7	. . . . .	112 h
	15	. . . . .	59 g

Lamentations

1	1	. . . . .	5 h, 90 l
	4	. . . . .	69 l, 87 e
	8	. . . . .	67 y, 72 ee, 117 p
	10	. . . . .	120 a, 155 f
	14	. . . . .	130 d, 155 n
	16	. . . . .	75 v, 117 z
	19	. . . . .	107 g, 165 a
2	7	. . . . .	64 e
	11	. . . . .	51 l
	16	. . . . .	15 c

Lamentations

2	18	. . . . .	80 f
3	1	. . . . .	144 p
	5	. . . . .	53 n
	12	. . . . .	80 h
	14	. . . . .	87 f
	22	. . . . .	20 o
	26	. . . . .	100 g N., 107 q
	33	. . . . .	69 u
	48	. . . . .	29 q, 69 p, 117 z
	50	. . . . .	109 k
	53	. . . . .	69 u
4	1	. . . . .	54 k, 75 rr
	2	. . . . .	75 rr
	5	. . . . .	117 n
	14	. . . . .	51 h, 120 g
	17	. . . . .	100 o
	21	. . . . .	90 n
5	5	. . . . .	72 ee N., 121 a
	10	. . . . .	145 u

Ecclesiastes

1	1	. . . . .	122 r
	4	. . . . .	116 l
	6	. . . . .	113 u
	9	. . . . .	137 c
	12	. . . . .	133 i
	13	. . . . .	112 pp N.
	16	. . . . .	135 b
	17	. . . . .	86 l
2	1	. . . . .	135 b
	5	. . . . .	112 pp N.
	7	. . . . .	145 u
	8	. . . . .	122 v
	13	. . . . .	24 e, 133 b
	15	. . . . .	93 rr, 135 e
	19	. . . . .	150 g
	20	. . . . .	64 e
	21	. . . . .	131 m
	22	. . . . .	36
	26	. . . . .	75 oo
3	2	. . . . .	2 s
	4	. . . . .	114 b
	10	. . . . .	131 n
	11	. . . . .	152 y
	14	. . . . .	165 b
	15	. . . . .	114 i
	18	. . . . .	36, 67 p
	19	. . . . .	93 rr
	21	. . . . .	100 m, 150 i N.
	22	. . . . .	102 k
4	2	. . . . .	113 gg
	3	. . . . .	117 l
	10	. . . . .	124 o
	14	. . . . .	35 d
	17	. . . . .	133 e
5	5	. . . . .	53 g
	6	. . . . .	143 d
	7	. . . . .	124 h
	8	. . . . .	32 l

Ecclesiastes

5	11	. . . . .	69 n
14	. . . . .	109 i	
15	. . . . .	161 b	
16	. . . . .	147 e	
18	. . . . .	112 pp N., 141 h	
7	7	. . . . .	117 c
16	54 c, 54 k,	131 q	
24	. . . . .	133 k	
26	. . . . .	75 oo	
27	. . . . .	122 r	
8	1	. . . . .	35 n, 75 rr
10	54 g, 119 ü, 128 w N.		
9	1	. . . . .	93 ww
4	. . . . .	143 e	
12	. . . . .	52 s	
14	. . . . .	112 pp N.	
10	5	. . . . .	75 qq, 155 h
15	. . . . .	145 m	
17	. . . . .	91 l	
18	. . . . .	88 b	
20	. . . . .	53 n	
11	2	. . . . .	134 s
3	. . . . .	23 i, 75 s	
12	1	. . . . .	124 k
4	. . . . .	72 t, 128 v	
5	. . . . .	73 g	
6	. . . . .	67 q, 67 t	
7	. . . . .	109 k	
10	. . . . .	145 h	

Esther

1	4	. . . . .	93 ww
5	. . . . .	74 h	
8	. . . . .	123 c	
17	. . . . .	93 m	
2	9	. . . . .	75 v
11	. . . . .	123 c	
3	4	. . . . .	157 c
8	. . . . .	100 o N.	
4	2	. . . . .	114 l
8	. . . . .	93 ww	
6	13	. . . . .	20 g
7	2	. . . . .	109 f
5	. . . . .	74 g, 137 a	
8	. . . . .	114 i	
8	1	. . . . .	137 c
8	. . . . .	63 c	
9	1	. . . . .	135 a N.
6	. . . . .	113 z	
7	. . . . .	2 s	
23	. . . . .	124 e, 145 o N.	

Daniel

1	4	. . . . .	23 c, 128 a N.
5	. . . . .	135 o	
10	. . . . .	93 ss	
12	. . . . .	75 cc	
13	. . . . .	75 hh	

Daniel

1	15	. . . . .	93 ss
2	1	. . . . .	124 o
4	. . . . .	1 c	
3	15	. . . . .	167 a
8	3	. . . . .	93 n
9	. . . . .	135 o	
11	. . . . .	72 ee	
13	125 b, 126 z, 127 f		
22	47 k, 87 i, 95 u,		
	116 w		
9	5	. . . . .	91 n
13	. . . . .	117 m	
19	. . . . .	48 i	
11	6	116 f, 127 i, 139 h	
11	. . . . .	131 n	
20	. . . . .	93 dd	
23	. . . . .	53 l, 54 k	
35	. . . . .	53 q	
12	2	. . . . .	102 b, 124 e
7	. . . . .	93 aa N.	
11	. . . . .	134 g	
13	. . . . .	87 e	

Ezra

2	62	. . . . .	131 r
69	. . . . .	97 g	
3	3	. . . . .	124 q, 147 a
6	. . . . .	134 p	
12	. . . . .	126 aa	
4	7	. . . . .	55 h
8	. . . . .	1 c	
6	21	. . . . .	8 k
7	12	. . . . .	1 c
28	. . . . .	49 e	
8	1	. . . . .	64 i
18	. . . . .	14 d	
23	. . . . .	51 n	
25	. . . . .	93 oo, 138 i	
29	. . . . .	127 g	
30	. . . . .	92 g	
36	. . . . .	112 rr	
9	6	. . . . .	22 s
10	13	. . . . .	141 d
14	. . . . .	127 i, 138 i	
16	. . . . .	45 g	
17	. . . . .	127 c N.	

Nehemiah

2	3	. . . . .	67 dd
7	. . . . .	68 g	
12	. . . . .	131 c, 137 c	
13	. . . . .	5 n	
3	8	. . . . .	124 o, 128 v
13	. . . . .	35 d	
31	. . . . .	128 v	
4	3	. . . . .	49 e N., 53 n
4	. . . . .	119 m	
7	. . . . .	20 h	

Nehemiah

4	9	. . . . .	49 e N., 67 x
12	. . . . .	116 k N.	
17	. . . . .	152 n	
5	14	. . . . .	91 e
6	6	. . . . .	90 k
8	. . . . .	23 e, 74 i	
10	. . . . .	144 i	
11	. . . . .	100 m	
7	2	. . . . .	118 x
64	. . . . .	64 i	
66	. . . . .	23 i	
8	2	. . . . .	74 l
8	. . . . .	2 t	
10	. . . . .	85 g N., 128 p,	
		152 v, 155 n	
11	. . . . .	105 a	
9	13	. . . . .	132 d
35	. . . . .	126 x	
10	37	123 r N.
39	53 k	
11	17	53 q
12	44	95 n
47	95 n	
13	9	105 a
13	53 g, 53 n	
16	9 b	
21	73 f	
24	2 a, 2 w	

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2	13	47 b
30	152 u	
48	145 u	
3	5	69 t
4	10	61 a, 167 a
42	131 n	
5	1	114 k
2	141 a	
20	63 c	
6	63	90 f
7	5	. . . . .	124 q
8	8	. . . . .	52 o
38	. . . . .	29 q	
9	13	. . . . .	128 c
22	. . . . .	135 a N ¹ , 155 d	
25	. . . . .	134 m	
27	. . . . .	123 c	
33	. . . . .	147 a	
10	2	. . . . .	53 r
13	114 k	
11	6	116 w
39	23 f	
12	2	24 f N., 70 b
8	114 b	
17	61 c	
23	155 d	
33	123 f	
38	23 f	
15	8	127 f

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15	12	155 <i>n</i>
	19	131 <i>a</i>
	24	53 <i>o</i> , 55 <i>e</i>
	26	63 <i>i</i>
	27	56, 127 <i>g</i>
16	8	2 <i>s</i>
19	8	131 <i>b</i>
20	8	69 <i>t</i>
21	1	125 <i>f</i>
	17	141 <i>h</i> N.
22	7	143 <i>a</i> N.
23	6	63 <i>n</i>
	26	114 <i>k</i>
24	3	63 <i>n</i>
26	28	138 <i>i</i>
27	12	127 <i>d</i>
28	2	143 <i>a</i> N.
	11	96
29	1	155 <i>d</i>
	3	155 <i>n</i>
	8	138 <i>i</i>
	33	65 <i>f</i>

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1	4	138 <i>i</i> , 155 <i>n</i>
2	12	117 <i>n</i>
3	17	126 <i>k</i>

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4	3	123 <i>a</i> N.
5	11	114 <i>k</i>
8	18	93 <i>r</i>
11	22	114 <i>k</i> , 147 <i>a</i>
15	3	147 <i>a</i>
16	4	125 <i>h</i>
	9	155 <i>n</i>
	10	147 <i>a</i>
	12	75 <i>rr</i> , 147 <i>a</i>
	14	124 <i>c</i>
17	11	93 <i>a</i>
18	3	147 <i>a</i>
	23	155 <i>d</i>
	26	131 <i>c</i>
19	2	114 <i>k</i>
	6	147 <i>a</i>
20	1	102 <i>b</i>
	19	128 <i>v</i>
	22	155 <i>l</i>
	34	63 <i>p</i>
	35	54 <i>a</i> N.
21	4	119 <i>w</i> N.
	17	133 <i>g</i>
22	5	35 <i>d</i>
23	1	117 <i>n</i>
25	17	156 <i>c</i> N.
26	5	114 <i>c</i>
	10	22 <i>s</i>

2 Chronicles

Chronicles		
26	15 75 <i>rr</i> , 114 <i>n</i> , 126 <i>z</i>	
	18	114 <i>l</i>
28	10	142 <i>f</i> N.
	21	147 <i>a</i>
	23	53 <i>o</i>
29	6	67 <i>y</i>
	10	165 <i>a</i>
	17	134 <i>p</i>
	18	117 <i>n</i>
	27	155 <i>l</i>
30	9	114 <i>p</i> , 147 <i>a</i>
	17	155 <i>d</i>
	18	130 <i>d</i> N ²
	19	155 <i>n</i>
31	7 69 <i>n</i> , 71, 142 <i>f</i> N ²	
	10	121 <i>d</i> N ¹
	17	117 <i>m</i>
32	9	101 <i>a</i>
	13	8 <i>k</i>
	30	69 <i>u</i>
34	10	45 <i>g</i>
	11	16 <i>f</i>
	12	10 <i>h</i>
35	4	93 <i>ww</i>
	21 109 <i>g</i> , 135 <i>g</i> , 147 <i>a</i>	
	23	69 <i>r</i>
36	23	137 <i>c</i>

